

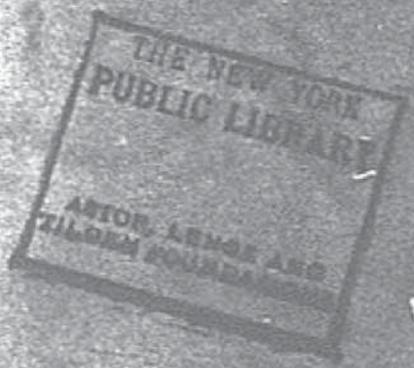
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Report and Proceedings

of the NINETEENTH CONVENTION of the
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union



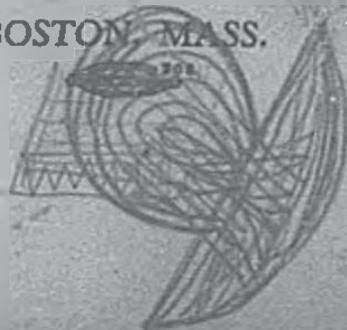
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
May 7th to May 17th, Nineteen-Hundred-Twenty-Eight

REPORT
OF THE
General Executive Board
TO THE
NINETEENTH
CONVENTION
OF THE
International Ladies' Garment
Workers' Union

Monday, May 7, 1928

CONVENTION HALL, 22 GARRISON ST.

BOSTON, MASS.



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To The Delegates of The Nineteenth Biennial Convention of The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Greeting:—

In compliance with its duty, the General Executive Board herewith submits to you a report on its administration of the affairs of the I. L. G. W. U. since the close of the Philadelphia convention, in December, 1925, coupled with an account of the major events in the life of the Union and of all its subdivisions and including a survey of the condition of our industry as a whole and a series of recommendations affecting the future of our Organization.

Conventions are solemn occasions in the life of our Union. To those of us who had taken or are still taking part in the daily life of our International, to those who are part and parcel of the forces which are molding and shaping its history, nothing serves more emphatically to light up the path we have traveled than the great periodic meetings we hold from time to time—our conventions. These conventions are the mile-posts of our advance; these conventions are days of reckoning, days when inventory is taken of past accomplishments and plans are laid for the next lap of our journey. To the active men and women in our ranks it is this string of conventions, running along the whole span of our Organization's existence, that in its totality faithfully mirrors the history of the International. A convention to them is a period of hard creative work, of frank and honest analysis of all our gains and achievements together with our drawbacks and shortcomings. In the fullest sense of the word, an I. L. G. W. U. convention gives expression to the collective will of its membership, speaks openly and fearlessly their mind, and voices their hopes, plans and objectives for the future.

At our conventions the credo and faith of our battle for a higher form of existence is being formed; there the energy

that would later be called into action to realize our ideals is being mobilized. But our conventions, besides, offer us object lessons in trade union policy and, in the light of subsequent events, test the soundness of our moves and decisions. Especially this year, after the great storm we had passed, after the recent upheaval that sorely tried the soul of every loyal man ~~and~~ woman among us, when the sword of destruction hung so closely over the head of the Union threatening to sweep it off the map of our industry, should these lessons sink deeply into our minds and guide our future course.

And the outstanding lesson we have learned from our last convention in Philadelphia emphasizes with burning earnestness the truth that political intrigue and party clique domination cannot live peaceably side by side with normal trade union activity, without destroying each other. The "peace" made with the Communists in Philadelphia proved abortive because it was futile. That sorry compromise burst not long after the convention adjourned because, by the logic of events, it could not live. It burst painfully causing an immense amount of travail and misery, though, fortunately, the roots of that ugly sore did not extend to the life-springs of the organization. The Union came back after a period of inner trials and began to function normally again.

At this convention, the International will, for the first time in perhaps a half dozen years, be in a position to turn its entire attention to the industrial questions which are bound up by hundreds of threads with the daily wants of our members. Our delegates will turn with lighter hearts and clearer heads to find a solution, too, to the varied organizational problems, grievances and embarrassments which cause friction in sections of our Union and harrass its normal functioning. We hope that the convention will devote little time to post-mortems. Let us ring down the curtain on the tempest we have lived through and make use of our experiences solely to span a bridge into the future. Let us organize our resources with a view to building where a horde of union-wreckers ripped and pulled apart. We hope that this convention will usher in a new epoch in the life of the International Union, a new period of normal and fruitful existence for the working masses in our trades.

THE NEW YORK CLOAK AND DRESS INDUSTRY

Foreword

As in former years, the cloak and dress unions of New York are the keystone upon which our organization rests. In recent years, greater concentration in New York has been on the increase rather than on the decline. In 1925, almost seven-eighths of the entire product of the country in the cloak branch, and more than three-quarters in the dress branch, were manufactured in New York. Although the proportion of workers is by no means so high, 70 per cent are still concentrated in the city of New York in these two branches. The fate of the industry, and of the organization, in New York City, is the controlling factor in the destiny of our Union.

In the period since 1921, the industry in New York City, particularly the cloak, suit and skirt trades which for many years had been the most important branch, has been undergoing a period of decadence, of chaotic competition, of unemployment and of subsequent demoralization. In the period between 1917 and 1921, and even more since then, the cloak industry has declined to such an extent that it no longer is the most important branch; almost twenty thousand cloakmakers, according to the various statistical surveys, have been forced out of the industry, and the remaining 35,000 have suffered from underemployment to an extent unheard of in the past fifteen years. This depression and underemployment, coupled with the development of the vicious and irresponsible jobber-sub-manufacturer system have rendered the organization fertile ground for destructive and demoralizing activities not only by employers, but by groups at one time within the union, but controlled and led by outside political cliques.

In the report of the New York situation which follows, we analyze, as fully as possible, the industrial situation, the internal upheaval within the organization and the method and extent of our recovery.

PART I

SITUATION IN THE NEW YORK CLOAK INDUSTRY AT TIME OF EIGHTEENTH CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA

In order to refresh the minds of the delegates and to complete the picture, we will first set forth a statement of the situation at the time of the last convention, the recommendations of the General Executive Board, and the decisions of the convention which determined the policies that were pursued in the subsequent period.

Developments Since 1923; Changes in the Industry

The history of our Union shows that up to the year of 1923, the New York organization had succeeded, either through negotiations, mediation, arbitration, or through general strikes in gaining every one of the fundamental demands it presented to the employers at the expiration of agreements. In the same manner, it succeeded in resisting every attack on the part of the employers to reduce any of the standards gained. As far as work hours, minimum scales, rights of the workers in the shops, machinery for the adjustment of grievances are concerned, we can justly say that not only did we keep up with conditions in other needle trades, and those of other labor unions, but in many instances we exceeded them and have been pioneers along a path which they followed.

Were our industry of a stable nature, and not dependent on special disturbing factors as unfortunately it is, our workers would probably have reason to feel gratified with conditions and to pursue a policy of gradual development and steady gain. Unfortunately our industry, being an unstandardized, highly stylized, highly seasonalized industry, is subject to frequent unforeseen changes—most usually for the worse—to which no other industry is subjected, which no plan could have forestalled and which constantly raise new problems for the union.

The outstanding development which gave us the gravest concern in the last several years has been the rash, sweeping advent of the jobber-sub-manufacturer system. In its trail, it brought the small, mushroom-growth shop and all its attendant evils. These evils may be stated chiefly as follows: 1) The small contracting and submanufacturing shop, and the irresponsible beggar employer, 2) over-expansion of units;

3) bitter competition between these contracting shops to get work from the jobber; 4) reduction of standards; 5) shortening of the season, and therefore, longer periods of unemployment; 6) difficulties of control and enforcement of standards.

To put the matter somewhat more in detail—there has been a rapid growth in the last seven years of jobbers or stockhouse owners, who do not manufacture on their own premises. They supply all their own materials, and to some extent their style fashions, to small contractors and sub-manufacturers who directly employ the labor. To the contractor, cut-goods are supplied; to the sub-manufacturer piece goods are supplied by the jobber or manufacturer.

To become a contractor or sub-manufacturer, very little capital is required. Machines may be rented or bought on the installment plan. Since the shop is small, little operating investment is required, as the sub-manufacturer is furnished with the material and does not have to hold finished garments for the market. There is always,—and the evil has been on the increase—an excess of sub-manufacturers, stimulated by a hope of profits. The result is that the big jobbers and manufacturers, by fostering cut-throat competition among contractors, pare down continually the prices paid to them, and through them to the workers.

Accompanying this system of production, and as an inevitable result of it, this industry which has always been seasonal owing to style changes, has been suffering more and more from alternate periods of short and busy seasons and long periods of unemployment. (We shall show how this development reached its height in the year 1925 and 1926, as revealed by the investigation of the Governor's Advisory Commission.)

In the entire period under consideration, the jobber, or as we may call him, the jobber-manufacturer, controlled about 70 per cent of the total output of cloaks in the city of New York, and his influence in the last few years began to extend to the smaller centers of the industry, by the opening up of branches wherever there was an opportunity for cheaper production.

Our contention during all of this period was that despite the deceptive name of "jobber", the jobber is the real em-

ployer, in the fullest sense of the word, of all the workers who are employed by the sub-manufacturer. It was the jobber who purchased and controlled raw material; it was he, who after fixing the sales price of the garment, set the labor price for it; it was he who often furnished the styles, and the labor price for it; it was he who determined whether or not ~~stocks~~ were to be manufactured. It was he who, because of the volume of business and the methods used, was the largest beneficiary in the industry.

True, the "inside shop" persisted. But every year more and more 'inside' manufacturers were abandoning inside production, preferring the less responsible and more profitable role of jobbers.

Program of the General Executive Board in 1923

To meet this development in the industry, the General Executive Board, together with the leaders of the Joint Board, worked out a program at a meeting of the General Executive Board in October of 1923. This program is important, for in its essentials, it has been the basis for all demands since that time and for all reforms which have been won. It included the following demands:

Limitation of sub-manufacturers.

- 1) Each jobber should employ only such a number of sub-manufacturers or contractors as he can supply with work to their full capacity. No jobber should engage new sub-manufacturers or contractors as long as those working for him are not fully provided with work.
- 2) No contractor shall be employed unless his establishment consists of at least fourteen operators with a corresponding complement of workers of the other branches of the industry.
- 3) No jobber shall discontinue sending work to a contractor except for good reason.
- 4) In slow seasons all available work should be divided by the jobber equally among all his contractors and by the contractors equally among the workers.
- 5) The payment of wages and observance of union conditions of work on the part of the contractor should be guaranteed by the jobber in the same way as if the workers were employed by him directly.

6) The jobbers should be represented on the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and contribute a ratable share of the expenses of that institution; and they should be represented on and contribute to the impartial machinery.

These demands stressed particularly the obligations of the jobbers to the industry and, if adopted, would have resulted in eliminating the huge contractor turnover, the vicious price-cutting and the breaking down of standards of work. To further guarantee the enforcement of union conditions, the program includes the demand of a sanitary union label:

7) That an appropriate label shall be adopted by the union to designate that garments carrying the same have been manufactured under proper and sanitary working conditions, and such labels shall be attached to each garment produced by union employes.

To make effective the limitation of contractors there was a twin demand for a guaranteed period of employment, and a system of unemployment insurance:

8) All workers employed in the industry shall be guaranteed a specific number of full weeks' employment during the year or payment of their established wages for such a period. Such guarantee shall be secured by a deposit of an adequate sum of money or collateral weekly by the employer, to be accounted for at the end of the guaranteed period, and paid over to the workers, or returned to the employer, as the case may be.

9) Since the number of weeks thus guaranteed will not cover the full year, and will not apply to all workers in the industry, so that there will always remain a large number of workers who will be out of employment for a large portion of the year owing to the seasonal character of the industry, it was proposed that a system of unemployment insurance be established in the industry under the proper regulations and supervision and by contributions on the part of employers and workers.

As a measure of stabilization and shortening of periods of unemployment, as well as on the grounds of humanitarianism, efficiency and progress, the union requested

10) A reduction of the hours of labor from a five-and-a-half-day 44 hour week to a five-day 40 hour week.

The eleventh demand was concerned with wages and stated that

11) Since the minimum rates of wages set forth in the existing agreements do not correspond to the wages actually earned by the workers in the great majority of cases and are

totally inadequate, as such minima, the Union requests adequate increases in such minimum rates.

Finally, there was a provision for adequate enforcement machinery:

12) Proper machinery should be established to detect any violations of the agreement between the Union and the employers by means of examination of the employers' books and records and by other methods and suitable penalties provided for such violations.

To which had been added two demands:

- 13) Recognition and employment of union examiners.
- 14) Recognition and employment of union designers.

Provisions of this Program Which Had Been Carried Into Effect at Time
Of Eighteenth Convention

At the time of the last convention, several of the points in the program above-mentioned had been carried into effect. It will be recalled that the employers' groups in 1924 refused absolutely to consider this program and that a strike was apparently inevitable. On June 13, 1924, at the initiative of Governor Alfred E. Smith, a commission was appointed to study the situation and make recommendations, in an effort to bring about needed reforms without precipitating a struggle. This commission consisted of Judge Bernard L. Shientag, then State Industrial Commissioner, Professor Lindsay Rogers of Columbia University, George Gordon Battle, a prominent attorney, and Colonel Herbert Lehman and Arthur D. Wolf, bankers. Its recommendations rendered on June 27, together with supplementary recommendations made July 17, 1924, and given in full in our last report, covered the following points of our program:

Limitation of contractors:

1) The Commission granted demand No. 2 providing for a minimum of fourteen operators in the shop.

2) It provided that all garments were to be produced in union shops only, and that garments purchased in the open market must be purchased from firms under contractual relations with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, after due inquiry from the Union.

3) It granted demand No. 6 providing for a contribution of the jobbers to the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

4) On the main question of limitation, the Commission was "in full sympathy" with the aims of the demands but did not feel ready to recommend them in the form submitted. It suggested instead a thorough investigation of this by experts, jointly paid, whose report was to be ready by January 25, 1925. (Points 1, 2 and 3).

5) On point 5, the guarantee of wages, the Commission recommended "that each jobber shall be responsible to the members of the union for the payment of their wages for work done by them on garments made by employer for such jobber, provided that such liability shall be limited to a full week's wages in every instance. We do not recommend that the jobbers' association as such guarantee the payment of such wages."

Union label:

6) On point No. 7 of our demands, the Commission recommended in its place a sanitary label to be administered by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and furnished at cost to manufacturers, only to shops under contractual relations with the Union and with the consent of the Union.

Unemployment insurance:

7) The recommendation that a Joint Unemployment Insurance Fund be established by contributions from manufacturers, sub-manufacturers and contractors and union members on the basis that the employers contribute 2 per cent of weekly payroll and workers 1 per cent of weekly wages, such fund to be administered jointly.

Reduction of hours:

8) The request for the reduction of hours (point 10) was not acted upon at that time.

Impartial machinery:

9) The Commission made the recommendation for the creation of an impartial machinery to adjust disputes between four factors in the industry. This was the first time in the history of the market that all agreements were to be placed under one impartial machinery and thus made in reality an all-embracing agreement.

The supplemental recommendations dealt with the supplementary demands of the union for the employment of union designers and examiners. The Commission did not feel justified at that time in granting these demands.

It will thus be seen that substantial gains were made by these recommendations (a) in the recognition of the jobber-

sub-manufacturer evil, the main problem of the industry, and the provision to make a thorough investigation of it with a view to the limitation of sub-manufacturers; (b) in the creation of the sanitary label; (c) in the creation of the unemployment insurance fund; (d) in the fourteen machine provision; (e) in the creation of the impartial machinery for the entire industry. The demands of the forty-hour week, of the time guarantee of employment, of recognition of designers and examiners were postponed for future time.

As is known, the negotiations with the employers' groups proceeded during this entire time, from June 13 to July 17, 1924. When the jobbers rejected the findings of the Commission, the Union immediately made ready for a strike, which was rendered unnecessary by a last minute reversal of front by the jobbers. As part of the plan to enforce these recommendations which became part of the new agreement, a general reorganization stoppage was called in the entire cloak trade of New York City on July 8, 1924, which lasted four weeks ending on August 11, although an organization drive, including many shop strikes, was carried on for an additional six weeks.

Subsequently, an impartial chairman for the whole cloak industry was agreed upon in the person of Mr. Raymond V. Ingersoll, a public spirited attorney of New York City. The Commission organized the Unemployment Insurance Fund and one of its members, Arthur D. Wolf, now deceased, was selected as chairman of the Board of Trustees. A staff was engaged and the fund began operations. A sanitary label division was formed and attached to the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, with Dr. Henry Moskowitz as director, and a Label and Unemployment Insurance office, under the management of Charles Jacobson was established in the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dress Unions. At the time of the eighteenth convention, the investigators appointed by the Commission had also made their first report which, as pointed out already, substantiated all the contentions of the Union with regard to the existing evils in the industry.

As the time for expiration of this agreement drew near, in April, 1925, the Union submitted its list of demands which included all of those mentioned above not specifically granted by the Commission, with the additional demand that all em-

ployers were to use union-made embroideries, buttons and other trimmings. After prolonged hearings before the Commission, it finally, after ten weeks, declared that it was not yet ready to pass on the main points of our program, and suggested the renewal of the agreement for another year, providing, in the meanwhile, for the organization of a Research Bureau to investigate conditions in the industry. As reported to the delegates of the last convention, on the recommendation of the Joint Board, a referendum was taken to decide about the renewal of the agreement, with the stipulation that the final recommendations be issued not later than May 15, 1926. This referendum showed 10,338 for renewal and 3,781 against it. Subsequently the Research Bureau was created and began its work in August, 1925, under the direction of Professor Lindsay Rogers, a member of the Commission, who was assisted by Morris Kolchin, a statistician who was in charge of the previous investigation.

This, then, was how the industrial situation stood at the calling of the last convention of our Union in Philadelphia during November and December, 1925. It will be recalled that this² convention was held in December 1925, instead of May, 1926, as a result of the situation brought about by the Communist attacks on our New York organization, specifically through their Joint Action Committee, which resulted in the internal crisis fully described in our last report, and ending in what has since proved to be a most disastrous and futile move—the “peace pact” of September, 1925. It has since come to light that this peace pact with the Communists was espoused by persons who had selfish, personal interests, rather than the interests of the union, at heart. These individuals, formerly connected with our Union, but at the time having no trade union affiliations, used the friendships built up during their period of office to stimulate and encourage a “peace movement” at the very time when the Communist element was, without a doubt, soundly defeated. The result of the fatal “peace” was that the Communists were given power to bring about a general cloak strike that nearly destroyed our organization. These same individuals, despite the tragic results of their misguided efforts in 1925, did not hesitate later to aid the deposed Communists in their various abortive “peace” manoeuvres in 1927 and 1928.

Before we return to the discussion of the industrial program at the Philadelphia convention, it is necessary to record that the general officers of the International in 1925 had taken the peace movement at its face value, and were convinced that the Communists within our Union had changed their tactics with the signing of that pact. It was because of a sincere and thoroughgoing desire for peace and cooperation that they went even as far as not to challenge the right to be seated as delegates to the Philadelphia convention of such notorious characters and union-wreckers as M. Rubln and Elias Marks. The seating of these delegates had a most demoralizing effect on the union and set a very unwholesome precedent. Without a doubt, our organization and its general officers committed, in their earnest desire to bring about peace, a grave error, the results of which will be seen in the account of events during the convention and after it.

**Recommendations of the General Executive Board to the
Eighteenth Convention**

After setting forth fully the facts above-mentioned in its report, the General Executive Board proceeded to survey the industrial situation of the time. On the whole, there was little to add to the analysis which had been the basis for the 1923 recommendations of the G. E. B., with the exception of the following facts: (a) the complete disappearance of the suit trade, which had been one of the mainstays of the cloak season, had increased unemployment; (b) the growing simplification of styles and the resulting economy both in the amount of labor and skill; (c) the steady growth of the dress trade as a substitute for the suit trade; (d) the growth of the auxiliary shop for work formerly done on the premises, such as embroidery, piping, hemstitching and tucking; (e) the increasing growth of the jobber-sub-manufacturer system.

All these factors had made the chaos, misery and unemployment in the industry more marked than ever, and the report of the investigators of the Governor's Commission confirmed the growth of economic maladjustment. The original program of the Union, however, covered all of these points.

The General Executive Board rejected emphatically the remedies which the employers had for these problems, i. e. the restoration of piece-work and the introduction of measured production. The Board proved conclusively that sub-manufac-

turing and the jobber system had existed in 1919, and before, prior to the introduction of week-work, and existed in an even worse form in the dress industry where piece work still prevails. It also pointed out the fact that measured production was impossible of introduction into so stylized, so changing and so unstandardized an industry as the cloak industry of New York.

The two main demands the G. E. B. set forth still were:

- (a) The demand for the limitation of the number of steady contractors or sub-manufacturers for jobbers, with the provisions for equal distribution of work.
- (b) The twin demand for a guaranteed period of employment as an effective means of supplementing the limitation of contractors' provision.

The other demands, for the forty-hour week, for recognition of designers and examiners, for the use of union-made auxiliary products were also re-emphasized. On the question of minimum scales, the report to the eighteenth convention confirmed the statement of the General Executive Board at the seventeenth convention in Boston and pointed out two defects in the past method of determining minimum scales and of protecting the wages of workers under the present week-work system.

In the past, minimum scales had been too low, considering the period of employment in the industry, to meet adequately the needs of any standard of living. Actual weekly wages were much higher. Under the system in vogue, the Union protected above the minimum scales after once they were agreed to by the employer, but if the worker should be thrown out of work, it could protect him in his new position only at the minimum scale, leaving any further concession to individual bargaining. With the development of sub-manufacturing, the high turnover of shops and consequently of workers, had forced many workers unwillingly into competition against their fellow union-men, who if they remained at their employment and got higher scales were still protected by the Union. This furnished an incentive for the inside manufacturer to turn to jobbing as a means of escaping the necessity of paying above-the-scale wages.

In order to meet this defect, the report of the General Executive Board recommended to the Philadelphia convention one of two alternatives:

- (1) The raising of the minimum scales, basing them scientifically upon the minimum budget of a worker's family, leaving above-scale bargaining to the individuals in all cases, or else
- (2) The establishment of machinery which would control and regulate the earnings of above the minimum workers in the shops—both old workers and newcomers—on the basis of their ability in a given line, thus avoiding competition between worker and worker and between shop and shop.

Decisions of Convention on Program For Cloak Industry

The Committee on Officers' Reports of the eighteenth convention proposed the acceptance of the General Executive Board recommendations, and this was carried.

In the course of the discussion of this report, the so-called program of the Communist wing, embodied in Resolution No. 33, came up as a counter-proposal. This resolution contained no new program for the industry, merely reiterating the outstanding points of the 1923 program of the General Executive Board with the following exceptions:

- (1) Its preamble contained sweeping and extravagant condemnation of what it chose to call the "class-collaboration" policies of the General Executive Board, particularly in submitting the demands to the Governor's Commission.
- (2) It asked that the unemployment insurance fund be wholly supported by the employers.
- (3) It demanded the elimination of the provision in the collective agreement with the employers that no strikes or lockouts were to be called during the period of agreement.

This resolution embodying the Communist program demanded that the workers be not denied the right to strike under collective agreements with employers' associations. At the same time, the discussion of the resolution had made clear the fact that they wished to retain the impartial machinery and use it after such strikes had been called. Such an arrangement would be obviously contradictory to the principle of collective bargaining. Moreover, it is a known fact that the right to strike at any time carries with it the right of the employers to declare a lockout at any time, a privilege which is forbidden the employers under the present collective arrangement.

The resolution as submitted by the Communists could not be acceptable to the delegates as both its intent and effect would be to lay down an inconsistent policy for the Interna-

tional. Both the leaders of our International and the majority of the delegates could not subscribe to a policy which was in contradiction to the entire policy of collective bargaining followed by the American labor movement and by the International since its existence.

The introducers of this resolution were at that time in control of the offices of the New York Joint Board. The International felt that these men did not truly represent the sentiment of the workers of the New York locals. Rather than accept such an absurd, contradictory blanket resolution for the future for the entire industry, a substitute resolution was offered, which aimed to force these Communist leaders to submit the question to the membership of their locals before negotiations were started. In this substitute resolution, it was provided that when the time comes to negotiate agreements, the points in controversy should be a matter for the New York Joint Board and its affiliated locals to decide for themselves. This would give the membership an opportunity to show, at the time, whether it was in sympathy with Communist "policies," or whether it chose to follow the established policy of the Union. At the same time, this substitute resolution answered all possible objections that the International was forcing the membership of these locals against their will to submit to a course of action they did not favor.

This substitute was accepted by the introducers of the first resolution and was adopted by the convention. It will be seen subsequently that it was sidetracked and ignored by the Communists.

Within the limits of the constitution, therefore, the New York cloak situation was left for final decision in the hands of the New York Joint Board and its affiliated locals.

Other recommendations, affecting the New York cloak situation, brought in by delegates and adopted by the convention, were:

- (1) The adoption of the forty-hour five-day week as the outstanding issue in organization campaigns.
- (2) The endorsement of the principle of week work and of a campaign of education to popularize the same.
- (3) The endorsement of the principle of a uniform scale of wages to the extent of an equalization of the scales of all crafts of the workers.

(4) The endorsement of the principle of unified expiration of agreements, with the recommendation to the General Executive Board to make every effort to that end.

(5) The endorsement of a guarantee of wage payment clause in all agreements.

(6) The recommendation to the General Executive Board that examiners be included in future agreements.

(7) The endorsement of a resolution with regard to the introduction of machinery, providing that it shall be done in such a way and at such a rate as to permit the adjustment of workers to new conditions, and would assure the workers a share in the benefits accruing from the introduction of such machinery.

Another important decision, affecting the New York situation, especially in view of the substitute for Resolution No. 33 mentioned above, giving the Joint Board and its locals full power, was the re-apportionment of representation in the New York Joint Board on the basis of a modified representation basis as follows:

Locals up to 250.....	1 delegate
Locals of 500 or a major portion thereof.....	2 delegates
Locals of 1,000 or a major portion thereof.....	3 delegates
One for each additional thousand or major portion thereof with a limit of	8 delegates

This change gave the larger locals, four of whom were then under Communist control, greater power in the Joint Board.

PART II

DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1925 CONVENTION LEADING UP TO CLOAKMAKERS' STRIKE

Resumption of Hearings Before Governor's Commission in March 1926

The convention ended in the middle of December, 1925. The new General Executive Board consisting of the President General Secretary-Treasurer and Vice-Presidents Ninfo, Antonini, Halperin, Hochman, Greenberg, Gingold, Reisberg, Kreindler, Amdur, Dubinsky, Godes, Mollie Friedman, Hyman, Portnoy and Boruchowitz, met for the first time on January 5, 1926.

At that time, Louis Hyman, then a member of the G. E. B.

and General Manager of the New York Joint Board, suggested that it "would be wise to take the manufacturers by surprise," and to strike in the middle of the season instead of waiting for the expiration of the agreement. He admitted this would be "risky," but felt it should be done, "first, because it will imbue the members with a feeling that the Union can do something for them and thus overcome their present indifference; second, it would establish the prestige of the Union with the employers." For this plan Hyman suggested it was necessary that the Union first "have a decision from the Governor's Commission which would be favorable to the Union and which the jobbers would not accept." He felt that such a strike would last only two or three weeks, and would result in victory provided a fund of \$300,000 could be raised in assessments.

President Sigman, for the majority of the G. E. B., pointed out serious obstacles to the calling of a strike in mid-season, from the point of view of internal morale, the breakdown of the first good season for some time, the lack of funds, etc. He suggested instead that the spirit of the membership be raised by intensified activity in the organization of non-union shops, and by the improvement of conditions in the union shops, pointing to the success of a similar program in 1916. He pointed out the danger of violating the agreement on the pretext that we cannot revive the spirit of the cloakmakers in any other way.

He also added that though he thought this step on the part of the administration of the Joint Board would be a dangerous one, should it prevail, the General Executive Board would support the Joint Board. No further reference to the plan was made.

Discussion of New Issues
Before the Governor's Commission

Shortly thereafter, on February 9, notice was received of the resumption of hearings before the Governor's Commission on the unsettled issues to take place on March 6, 7 and 8, 1926. This letter contained an invitation to bring up the issue of new subjects by any of the parties if so desired. It read as follows:

February 9, 1926.

"Dear Mr. Hillquit:

As you know, a number of important and difficult problems in the cloak and suit industry are still pending before the Governor's Commission.

While rather extensive hearings on these problems have already been held, the Commission wishes to have further advice and enlightenment from the parties in interest.

For this purpose it is planned to hold hearings on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, March 7, 8 and 9.

It is intended to give the full afternoon of Saturday to matters relating to effective management and especially to the question of shop reorganization. All day Sunday will be set aside for consideration of the feasibility of establishing guaranteed periods of employment, and the proposed special registration of sub-manufacturers. On Monday, the remaining subjects, such as wage scales, unionization of examiners and minimum production costs for the sub-manufacturers will be taken up.

In case any of the parties wish to bring up new subjects, the Commission should be informed as far in advance of the hearing as possible.

Faithfully yours,

(signed) GEO. GORDON BATTLE."

In sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Hyman, President Sigman, in his letter of February 13, 1926, suggested that "in view of the fact that the last paragraph of the letter opens the way for the presentation of new demands . . .," a meeting of the managers of the locals and of the Board of Directors of the Joint Board be called to discuss the matter. In a subsequent letter of February 16, 1926, he outlined the demands of the Union as follows:

February 16, 1926.

"Mr. Louis Hyman, General Manager,
New York Joint Board,
Dear Brother Hyman:

In my opinion the enclosed list of demands is the one which should be considered at the meeting of the Board of Directors in preparation for the presentation of our case before the Governor's Commission.

"I. Proposals of the Union pending before the Commission.

- (a) Guaranteed time period of employment.
- (b) Limitation of contractors.

(c) Increase in wages and in minimum scales.

(d) Recognition of examiners.

II. Proposals of the Union that were set aside by the Commission and which are to be re-proposed by the Union.

(a) A forty-hour, five-day week.

(b) Recognition of designers.

III. New demands to be presented by the Union.

(a) The establishment of a Labor Bureau to be controlled and directed by the Union.

(b) Equalization of scales for finishers.

(c) Equalization of scales for samplemakers and piece tailors.

(d) Protection of the wages over the minimum for each individual worker when changing from one shop to another."

At the special session of the Board of Directors and local managers of the New York Joint Board, and prior to that time, President Sigman stated that since the administration of the Joint Board was then, as before, against the submission of the case to the Commission, they now had an opportunity to refuse to appear at its coming hearings. It will be remembered that the preamble of Resolution No. 33 prepared by the then leaders of the Joint Board condemned the General Executive Board for submitting the demands to the Governor's Commission. In fact, in the discussion of the resolution at the convention, Delegate Zimmerman stated very emphatically:

"We are opposed to arbitration as a weapon. Our weapon is the general strike. Your weapon is arbitration as was proved by the fact that you submitted the demands to the Governor's Commission before you called the workers out on strike. We want the future policy to be that when the workers decide by referendum to go out on strike, they first be called out on strike, and then, after four or five weeks when the time comes that we cannot strike any longer and we must find a way out of it and the proposition of arbitration is made we should accept it. We are not opposed under all circumstances to arbitration."

Nevertheless, according to the official report of the Joint Board, at that meeting on February 19, "Hyman expressed his opinion that it would not be advisable to sever our relations with the Commission and that the Union should appear before it and argue its demands."

Another interesting feature of this decision of the Joint Board leadership was that though it had the opportunity to present new demands at this time—perhaps embodying those demands which formed the basis of attack in the recommendations of the General Executive Board in Resolution No. 33—such new demands were not even discussed and they decided 'that the Union should reiterate the demands which it formulated when the Commission began to function.' In other words, this meeting approved the original program outlined by the General Executive Board in 1923.

Final Demands and Discussion of Same Before Governor's Commission

The four main demands of the Union in March, 1926, therefore, were:

- (1) Limitation of sub-manufacturers. The designation of a number of steady sub-manufacturers by each jobber with definite obligations on the part of the jobber toward such steady sub-manufacturers including the obligation to furnish them with work to enable them to give their workers a minimum period of employment.
- (2) A minimum guaranteed period of employment of 32 weeks for all workers in the inside shops and in the sub-manufacturing establishments.
- (3) An increase in the minimum scale of wages.
- (4) A reduction of working hours from 44 to 40.
- (5) Inclusion of examiners and designers in the agreement.

At these hearings the inside manufacturers, represented by the Industrial Council, reiterated their old demand for the complete right of reorganization at given periods. They flatly opposed all union demands. The jobbers' association through their attorney, Mr. Samuel Blumberg, argued for the rejection of the Union's demands, again disclaimed that they were manufacturers, and offered no suggestions for dealing with the ills of the industry.

The sub-manufacturers, represented in the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, offered some suggestions for standardizing conditions in the industry, such as the establishment of a Joint Board of Non-Union Control, the concentration of production and distribution of work amongst such employers only as belong to their organization, and the regulation of newcomers in the industry.

In their presentation of the Union's case, Morris Hillquit, as counsel, President Sigman, and the then general manager Hyman emphasized the role of the jobbers again, pointed out the dangers and futility of the reorganization demand of the inside manufacturers, and showed that week-work was not the cause of the growth of the jobber-sub-manufacturer system. The issue of the recognition of examiners and designers was not discussed at these hearings.

Commission's Research Bureau Issues Report on Wages and Unemployment

On March 26, 1926, the Bureau of Research made public its report to the Governor's Advisory Commission on Wages and Unemployment for 1925. We quote herewith the letter of transmittal to the Commission signed by Dr. Lindsay Rogers, Director of the Bureau:

March 15, 1926.

"The Governor's Advisory Commission,
Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry,
New York City.
Gentlemen:

The attached report on 'employment and Earnings of Workers, 1925' gives for an additional year data similar to that contained in the Report of the Special Investigation. It deals with seasonal fluctuations in employment and earnings of workers; the average weekly hours and earnings of workers when employed, and the extent of employment in the Cloak and Suit Industry in 'sub-manufacturing,' 'inside,' and 'independent' shops.

The nature of the material used, and the scope of the study are adequately explained in the text. Here it is only necessary to emphasize three points, but they are, I think, of considerable importance:

(1) This study must be read in connection with the memorandum on 'Wages and Wage Scales in 1925,' or, more exactly, the latter study must not be read in connection with the present one on unemployment. The principal problem in the Cloak and Suit Industry, that is to say, is unemployment rather than wage scales, and the information given in the following pages as to the extent of unemployment should be taken as a continuous qualification of the statements made in the other study concerning the earnings of workers when they work. The problem is that the workers do not work during considerable periods of the year; for

(2) It appears from the following study that the unemployment was greater in 1925 than in the previous period. Whereas, according to the Report of the Special Investigation,

the average number of full weeks of employment per year was 40 for the inside shops and 31½ for the sub-manufacturing shops, these figures for 1925 are 37.4 and 26.8 respectively. This decrease in employment has, of course, affected the average annual earnings of the workers. In the sub-manufacturing shops in 1924 the average annual earnings were \$1,675; in 1925 they are only \$1,375. In the inside shops the average annual earnings have decreased from \$2,016 to \$1,874. These are startling decreases, but, as the study suggests, every industry is subject to cyclical as well as seasonal fluctuations, and it is difficult to assign definite reasons for variations in employment and earnings. It may be said definitely, however, that the problem of unemployment in the Cloak and Suit Industry has assuredly not lessened and has probably increased since the Governor's Advisory Commission began its investigations. That problem is of a special character, for

(3) The present study shows again and unmistakably, that the most serious difficulties in the Cloak and Suit Industry are in the outside system of production. Workers in the inside shops still have the advantage of considerably more employment and average annual earnings (as shown in the Report last year) than do workers in sub-manufacturing shops. Nor is this all. The data used in the present study was divided for three groups of shops—that is, Industrial Council (inside), American Association (submanufacturing), and Independent (sub-manufacturing and inside shops). It will be seen that the Independent shops gave their workers average annual earnings of \$1,750 as against \$1,874 for the Industrial Council and \$1,375 for the American Association. These Independent shops, as I have said, do inside as well as sub-manufacturing, and the fact that in the tabulations they approach rather closely the standard set by the Industrial Council shops corroborates the belief that the major and crucial problem of the industry is that caused by the outside system of production.

In 1924 the inside shops gave 25% more employment than the outside shops; in 1925 they gave 38%. This disparity, I suggest, is of great, even startling significance. Workers in inside shops would doubtless prefer not to be idle 15 weeks a year, but the fact is that workers in the jobbing-sub-manufacturing system suffer vastly greater (and apparently increasing) periods of unemployment.

Yours very truly,

(Signed)

LINDSAY ROGERS.

This report, it will be seen, confirms the statement made in 1923 by the General Executive Board that the most serious difficulties in the cloak and suit industry are in the jobber-sub-manufacturing system of production.

The dispute Over the Trusteeship of the Special Strike Fund

In January of 1926 a special assessment of \$20 was levied on the membership of the Joint Board, after having been submitted to a referendum vote. On March 19, a dispute arose over the trusteeship of the Special Strike Fund created by the assessment which gave forewarning of the attitude of the Communist administration of the Joint Board. Immediately after the assessment was approved by the locals, the Joint Board decided to create a Special Board of Trustees, consisting of seven members, to administer the fund. On February 26, 1926, seven trustees were appointed: They were Louis Hyman, then Manager of the Joint Board and a member of Local No. 9, Joseph Fish, then Secretary-Treasurer of the Joint Board and a member of Local No. 10, I. Steinzor, Chairman of the Joint Board and a member of Local No. 2, Julius Portnoy of Local No. 22, J. Goretzky of Local No. 35, S. Ninfo of Local No. 48 and L. Antonini of Local No. 89. It will be seen from this list that the seven representatives were from the seven large locals of the thirteen locals constituting the Joint Board, and that they included representatives of Locals No. 10, 48 and 89, which locals were not in sympathy with the Communist leadership of the Joint Board. A majority of four were Communists or under Communist control. At the meeting of the Joint Board on March 19, a recommendation of the Board of Directors was brought in to the effect that the signatures of only four trustees should be necessary for the withdrawal of monies from the fund. The intent and effect of this recommendation which was accepted by the Communist-controlled Joint Board, were obviously to concentrate control of strike funds in the hands of the four Communist officials. Subsequently, Trustees Ninfo and Antonini resigned their posts, and Local No. 10 sent in a protest against the modification as a violation of the original decision requiring the signatures of all seven trustees.

Recommendations of the General Executive Board to the Joint Board

When the General Executive Board went into a quarterly session on April 26, 1926, it had been expected that the final recommendations of the Governor's Commission would have been made. In the absence of such a final report, President Sigman called on the then General Manager Hyman to summarize his report made at a previous session regarding the New York situation. In answer to an objection by Vice-

President Ninfo that this matter had been referred wholly to the New York Joint Board, President Sigman replied that it would seem to him a neglect of duty by the General Executive Board not to concern itself with the situation. Previously Hyman had merely reported to the General Executive Board—

1. That \$250,000 had been collected on the assessment and that another \$150,000 was expected, and

2. That it was inadvisable to await a decision of the Commission "because if it is unfavorable and we want to prepare for a strike, it will take a few weeks before we place the matter before our members and get the machinery ready, and we cannot call a strike in July before the season begins."

President Sigman then outlined the situation as he saw it; he predicted, judging from the jobbers' publicity, a rejection of the Governor's Commission's recommendations by the jobbers. He, therefore, suggested:

1. That the Union defer its answer to the final recommendations of the Commission so that rejection would come first from the jobbers and second from the inside manufacturers.

2. A request that the Commission fix a limited time within which answers should be made so that the matter would not be unduly delayed.

3. An interpretation from the Commission on the date of expiration of the agreement, which was in dispute.

4. A program by the Union for the prevention of stocking up by the employers.

5. The organization of strike machinery immediately even though it might not be utilized.

6. The collection of complete information as to the capacity of each jobber, union and non-union, the number of workers he might need for his product and the number of shops he would need to operate in case of settlement.

7. Each of the departments of the general strike committee to have at least two heads; and in the formation of committees and subdivisions the factional disputes and political appointments be avoided, giving preference rather to ability, experience and efficiency of each individual.

8. The necessity of submitting a strike decision to a secret ballot referendum of the membership so as to obviate the charge that the leadership imposed a strike against the will of the membership.

In the name of the General Executive Board, President Sigman reaffirmed its readiness fully to support the Joint Board.

Governor's Commission Issues Final Report

On May 20, 1926, the Governor's Advisory Commission issued its final report and recommendations which are herewith included as part of this report:

Final Recommendations of the Governor's Advisory Commission in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry, New York City

May 20, 1926.

The Governor's Advisory Commission in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry of New York City was appointed by Governor Alfred E. Smith on June 16, 1924. Contracts between the various parties had expired on June 1; the inside manufacturers had disbanded their Industrial Department; the Union had presented a series of demands which the jobbers and manufacturers refused to accept, and the industry seemed to be threatened with disruption. Governor Smith was asked to intervene, and to appoint a Commission to assist the parties in reaching an amicable adjustment of the differences between them.

The Commission was appointed in June, and in July, after extended hearings, made certain preliminary recommendations and promised an inquiry by experts into certain of the more complicated questions in dispute. Contracts were then negotiated with the Commission's approval, and were signed by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the three associations—The Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association (representing the jobbers or stock houses); the Industrial Council of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association (representing the inside shops); and the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association (representing the sub-manufacturers). These collective agreements, with their enforcement guaranteed by the Associations, promised a measure of law and order, and an impartial machinery was set up to settle disputes which might arise between the organizations.

The investigation which the Commission promised was proceeded with, and its Report was published in the spring of 1925.* Neither the adequacy nor the accuracy of this Report was challenged. Extended hearings were held upon the findings of the Report with respect to the complicated relations in the industry and upon new requests by the parties in interest for remedial recommendations by the Commission. Counsel filed elaborate briefs which carefully and ably set forth the views and contentions of the respective parties. Much light was thrown on the organization of the industry and the various matters in controversy.

After careful deliberation, the Commission decided in June, 1925, to confine itself to certain "ad interim" recommendations. In spite of the elaborate nature of the Report of the Special Investigation, the voluminous stenographic record of the hearings, and the briefs of counsel, the Commission still felt that it desired to consider further and to have more discussion of certain of the problems confronting the industry—particularly those problems connected with the outside system of production. The Commission, therefore, recommended the renewal of the contracts for one year with certain modifications in respect to the payment of unemployment insurance and several changes in the dealings between jobbers and submanufacturers—the institution of net yardage and the abolition of discounts. The Commission recommended the establishment of a Bureau of Research and various reports published under its auspices* have thrown additional light on conditions in the industry.

The collective agreements are now about to expire and new ones must be negotiated. After a study of the industry which has covered two years, the Commission thinks that it is in a position to speak with some authority on certain of the existing evils as they appear to an impartial body, and to recommend suitable reforms. In what the Commission is about to say, no attempt will be made to formulate recommendations that will be complete in their details or to draft clauses to be incorporated into contracts between the parties in interest. The Commission will analyze and express its opinion on the general situation and will make recommendations showing the manner in which the Commission thinks that the situation may be improved.

Past Achievements

The Cloak and Suit Industry is one of the greatest in the State. The yearly value of the product in the Metropolitan district is more than a third of a billion dollars, and constitutes about four-fifths of the national output. In this metropolitan area more than 35,000 workers and 2,000 firms and corporations are engaged in the process of production.

The fundamental problems in the industry are extremely difficult and complicated. Undoubtedly, however, hope for the future may be found in the substantial achievements of the past.

A generation ago this was a sweat-shop industry, characterized by the home labor of women and children, by unregulated hours, and by absence of sanitary standards, with an almost total lack of organization, and with abuses too numerous to be described. The building up of cohesive forces and institutions was most sorely needed and in a real measure it has been achieved.

At the present time about ninety per cent of the workers are organized in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The Industrial Council (the inside manufacturers) has 184 members, representing more than 70 per cent of the inside production.

The Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association has 127 members, representing fully 75 per cent of the business handled by jobbers.

The American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association has 847 members, representing more than 70 per cent of the business of submanufacturers.

All these organizations have been operating under collective agreements providing for the amicable adjustment of disputes. They have built up for this purpose an effective machinery, which for the past two years has been headed by a full-time Impartial Chairman with final authority for the settlement of disputes arising under the collective agreements. One indication that this machinery has been working well is the fact that of thousands of complaints arising in the various shops in the course of a year, more than ninety-five per cent have been adjusted by the clerks and managers. Only the more difficult disputes have gone up to the Impartial Chairman, and in these cases the decisions have been accepted. In the meantime work in the shops affected has gone on without serious interruption.

As far back as 1910, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control was created. This Board, as its name indicates, is managed and financed by cooperation of all the organized factors in the industry. It has done pioneer work in elevating the sanitary standards of the industry and in promoting the health of the workers. Its methods of inspection and of research, and its efforts to prevent accidents and disease have served as models in this country and elsewhere. To the credit of the different factors in the industry be it said that, although the past fifteen years have been marked by dissensions which at times reached the point of industrial warfare, they never lost interest in the work of this Board, but continued it without interruption under able impartial management and with increased facilities and greater opportunities for usefulness to the entire industry.

As has been said, the Governor's Advisory Commission has recommended various constructive measures which have been adopted by the parties. These included the abolition of fictitious discounts and other causes of friction existing between the jobbers and submanufacturers; the adoption of a sanitary label; the securing of a permanent impartial Chairman, and the establishment of an Unemployment Insurance Fund supported by workers and employers, which has already collected more than two million dollars. Surely, an industry that has grappled with so many problems and adopted so many important constructive measures may be expected to deal wisely with some of the difficulties which remain unsolved.

With the cooperation of all parties, this commission arranged for a study by experts of some of the more difficult problems in the industry. Their investigation and their Report were of a thorough and scientific character, throwing much light upon the situation. Last fall, at the suggestion of the Commission, a permanent Bureau of Research was established. This Bureau, in addition to other valuable services, has brought the material of the Special Investigation down to date. The Commission's present analysis of conditions is based upon the reports of the investigation and of the Bureau of Research, as well as upon the voluminous testimony given by representatives of the four organizations and upon the arguments and briefs of their counsel.

Growth of the Jobbing-Submanufacturing System

Owing to the style factor and to the multiplicity of producing units, the industry is of an intensely competitive and highly variable character. These characteristics during recent years have become more and more emphasized. Fashions in fabrics, colors and design have grown more diversified. Various factors have combined to make the ultimate purchasers of women's garments throughout the country much more sensitive than formerly to current style changes. This fact, together with other factors such as the higher value of materials and trimming, has revolutionized the methods of the retailers. Where formerly a large proportion of orders were placed by retailers in advance, now they hold back till the last moment both for the purpose of tying up less of their capital and in order to be sure of getting only such materials and styles as have established their popularity in the current season.

The effect of these tendencies has been to throw back upon an unregulated manufacturing market an enormous pressure for intense short season production, followed by months of stagnation. This unhealthy alternation of busy and idle seasons has been greatly accentuated by a structural change which has taken place during the past ten years in the system of production.

A decade ago the industry had risen out of the old sweat-shop conditions in which much of the actual work had been done in tenement-house homes. Manufacturing had become concentrated in large "inside" shops under employers who were directly responsible both for manufacturing and for marketing the product. Since that time, however, there has been a gradual displacement of inside manufacturers by so-called jobbers. This has progressed to such a point that about three-fourths of the production now flows through the new jobbing-manufacturing system.

This system has grown up partly as a device to escape labor responsibilities and partly as an adaptation to the newer methods of retail buying.

An inside manufacturer creates styles, employs a permanent complement of workers, and seeks, so far as possible, to get advance order from the retailers, placing his chief emphasis upon quality of production. The jobber in the cloak and suit industry differs from the jobber in other industries. Instead of merely being a wholesale distributor, he is an indirect manufacturer. He purchases his materials and then farms out the production to an elastic and shifting group of small submanufacturers who follow his instructions as to style. His emphasis is on mass production and on selling finished garments from the racks. While, through owning the cloth and through directing the flow of orders into the submanufacturing shops, the jobbers are the real capitalists in this large branch of the manufacturing process; they do not directly employ labor, and consider themselves free from responsibility for labor standards. Incidentally, they have no incentive for lengthening the season, for the manufacturing overhead is carried by the multitude of small submanufacturers, each with a little loft and a few machines.

The submanufacturers, on the other hand, usually have no contact whatever with the retail trade. Their outlet is through the jobbers. They can not create a demand for their production. They have, for the most part, not enough capital to purchase materials. They seek work and materials from the jobbers. In soliciting orders from the jobbers, they compete with each other fiercely. This competition is intensified by another underlying condition. Any one with a few hundred dollars of capital can rent space in a small loft, get together a handful of workers who have been idle during the dull season, and throw himself into the competition for orders from the jobbers. Literally hundreds of such small shops are started, and hundreds are abandoned every year.

Evils of the Jobbing-Submanufacturing System

This outside system of production is fraught with waste to all concerned. Counting all the partners in the submanufacturing shops, there are several thousand men whose energies are mostly spent in going from one jobber to another in search of orders. Their shops are, for the most part, too small for well organized, systematic production methods. Yet in the aggregate they occupy an enormous amount of floor space which is in active use for only about six months out of the year.

The wastes involved in this system are distributed in various ways. Hundreds of these submanufacturing firms each year lose the small capital with which they have started, and often leave their creditors, including workers, in the lurch. The jobbers themselves have been suffering more and more through the cancellation of retail orders, skimping in materials, and disregard of sizes and other specifications. The greatest burden of waste, however, falls upon the workers, through shortened seasons, and through sub-standard conditions of employment. As

will be shown later on, conditions have grown up in this "outside" system of production which explain the growing dissatisfaction of the workers.

The conditions in the two systems of production in the industry—the inside and the outside systems—are entirely different, and it is therefore necessary to consider them separately and to make recommendations suitable to each. Unfortunately, the less stable, less responsible, and industrially less wholesome outside system at present accounts for about three-fourths of the total production.

Here, as has been said, the output is controlled by the jobbers who place the orders and whose capital, especially in the form of materials, is involved in the manufacturing process. The actual work, however, is done in submanufacturing shops, mostly small and of slender resources.

The Commission has heard abundant testimony from all the parties showing the conditions prevailing in these shops. The competition in the market in the securing of orders throws upon them a cruel pressure out of all proportion to their powers of resistance.

Were this pressure felt only by the submanufacturers, the situation would not be so serious, and it might work its own cure through discouraging the perpetual opening up of new shops.

But the fact is that a large proportion of the submanufacturers succeed in shifting the burden on to the workers. The shops being small, there is a comparatively close relation between the firm and the workers. When work is scarce, as it usually is except for a few weeks in each season, the workers are told that in order to meet the exigencies of price competition and to bring some work into the shop, they must enter into secret arrangements contrary to the minimum labor standards which have been agreed upon, and which are pretty successfully enforced in the larger shops of the inside manufacturers.

These concessions by the workers take various forms. They chiefly involve wages, hours, rates of pay for overtime, work on holidays, and the substitution of piece work for pay by the hour. All this is done without the knowledge of the Union officials and is frequently concealed in the books of the firm. Incidentally, it subjects the inside manufacturers to such unfair competition as tends to drive out of legitimate manufacturing into jobbing all except those producing garments of the most exclusive and expensive styles.

This is not all. The tendency has been for the size of these submanufacturing shops steadily to decrease and for their number to increase. The number grows from season to season, in spite of the fact that a great many submanufacturing shops go out of business every year and leave their workers without employment. More than in the inside shops is the work crowded

into short and feverish seasons, with the fluctuations in the extent of employment from month to month proportionately acute. The investigations of the Bureau of Research have shown this condition to be even more pronounced in 1925 than in 1924.

From the records of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, the Bureau Research has made an analysis of wages and periods of work in inside and submanufacturing shops during 1925. It appears that the workers in the submanufacturing shops worked during the year on an average the equivalent of 26.8 full weeks of employment, as against an average for the inside shops of 37.4 full weeks. The average per capita weekly earnings for the year of workers of all crafts in these outside shops was \$26.40, as against \$36.00 for the inside shops, while the average yearly earnings were \$1,374.90, as against \$1,750.

From the industrial point of view this is chaotic and demoralizing. Were it practicable, the workers would be justified in taking the stand that they would work only in inside shops and would refuse to work in outside shops, where they were removed from all direct contact with the owners of the capital involved. The so-called jobbing system of manufacture, however, has become so extensive and so firmly entrenched in the industry that such a stand would be impracticable.

There is no doubt that larger production units and a return, so far as possible, to inside manufacturing would be for the best interest of the industry, and of the consuming public as well. Every reasonable step should be taken that is calculated to stimulate a trend in this direction. We realize, however, that the practices which have developed in the course of a decade can not be changed over night. We are immediately confronted with the evils of the present jobbing-submanufacturing system to which reference has been made and which demand prompt remedy. It would be folly to ignore this because a continuance of the present chaotic conditions in this branch of the industry spells ruin to all those who participate in it.

In determining the relationship between jobber, submanufacturer, and workers we should be concerned not so much with the form as with the substance. By whatever name he may call himself, the jobber controls working conditions; he controls employment, and that element of control imposes upon him the responsibility that he shall so conduct his business that proper working standards may be upheld instead of undermined, and that employment may be stabilized instead of demoralized.

The present method of doing business invites the splitting up of production units to a point which defies any real degree of supervision by the institutions in the industry, and which makes impossible the maintenance of any satisfactory standards of employment.

We appreciate that any remedy that is proposed must be reasonable, practicable, and possible of being carried into effect without a disruption of the industry. Bearing this in mind the

Commission recommends that there be such a structural modification in the existing jobbing-submanufacturing system as would tend to regularize the flow of work into submanufacturing shops, raise the level of competition between submanufacturers, cause closer relations between jobbers and submanufacturers, and stabilize working conditions in the shops.

With this in view, we recommend that the parties adopt a system of limitation of submanufacturers with whom a jobber may do business. At definite intervals every jobber shall, in accordance with a standard to be agreed upon between the parties, select and designate the submanufacturers he needs to handle his production, leaving him the necessary freedom in securing samples and in changing submanufacturers for cause shown; he shall not give work to other submanufacturers when his designated submanufacturers are not busy, and shall adhere, so far as practicable, to a policy of equitable distribution of work among the submanufacturers designated by him. The administration of such a system would, as cases arise, be subject to equitable interpretation through the impartial machinery.

The foregoing recommendations are intended to apply as well to that part of the business of the members of the Industrial Council which is carried on in outside shops.

The scope of this proposal can be better understood if reference is made to some of the facts brought out a year ago by the Special Investigation. It should be remembered that while in this market there are only slightly more than 200 jobbers, they do a yearly business of about \$250,000,000, and have approximately 1200 shops working for them. While there are, on an average, only six submanufacturing shops for each jobber, even the smallest jobber deals with many more. Large jobbers often deal with one hundred or more submanufacturers each. These surprising figures are partly due to a great discursiveness in the purchase of samples. They are further accounted for by the scattering of many small orders, and this would be materially checked under a system of limitation.

The investigation showed that in the case of the jobbers whose records were examined, an average of 86.3 per cent. of the work for each jobber was turned out by an average of 18.5 per cent. of the number of submanufacturers doing work for him during the year. This shows that even at present individual jobbers rely upon a comparatively small number of submanufacturers for the bulk of their output.

The Inside Shops

While the inside shops handle only about one-fourth of the production, their position in the industry is of the highest importance. In the matter of labor conditions they maintain standards which are largely enforced in their case and largely evaded in the outside system of production. In the matter of

making effective institutions such as the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, the impartial machinery for the settlement of current disputes, and the Unemployment Insurance Funds, they do at least their full share.

From the labor point of view the worst problem in connection with the inside shops is their tendency during late years to decrease both in size and in numbers. As has already been pointed out, they are in many cases subject to unfair competition from the jobbing-submanufacturing system which disposes of its garments in the same national retail market.

An index to this situation can be found in the fact, shown by the Special Investigation, that from 1916 to 1924 the number of shops in the Manufacturers' Protective Association (now the Industrial Council) declined from 440 to 188, and their number of workers from 21,604 to 7,438. This means also a decline from 49 workers to 40 in the average size of an inside shop.

That this is a serious matter for the workers is sufficiently shown by figures already cited. In the inside shops sanitary conditions are better. Abuses in the matter of hours and wages are infrequent, and grievances are more quickly reported and adjusted. Rates of pay average higher and, above all else in importance, the number of hours of work during the year averages 38 per cent. greater than in the outside shops.

These facts are fully recognized by the Union, and every individual worker would prefer to be attached to an inside shop. Nothing would more directly benefit the workers than increase in the number and size of the inside shops. With this end in view it seems reasonable that there should be some relaxation in the application of existing regulations in regard to the tenure of employment. Under present conditions these regulations are becoming actually of less and less value to the workers as more and more of them are forced to seek employment in the outside system of production. In that system during the last year 5,700 workers were thrown out of employment by the closing of shops to which they were attached. This is only slightly less than the total number employed in the shops of the Industrial Council, where there were 6,968 workers.

The Commission believes that there is urgent need that great encouragement be given to the inside system of production and to larger production units throughout the industry. Firms will be more willing to increase the number of their workers if they have some assurance that they can make reasonable changes later on in response to the needs of their business.

The Commission recommends, therefore, that in addition to privileges accorded in existing contract, all manufacturing establishments having a regular force of thirty-five or more employees be given the right to reorganize their shops once a year at the beginning of a season, provided that it shall not in any one year cause a total displacement of more than ten per cent.

of the workers in any shop, that workers affected shall have either a week's notice or a week's pay, that there shall be no unfair discrimination, and that any workers displaced shall be through the employment bureau. This right should be accorded only to establishments which are parties to the collective agreements and under the jurisdiction of the impartial machinery.

The Commission wishes to present to the parties in interest six general considerations affecting the industry as a whole:

(1) The Impartial Chairman

In the opinion of the Commission, one of the most important steps taken by the industry was the setting up of the impartial machinery. The selection of Mr. Raymond V. Ingersoll as Impartial Chairman has proved to be most happy, and much of the peace and stability which the industry has enjoyed during the past year and a half has been due to his fairness and ability. In the opinion of the Commission, the Impartial Chairman should become a person of even greater influence and importance. He should be in close touch with all problems affecting the industry, and the Commission feels that much progress will be made if the new contracts extend the jurisdiction of the Impartial Chairman.

The Commission recommends that an accountant be permanently attached to the staff of the Impartial Chairman for the purpose of making, with or without notice or formal complaint, investigations under his direction in any establishment in the industry, in order to see whether the contracts entered into between the parties are being carried out.

(2) Unemployment Insurance

The establishment of an Unemployment Insurance Fund was, in the opinion of the Commission, a great achievement. In a seasonal industry with inevitable periods of unemployment, insurance payments to unemployed workers are highly desirable if, indeed, not absolutely necessary. Two years ago, upon the recommendation of the Commission, the parties to the collective agreements established an Unemployment Insurance Fund, to which workers were to contribute one per cent. of their wages and employers two per cent. of their weekly payrolls. The Commission hopes that the Fund may increase in resources, and that as time goes on, more liberal payments may be made to unemployed workers.

Last summer, after a year's experience and because of the disproportionate demands made upon the Fund by workers in the outside system of production, it was decided to increase contributions of employers in that branch of the industry to an approximate equivalent of three per cent. At the same time it was arranged that jobbers should make these payments directly into the Fund instead of having payments made in the first in-

stance by submanufacturers to be reimbursed later by the jobbers for whom they had done work.

While there seemed to be logic in asking the jobbers to discharge directly their obligations to the Fund, this change in the method of collection has not worked well. This is shown by the fact that since the change was made and down to the present time, jobbers have in the aggregate contributed a considerable less sum to the Fund than have the inside manufacturers, though the volume of their business is much greater.

While in theory the present method of collection may be fairer to the submanufacturers, it must be borne in mind that the Fund exists for the benefit of the workers. The Commission recommends that in the future submanufacturers should make insurance payments directly into the Fund, and at the same rates as are now collected from inside manufacturers, and that the submanufacturers in turn shall bill the jobbers separately at the rates in effect a year ago.

Labor Employment Bureau

We recommend the establishment of an employment office under the direction of the Trustees of the Unemployment Insurance Fund. Placements and replacements should be made through this employment office.

In an industry with distressing periods of unemployment it is particularly desirable that adequate machinery shall be set up to equalize the opportunities of workers and to act as a clearing house for placements and replacements. Such an office, in the opinion of the Commission, would be a benefit to employers and workers alike, and could do much to reduce some of the harmful effects of the present periods of idleness.

(3) Increase in Minimum Wage Scales

An increase in the minimum wage scales was requested by the Union at the time of the appointment of the Commission in 1924. The Commission's supplementary recommendations of July, 10, 1925, proposed "that in the new contracts, the several parties agree to accept a decision on this subject to be rendered by the Commission during the fall. This will be on the understanding that if any increase is then granted, it will go into effect for the spring season." This recommendation was accepted by all parties, but with their acquiescence, the Commission postponed a decision until the present recommendations.

Meanwhile, the Bureau of Research, in accordance with instructions by the Commission, has published a report on "Wages and Wage Scales in 1925," which analyzes in great detail the average wage rates in the industry, the average wages of workers in independent shops, in the shops of the Industrial

Council, and in submanufacturing shops, and the average wage rates of the different crafts. The Bureau of Research has presented to the Commission other information with respect to the relations that the present minimum scales for different crafts bear to each other.

Wage scales are not the principal problem in the cloak and suit industry. The chief difficulties, the fact that the manufacturing units are becoming smaller, and thus less responsible, and the unregulated conditions of the outside system of production. Any consideration of the Union minimum wage scales must take account of the facts, first, that there are many weeks in the year when workers receive no wages, and secondly, that most of the workers are above the scale.

The reports of the Bureau of Research show that in 1925 the average number of full weeks' employment was 37.4 for workers in the inside shops and 26.8 for workers in submanufacturing shops. If workers are at the scale, and have the average number of weeks of employment their annual earnings are distressingly low.

In view of these facts and in view of the data which the Bureau of Research has presented on existing inequalities between the various scales, the Commission feels that the following increases are abundantly justified:

Craft	Present Scale	New Scale
Cloak and Dress Cutters	\$44.00	\$50.00
Sample Makers	36.00	42.00
Jacket, Coat, Reefer and Dress Operators....	50.00	54.00
Piece Tailors	43.00	46.00
Reefer, Jackets and Coat Finishers.....	41.00	44.00
Jacket, Coat and Reefer Finishers' Helpers ..	32.00	36.00
Jacket, Coat, Reefer and Dress Upper Pressers	42.00	47.00
Jacket, Coat, Reefer and Dress Under Pressers	37.50	42.00
Clak Bushelers	25.00	30.00
Bushelmen who also do Pinning, Marking and General Work on Garments	34.00	38.00
Skirt Cutters	39.50	45.00
Skirt Operators	48.00	52.00
Skirt Upper Pressers	38.00	42.00
Skirt Under Pressers	37.00	42.00
Skirt Basters	25.0	28.00
Skirt Basters	25.00	28.00
Drapers	27.50	30.00
Begraders on Skirts	32.00	35.00
Girls Begraders	27.50	30.00

(4) Non-Union Manufacturing

The principle of unionizing in the Cloak and Suit Industry is not challenged. All employers and jobbers have agreed in their contracts with the Union that they will deal only with

Union shops and Union workers, and in Union-made garments. They have agreed, indeed, that they will deal only in garments bearing the labels which are furnished by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, and which certify that the garments have been made under proper conditions.

During the first year of the Commission's existence there were some complaints of non-Union manufacturing, but a fair estimate of its proportion at that time seemed to indicate that it was not a serious factor in breaking down standards. The Report of the Special Investigation estimated that 15 per cent covered principally lower-priced garments. It was really less important than the numerical percentage seemed to indicate. During the past year, however, conditions have admittedly become worse. The percentage of non-Union manufacturing has greatly increased and this has had serious effects. It is highly desirable, as all factors admit, that non-Union manufacturing be reduced and, if possible, entirely eliminated.

The problem raises no disputed question of principle. It is simply a question of enforcement. All parties have agreed that they will engage only in Union transactions. The enforcement of this clause in the contracts is in large measure in the hands of the Union. Consequently, in the opinion of the Commission, it is desirable that the Union should not be handicapped in its efforts to detect non-Union shops and to prevent jobbers and manufacturers from dealing with them, and in case a violation of the contract is proved, that adequate penalties be enforced to neutralize any advantage which the employer has gained through the non-Union manufacturing, and to deter him and others from similar offenses in the future.

The Commission recommends, therefore, that the clauses in the existing contracts dealing with access to books be amended so as to afford opportunities for a speedier examination of books when any party to the collective agreements files a complaint. Consideration should be given in this connection to the advisability of a joint committee, headed by the Impartial Chairman, and charged with the duty of checking up on the sending of work through unauthorized and sub-standard channels.

(5) The Prosanis Label

In its first Report the Commission recommended the adoption of a sanitary label in the industry to be issued under the supervision of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and guaranteeing to the consuming public that the garments bearing the label were produced in shops coming up to the prescribed standards of sanitation and working conditions accepted in the industry. The parties obligated themselves to deal only in garments bearing this label, which has become known as the "Prosanis" label. The influence of the label is just beginning to make itself felt. The ultimate success will

depend both on the activity of the parties and on the public support which it receives.

The label represents the potent force of public opinion exerted in the direction of maintaining and improving working conditions and sanitary standards in this important industry, the products of which enter into practically every home in the land. By insisting on this label in the garments it purchases, the public will not only protect itself against the dangers from disease because of manufacture under unwholesome conditions, but it will be giving its support in a most effective way to those in the industry who stand for decent, healthful working conditions.

The best weapon against non-union manufacture is in the proper enforcement of the provisions of the contracts relating to the use of the sanitary label. We recommend that more effective measures be taken to prevent violation of this important requirement. It should be insisted that each and every garment manufactured or dealt in must carry the label. There should be more adequate provision for inspection by representatives of the Label Division, and there should be a system of penalties to be enforced in case of evasion or misuse of the label.

(6) The Bureau of Research

In the ad interim recommendations of June, 1925, the Commission urged the establishment of a Bureau of Research. This was done, and in the few months which have elapsed the Bureau has made studies of certain matters important to the industry as a whole. The more that is learned about an industry as complicated as the Cloak and Suit Industry, the more will differences between the parties be removed from controversies over the facts and the closer will be the approach to amicable adjustments.

The Commission recommends, therefore, that the Bureau of Research be continued; that it be an adjunct of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, and that it be financed in part by contributions from independent manufacturers, submanufacturers and jobbers, graduated according to the amount of business that they do, the size of the contributions to be determined by the Impartial Chairman.

The cost of the industry's organization should be paid not only by the associations, but also by all elements making a livelihood out of the industry. Since the associations finance the impartial machinery, it seems to the Commission proper that the major portion of the cost of the Bureau of Research should be paid by independents. This arrangement would have the additional advantage of giving the independents a greater interest in the industry as a whole.

Such a Bureau would make such statistical and fact-finding investigations as may seem desirable from time to time, and should build up a body of information about the industry which will enable problems of unemployment productivity, and wages to be dealt with intelligently.

Conclusion

The Commission has been in close touch with the industry for nearly two years. Its members have given a great deal of time and thought to its problems, some of which are extraordinarily complex. Those problems have been thoroughly explored by impartial investigators to a much greater degree than in most industrial inquiries. The severe criticism made above of certain existing conditions are, of course, not to be considered as in any way personal in character; they go only to harmful situations which have developed, and for which no one group in the industry is responsible.

At various times during the last two years, the Commission has made suggestions which have been adopted, and it believes that some of these changes have already demonstrated their lasting value. During the past two years, the only interruptions in the industry aside from those due to its seasonal character have been minor, brief, and sporadic. The impartial machinery has been working effectively, but under their time limit the collective agreements are about to expire, and the several parties must therefore confer on the terms of new contracts.

The recommendations made above set forth in general terms the adjustments and modifications of existing relationships that the Commission hopes will be agreed to in the new contracts. These recommendations should not be considered as isolated remedies for different situations; the Commission desires that they be considered as a whole—as a program which, if accepted, will effect a general betterment of existing conditions in the industry.

As its name indicates, the Governor's Commission has been an "advisory" body; it has not arbitrated, but has mediated. The recommendations above given are urged upon the parties in interest with the hope that the fairness and good sense of the proposals will commend themselves to them and lead to acceptance. If the recommendations are accepted in principle, the Commission will be willing, if so requested, to act as an arbitration body, and to decide on the specific matters which should be embodied in contracts to make the recommendations effective—the Commission's decision on these points to be binding on the parties which have agreed to the arbitration. Otherwise, the Commission feels that with the submission of this, its final report, its labors are completed.

We desire to express our appreciation of the whole-hearted cooperation and support that we have at all times received from the leaders of the different groups in the industry and their counsel, and from the managers of the various associations.

THE GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMISSION
IN THE
CLOAK, SUIT AND SKIRT INDUSTRY.

George Gordon Battle, Chairman

Herbert H. Lehman Lindsay Rogers
Bernard L. Shientag Arthur D. Wolf

Discussion on Recommendations Before the Joint Board

Immediately after these recommendations were rendered, the Board of Directors of the Joint Board met on May 24, 1926, to discuss future action. At this meeting, President Sigman made the following digest of the recommendations and gave the following opinion:

" . . . In the situation with which we are confronted, we cannot remain satisfied with but an analysis and criticism of the report of the Commission made in connection with the demands submitted by us. Nor can we, in an off-hand manner, reach a conclusion to reject or accept the recommendations of the Commission which are offered to us as a basis for the negotiation of new agreements. Whatever we do must be done after thorough consideration and ample discussion, so that there may be no doubt that the various opinions have been fully expressed and interchanged.

"Moreover, political considerations of any kind should not be given preference over the very important economic and industrial situation in which our Union is involved at this time. We must discuss these recommendations in full frankness, for if they are utilized for political purposes in any way, it is liable to cause more harm than good to all efforts we might make.

"Let us first dispose of the unfavorable features in these recommendations:

"The 40-hour week was one of the demands embodied in the Union's program two and a half years ago. I am a strong believer in the 40-hour week and I should very much like to see the day when the workers shall have two full days of rest each week. It would help them tremendously to keep in better health, and the added leisure would give them a greater opportunity to acquire more knowledge and a measure of intelligence concerning conditions affecting their life and labor. It would certainly be of great advantage to the Union in enforcing the work-time schedules if the work-week is limited to five days. No evasions or excuses for being present in the shops on Satur-

days or Sundays would then be possible, and control would be far more simplified. It would also have a tendency, I believe, to reduce the reserve army of our unemployed.

"This demand, however, is not the burning issue of our present situation. The benefits which may be acquired from it are not such as would give the Union the important immediate advantages we are seeking to achieve. Another thing, we must not overlook is the condition of the industry itself at the present moment. Our industry is demoralized, but it is not demoralized because of shorter or longer hours. This demoralization is such, that we cannot even give our men and women in the shop an honest 44-hour week. Last season, I am reliably informed, there was hardly such a thing in our shops as limitation of hours during the busy weeks. There were all kinds of work-hours and on such a large scale that it was practically impossible for the Union to check the violations. Under such circumstances, it is open to doubt whether a 40-hour week, if granted, would amount to more than a paper victory for the immediate future. Still I regret that the Commission has not recommended it.

"As to the second rejection by the Commission, the refusal to recommend a time period of employment, I want to say as follows: I have conferred with Brother Hyman prior to the issuance of the Commission's report and since then. It appears that on this subject his mind runs the same as mine,—namely, that if we did get the time period at this time it would be a bite that we could not swallow. We must bear in mind that the more radical the reforms that we have to put in the industry, the stronger must be our organization to make these reforms real and operative. And our organization at this time is not prepared to carry out too many tasks at once, especially in view of the condition of the industry in the last four or five years, and the poor, wretched seasons our workers have had in these years.

"The third bad feature is reorganization. This feature has its dangerous aspects. It is the outgrowth of the present system of week-work which was established without a sound industrial foundation. It therefore does not work out rightly, and makes it impossible for the Union to protect the workers in the various shops as they are scattered. On this subject we dwelt at length in our last report to the Philadelphia convention.

"In discussing this matter with the members of the Commission, I endeavored to explain to them that this reorganization will not remedy the chaos in the industry. I also emphasized the point that the right to reorganization will not bring back the bigger shop in the industry, that the latter point is bound up with control over wage conditions that the Union now lacks, and that is bound up with the jobbing-submanufacturing

system that is at present eating the heart out of every standard and every regulation that is supposed to exist in our shops.

"Now with regard to the other features of the Commission's report,—the points that are favorable to the Union:

"First, the limitation of submanufacturers. A careful analysis of this recommendation should convince anyone that the framework of limitation as presented in it cannot be improved upon. There are perhaps some details to be filled in, but that is mainly a matter of technique, and that may be amplified when the enforcement machinery on this subject is organized.

"On the subject of wages, I believe that it could have been better, but it is not bad. The same may be said with regard to investigation of books of employers. It does not ignore the request of the Union for speedier methods of investigation, and it also gives the impartial chairman the right to investigate the industry at any time without any prior complaint. The principle covering the penalties for violations is very forceful. It is definite and drastic enough to make violations unprofitable.

"And in going back to the subject of reorganization, I would point out in it an item that should not be overlooked. In speaking of protecting the workers from discrimination by employers during reorganizations, mention is made of 'unfair discrimination' in general, not discrimination for union activity only. That is a point very much in our favor, as our experience in the past has shown that it is quite difficult to prove discrimination for union activity, but it is quite a different matter when general discrimination is specified. This gives the Union a chance to protect the worker on a wider basis.

"So, after a brief review of the report, it is my judgment that the Union should accept the recommendations as a basis for negotiating an agreement. There are in this report but two definite subjects not open to further negotiations—the increased minimum wages and the reorganization. All the other subjects, including the examiners' demand for recognition and that of the designers, are open for further discussion. But as I view the crippled condition of our industry, I maintain that our chief task, alongside of which all other matters seem small, is the calling of the jobber to responsibility and to carry through an effective sub-manufacturer-contractor limitation. This alone will require a tremendous effort on our part, so let us try and make this a success.

"Reorganization may be a painful thing, but under the two-year agreement we shall have but one reorganization. On the other hand, we shall in these two years, if we go after it rightly, succeed in stabilizing to a great measure our industry and introduce better control of wages and work-hours in all our shops. And with this in mind as a balance against each other,

I believe going into conference with our employers would be a sane and responsible course and would strengthen the Union as a whole.

"Furthermore, even if we should decide to strike, we should be strategically in a much better and stronger position if we were to accept the report as a basis. As far as the jobber is concerned especially, we should gain on our side the entire weight of the indictment which the Commission makes of the jobber control and domination in the industry, even if they should choose to break up and force a deadlock on us."

To these remarks might be added the additional comments:

1. The recognition of the jobber as the actual employer and the provision for limitation of sub-manufacturer hit at the heart of the problem in the industry. In fact the recommendation, as worded, provided that the jobber (a) designate his list of steady sub-manufacturers, (b) that additional sub-manufacturers during busy periods were to be selected from a list of designated sub-manufacturers (those working for other jobbers) practically legislating the non-union sub-manufacturer out of existence. Moreover, the investigation without complaint provided for the most effective thoroughgoing provisions for the enforcement of the limitation that had ever been made, linked as it was with the provision for a permanent attachment of an accountant for check-up on the enforcement of the agreement.

2) The provisions for the more effective operation of the "Prosanis" label bureau of the research bureau and of the joint employment bureau were important.

3) The provision that sub-manufacturers were to make direct payments to the unemployment insurance fund was equally important.

At a subsequent meeting of the Board of Directors, of which stenographic minutes were not taken, President Sigman again referred to the report and made the following arguments for the negotiation of an agreement and the avoidance of a strike on the basis of the Commission's recommendations:

1) Given a fairly favorable industrial situation aided by the enforcement of the recommendations of the Commission, our workers would have an opportunity to have several good reasons of employment; this would undoubtedly improve their morale.

2) The financial position of the Union, then very poor, would improve.

3) The new leadership of the Joint Board would have had two more years within which to gain experience.

4) If we were able to sign satisfactorily with the inside manufacturers, and the sub-manufacturers, as we undoubtedly could, we would place the jobbers in a much more hopeless position—both as to public opinion and as to the work which they could get done in the industry.

5) The dreaded reorganization clause would involve, according to Hyman, about 800 discharges of workers at the maximum. At this time about 65-70 per cent of our workers, employed in submanufacturing shops, are being unofficially "re-organized" not once in two years, but often twice during a season due to the enormous turnover of sub-manufacturers and the change of jobs due to poor conditions in the shops.

6) Within the two year period we would be able to test the real effect of this reorganization clause. If it is dangerous you will have the workers eager and ready to fight against its re-enactment. If it is not dangerous—provided of course we have strong union control, we have lost nothing.

7. Since the then Joint Board leadership had charged that the international had "mortgaged" them to the Commission, they now have an opportunity to place the responsibility of the acceptance of the Commission's report equally on the shoulders of the International.

When these arguments were completed, the Board of Directors seemed so thoroughly convinced, that the Communist leaders feared to permit the matter to go to a vote. Instead, they appointed a specially picked committee of five Communist "faithfuls." It was this committee which brought in a recommendation, reported by Secretary-Treasurer Fish as follows, to the Joint Board on June 1, 1926:

"Rejection of Recommendations:

"The Board of Directors has carefully considered the report of the Governor's Commission and has weighed the recommendations from all angles and came to the conclusion that while the Commission has made a thorough analysis of the evils existing in the cloak industry due to the jobbing and sub-manufacturing systems, the remedies prescribed will not eradicate those evils or relieve the sufferings of the workers under the conditions prevailing at present.

"The Commission has recommended that a system of limitation of contractors shall be worked out. They have not, however, recommended a time period of employment. They have not recommended the forty-hour week, the unionization of examiners and designers, nor the equalization of the finishers scales. The Commission has also recommended that firms having a regular force of thirty-five or more employees be given the right to reorganize their shops once a year at the beginning of

a season, provided that it shall not in a year cause a total displacement of more than 10 per cent of the workers in any shop, and that any worker displaced shall be replaced through the Labor Bureau; the Labor Bureau to be managed by the trustees of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, in which the Union has one vote against three of the Employers.

"The Commission recommends that the parties in controversy shall adopt a system of limitation of contractors. No definite proposal was worked out and since the Commission does not recommend the time period of employment, we are of the opinion that no system of limitation can really be put into operation without placing the jobber responsible for a certain number of weeks of work for each contractor he registers; otherwise we believe that the employers will register contractors and at the same time send work to unregistered and non-union shops as they have done in the past, especially since the rights of the Union to control the jobber through direct examination of his books has been denied.

"We have demanded the forty-hour work-week, amongst other reasons, that this will to a great extent diminish the unemployment existing at the present time.

"With respect to examiners and designers, the Board of Directors is very much dissatisfied with the Commission for having ignored the right of workers to be organized and recognized by the employers, which is a denial of the fundamental principle for which the Union was organized.

"The right to reorganize—the Board of Directors is quite certain that this will be strongly resented by our entire membership. The Union has always been principally opposed to giving employers such rights, and we do not think that our members are ready to give it up.

"Thus summarizing the opinions of the Board of Directors on the Commission's report, we can safely state that the report is not acceptable.

"The Board of Directors, however, recommends that the report be submitted to the entire membership for final decision."

When the matter came to a vote at the Joint Board, the recommendations of the "supplemented" committee (the so-called Board of Directors), was accepted by the Communist majority over the protest of several locals. It was also decided that a shop chairmen meeting be called immediately, and further that invitations be extended to the employers' groups to meet in conference. It will be seen that the suggestion called for a vote of the "entire membership." The question was raised by President Sigman, who was present, as to why this was not stipulated, as it had always been, to be a secret ballot refer-

endum. To this question, Mr. Boruchowitz, a Communist leader of the Joint Board, answered that the referendum taken two years previously with regard to a general strike expressed the will of the membership. When President Sigman called to his attention the charges of the Communist leadership that that referendum was not conducted honestly, the retort came that it was dishonestly conducted but that the present leadership of the Joint Board now found it to its advantage to use that vote for its purpose. Subsequently, a "shop chairmen" meeting, controlled by the leaders of the Joint Board, was held on June 8 and rejected the Commission's report in a prepared resolution, which also instructed the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union and the General Officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to enter into direct negotiations with the various employing groups.

It will thus be noted that every reasonable effort to enter into negotiations looking toward an avoidance of the strike was thrust aside by the Communist officials, which offers further evidence that the Communist leadership of the Joint Board, acting in conjunction with the Communist Party, had a predetermined policy that a strike in the New York cloak market must take place. Many "reasons" were given for the calling of that strike, but the real objective back of the strike was the maintenance of power which such a strike would give the Communists, the fomenting of a so-called "revolutionary spirit" in accordance with Communist dogma. The will of the workers themselves and the experience of the tried leaders were totally disregarded, as we shall further see, by the Communist leadership.

Action of Employers' Groups on Commission's Report

The Union was the first group to act definitely on the Commission's report. The jobbers' association—the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association—had at a meeting of its board of directors, on May 27, decided on a policy of saying nothing, in reiteration of their old attitude that they were not an employing group. On June 7, the sub-manufacturers' association, the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, accepted the report, contingent, of course, on its acceptance by the other parties in the controversy. On June 8 the inside manufacturers, represented by the Industrial Council, likewise accepted the recommendations of the Governor's

Commission as a basis for negotiations, thus placing the responsibility for their rejection entirely upon the Union.

Negotiations with Employers' Groups.

Both the employers' groups which had accepted the recommendations of the Commission also accepted the invitation of the Union to go into conference. The first of these conferences was held with the Industrial Council on June 15, 1926, at the Hotel McAlpin. The Union, through Morris Hillquit, reiterated its original demands. The answer of the Industrial Council was that it would negotiate with the Union on the basis of the recommendations of the Commission. The Joint Board officials went into conference with the determination to abrogate relationships and refused to accept these recommendations even as the basis for negotiation. The conference broke up in a deadlock.

Thereafter, on June 25, 1926, a conference was held with the American Association, the sub-manufacturers' group, which also failed for the same reason.

The jobbers' association continued its policy of avoiding responsibility and did not respond to the invitation of the Union. Thereupon, on June 25, 1926, Morris Hillquit, counsel for the Union, served notice on Samuel Blumberg, counsel for the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association, to the effect that the agreement had expired. The jobbers, in spite of their insistence that they were not concerned, replied that in their opinion, the agreement would not expire until July 16, 1926.

The Formation of a General Strike Committee

In the meantime, on June 11, 1926, the General Strike Committee had been appointed by the special committee of the Joint Board. The special committee also decided to appoint an advisory committee, to act as an executive body for the general strike committee, at a later date. The General Strike Committee was organized into sub-committees in accordance with following regulations:

1. The General Strike Committee should be¹ composed of the local managers, executive boards of the affiliated locals, general officers of the Joint Board and the fifteen shop chairmen from the block and building committees.

2. The roll call vote should be taken on request of 25

delegates of three different locals, the votes to be counted in accordance with the representation at the Joint Board.

3. The Chairman, Vice-chairman and Secretary of the General Strike Committee should be elected by that body.

4. The Executive Board of the General Strike Committee should be elected by that body.

5. The Executive Board of the General Strike Committee should consist of the local managers, the chairmen of the various strike committees and one delegate from each local.

6. The General Advisory Board should consist of nine persons, to be elected by the General Strike Committee.

7. The following was the personnel of the various committees:

Picket Committee:

Goretzky, Chairman; Moskowitz and Muccigrossi, Vice-chairmen; Marks, Secretary.

Law Committee:

Fish, Chairman; Dotl, Vice-chairman; Kudrinetzky, Secretary.

Settlement Committee:

Ninfo, Chairman; Miller, Vice-chairman; Dublinsky, Secretary.

Out-of-Town Committee:

Halperin, Chairman; Ansel, Horowitz, and Carotenuto, Vice-chairmen; Levine, Secretary.

Finance Committee:

Baroff, Chairman; Portnoy, Secretary, and the regular Finance Committee of the Joint Board.

Speakers & Entertainment Committee:

Steinzor, Chairman; Pankin and Rendi, Vice-chairmen; Koretz, Secretary.

Hall Committee:

Boruchowitz, Chairman; M. Rubin and Destl, Vice-chairmen.

Organization Committee:

Kaplan, Chairman; Perlmutter, Rosenblatt and Cottone, Vice-chairmen; Rogers, Secretary.

Relief Committee:

Zirlin, Chairman; Molisani and Reisner, Vice-chairmen; Rubin (Local No. 3) Secretary.

Brooklyn—Chiarchlara, Chairman.

Brownsville—Zeldin, Chairman.

Harlem and Bronx—Katz, Chairman.

Additional persons on these staffs to be appointed by the General Manager with the Chairmen of these districts.

8. Members participating in the work of the general strike shall not receive any compensation; their expenses to be left to the Executive Board.

It will be observed, on examination of the list of sub-committees, that the Communists who controlled the special committee of the Joint Board made a careful effort to place their party members or persons who followed implicitly their orders in all strategic and key posts on the strike committee. On the picket committee, they placed one Goretzky, notoriously unfit for the job and without any previous experience, as chairman, Moskowitz, another loyal Communist worker, as vice-chairman, and Elias Marks, a Communist party adherent as secretary. Marks held the strings of the money bag on the picket committee, spending tens of thousands of dollars without control of accounting. (After the strike was over, the Jewish Daily Forward had printed the facsimile of "bearer" checks, about ten in number, passed from Goretzky to Marks, amounting to more than \$50,000 and covering a period of only one month, the last month of the strike, for which not a voucher had since been presented.) The only non-Communist on the picket committee was Mucigrossi, and he was perforce compelled to play but a minor role on it.

On the finance committee the Communists, as a gesture, placed Secretary-Treasurer Baroff as chairman, but simultaneously loaded it with a majority of Communist-controlled officials, guided by Julius Portnoy, the "financial brains" of the Communist-led Joint Board. Within a few days after the strike was ordered, Brother Baroff perceived that he was being used by the Communist majority as a shield and as a convenient screen for future depredations, and he, therefore, quickly resigned, leaving the committee completely in charge of Portnoy and associates.

On the out-of-town committee, the Communists similarly asked Vice-President Halperin to act in the capacity of chairman, which Brother Halperin accepted. But, at the same time, they put Max Levine, a Communist, as secretary and controller of the committee, who signed checks and together with another Communist party sympathizer, Horowitz, and Skolnick, a later addition, bossed the committee entirely. Brother Halperin devoted all his time to the work of the

out-of-town committee, despite the fact that he was continually being harassed and molested by Levine and Horowitz and others, but he stuck out to the last upon the advice of the members of the General Executive Board.

On the law committee, the Communists, as a matter of form, put Joseph Fish, the secretary of their Joint Board, as chairman. Fish has been alluded to by the Communists as a "right." It is obvious, however, that his position in the Joint Board and on the finance committee was clothed with little more power than that of a rubber stamp, the real powers on the committee being Portnoy, Hyman and Zimmerman, whose orders and demands for money Fish would obey unquestioningly and implicitly. The secretary of the law committee was another Communist, Kudrinetzky.

The settlement committee was the only committee on which nominally non-Communists prevailed, as its chairman and secretary were Vice-Presidents Ninfo and Dubinsky respectively. The little Communist joker attached to these "impartial" appointments consisted, however, in the fact that the settlement committee was stripped of every authority and its functions were purely formal, all settlements having had to be investigated and approved first by the Organization Committee. And this committee was controlled by Kaplan and Rogers, docile Communist followers who obeyed orders given out by party chieftains.

And so all down the line. On the hall committee, a very important committee, Boruchowitz was in charge, assisted by an individual who has since become an embroidery manufacturer, "Moishe" Rubin. The relief committee which took care all during the strike of the faithful "brothers" and ruthlessly plagued and oppressed any applicant against whom suspicions of anti-Communist leanings existed, was controlled by Zirlin, a faithful Communist.

Ninety per cent of the strike machinery was controlled by Communists, who later added a paid clique of almost three thousand retainers.

In connection with the General Strike Committee, there is to be noted a typical hypocritical gesture toward giving the "masses" representation. This was in the appointment of fifteen shop chairmen from the block and building committees to serve on the General Strike Committee. This gesture was

all the more ridiculous and insincere since these fifteen were all under Communist influence, appointed not by the workers but by the leadership which controlled them.

The Manner in Which the Strike Was Called

It will be recalled that an important item of the convention's decision was that a referendum be held among the members on the method in which negotiations were to be conducted. The "shop chairmen's" meetings thus far called by the Joint Board, were mere rubber stamps. At this point, however, the occasion for a real referendum on the matter of calling of the strike presented itself. In all previous crises, no final action would be taken without a referendum of the entire membership by secret ballot. This time, however, the Communist leaders, who had espoused so warmly the "rank and file", instead of ordering such a referendum, called a big mass-meeting in Madison Square Garden on June 29, at which place final action was to be decided on.

After it became inevitable that the New York cloakmakers would be plunged into an industrial conflict, the G. E. B. decided to put the weight of its support back of this struggle for the sake of the workers who would bear the greatest share of the burden. The following call, issued by President Sigman on the eve of this mass-meeting, pledged the support of the G. E. B. and appealed for true unity:

Sisters and Brothers: Our Union will win this hard battle against the combined forces of our employers just as it had won all the other stubbornly-contested clashes with our masters in the past,—from the first day we had established the cloakmakers' organization in New York on a solid basis. But in order to win this fight, it is imperative that, without exception, we should all—no matter what political preferences we may have or what social ideals and theories we may cherish—in this general strike be united wholeheartedly and single-mindedly and inspired by one central objective—to secure as speedily and as completely as possible the winning of the vital demands for which it is to be fought out.

It is not a healthy state of affairs for a trade union to have sharp divisions within its ranks and bitter differences of opinion even in times of industrial peace. In days of conflict, however, when the enemy is lurking from behind every cover seeking to break through the line of defense—political wrangling in a union is a grave menace which places at stake its effectiveness, nay, its very life. In times of struggle, unity of mind and action must be not merely a pretty phrase or a beautiful

ideal, but it should honestly and openly be practiced in the daily activities of the fighting organization and manifest itself in every move and effort against the common enemy.

We do not wish to conceal the fact that even now, during these critical hours in the life of our Union, there are persons who are attempting to carry on petty sectarian politics at the expense of the coming strike and to spread distrust and division in our ranks. May this appeal for unity, therefore, sisters and brothers, be a warning to all of you that in these days of stress and struggle we must have but one thought and but one idea: to stand united like a stonewall against the enemy and not to become provoked by any underhand attempts, no matter from what source, to weaken our ranks and to split our forces!

Cloakmakers, let us put aside now our personal grievances or organizational disagreements. Let us hold dear and undented the banner of unity of action, our sole key to success against the organized force of our common opponents!

At the mass-meeting, the following speakers addressed the meeting: Abraham Baroff, General Secretary-Treasurer, I. L. G. W. U., Arturo Giovanitti, Secretary of the Italian Chamber of Labor; Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Hugh Frayne, of the American Federation of Labor, who also read a telegram from President William Green; Vice-President Salvatore Ninfo of the International, Ben Gold, then Manager of the Joint Board Furriers' Union, President Morris Sigman, who again emphasized the overwhelming importance of action against the jobbers, and then General Manager Louis Hyman. All of the speakers pledged the support of their organizations in every possible way in the coming strike of the cloakmakers. The action taken was the endorsement of a prepared resolution by a vive voce vote, which read as follows:

We, the Cloakmakers assembled in mass meeting at the Madison Square Garden on June 29 adopt the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the cloak manufacturers have refused to negotiate with the representatives of our Union an agreement which would enable the workers of our industry to earn a decent livelihood, and

WHEREAS, the jobbers of our industry have entirely ignored the invitation for a conference with the Union to discuss the question of an agreement, and have through various methods attempted to evade responsibility to the workers who are producing their cloaks, and

WHEREAS, the workers of our industry formulated a set of

demands to the employers two years ago, which demands aim to do away with the chaos and irresponsibility in our industry where constant unemployment and cut-throat competition is the lot of the cloakmaker, and

WHEREAS, during the past few years the standards and conditions of the cloakmakers have been continually reduced so that the workers are faced with the most dire need and misery due to the eagerness of the employers to increase their profits at the expense of the workers.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, in view of the refusal of the various groups of employers to grant the demands of our Union through peaceful negotiations, we hereby authorize the officers of our Joint Board and of the International Union to call the workers of our industry on a general strike for the purpose of securing the demands formulated by our Union. We pledge ourselves to stand loyally by our Union, and to do all in our power to cooperate with our officers in bringing the strike for our justified demands to a successful conclusion.

The date of the calling of the strike was left in the hands of the General Strike Committee, which met the same day and issued the following strike call for Thursday, July 1:

The Strike Call

Today, Thursday, July 1, at 10 in the morning, all operators, finishers, pressers, cutters, samplemakers, skirtmakers, designers, examiners, bushlers and buttonhole-makers are to quit work, down tools and together march in orderly fashion to the halls to which they are herewith assigned.

Cloakmakers! This day begins a new page in the history of our Union.

Today, the cloakmakers declare to the entire world that they can no longer endure their present conditions of life and labor and that they are determined to do away with the misery and oppression in the shops through this strike.

Cloakmakers, Sisters and Brothers! The cloak industry which enables our employers to amass millions and to live in luxury should be made to secure for our workers and their families the means of a decent livelihood.

The chaos in our industry and the irresponsibility of the jobbers and manufacturers must be brought to an end. Through our strike we can and must stop it.

Let us close our ranks in this strike and fight for the right to live a better, fuller and happier life.

Long live the Cloakmakers' Union!

Long live the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union!

THE GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE OF THE
JOINT BOARD OF THE CLOAK, SKIRT, REEFER
AND DRESSMAKERS' UNIONS, I. L. G. W. U.

From the very beginning, it was evident that the strike was being conducted for political purposes, and that non-Communist individuals and locals were to be discriminated against. This was shown in the case of the cutters' hall. It has been a custom and tradition in previous strikes, based on experience, that the cutters were to be housed in a separate hall. The leadership was thus in a better position to influence the cutters, to check up on their activities and to make sure that no member of this strategic craft produced any strike work.

The Communist leadership, at the meeting of the General Strike Committee, seriously objected to having the cutters in a separate hall, raising the issue of the principle of amalgamation and consolidation of all crafts. The actual reason was that this local had very little leanings toward Communist doctrines. The Communists were, therefore, desirous of breaking up their unity so as to render them less effective in strike work and to expose them to the influence of the Communist element in the halls. The only concession they made was to permit meetings of cutters once a week. The Communist press raised a hue and cry on this matter in an attempt to discredit this non-Communist bona fide trade union element.

But the most glaring example of Communist maneuvering for political purposes came in the selection by the General Strike Committee of the chairman of the strike. In all past strikes, the President of the International used to be elected to this post, not only because his office implied ability and experience, but because in that way the prestige of the International would be placed behind the strike. At a meeting of the General Strike Committee, President Sigman was defeated for the office by Louis Hyman. The vice-chairman elected was Charles S. Zimmerman. Hyman's comment on this action was that the Communist leadership of the Joint Board admitted that President Sigman was the abler and more logical person for the post, but that Zimmerman, Boruchowitz and Portnoy would have committed "political suicide" in the Communist Party had they consented to his election. It will thus be seen that the appeal for unity was, from the beginning, ignored in the scramble of the Communist leadership for the approval of their party.

The great moral weight in the eyes of the strikers and of the public of having the president of the parent body in the

role of chairman was disregarded for the sake of petty Communist politics.

Effects of Governor's Commission

At this point, we believe the delegates should be informed of the effects of the work of the Commission appointed by Governor Alfred E. Smith, on the industry. We have in mind more than the known immediate gains incorporated in the agreement following the first recommendations in 1924. These definite reforms are already known to the membership, including the introduction of the Unemployment Insurance Fund and the "Prosanis" Label. Similarly well known is the excellent research work and analysis of the Governor's Commission, which was for the first time able, as an impartial body, to gain access to and to collect the most reliable and thoroughgoing information about the industry.

One point that is probably not so well realized is the effect of the Commission on the conduct of the industry in general. It can safely be said that in the entire history of the Union since 1914, union control in the New York cloak market has never been stronger than in the two-year period between 1924 and 1926, notwithstanding the disastrous inroads made by unemployment, the growth of the jobber-sub-manufacturer evil and the Communist activities. During this period, as was shown in the report of the Research Bureau, over 75 per cent of the production, inside, sub-manufacturing and jobbing, was controlled by associations. In the case of the sub-manufacturers' association, this is particularly important.

There were almost one thousand sub-manufacturers under the control of the American Association, leaving only a bare hundred shops outside its influence.

This made the task of enforcement of Union conditions over the entire industry a far simpler task. Less than ten per cent of the production of the entire industry, according to the figures of the Governor's Commission, was in that period produced under non-union standards.

A large portion of this wholesome effect was due to the personnel of the Commission. The very fact that it was appointed by Governor Alfred E. Smith, whose enlightened interest in the labor aspect of industry was a matter of general

knowledge, had a decided beneficial effect. The Commission consisted, as already mentioned, of Judge Bernard L. Shientag, once State Industrial Commissioner, Lindsay Rogers, Professor of Politics in Columbia University, George Gordon Battle, a well-known lawyer, and Colonel Herbert Lehman and Arthur D. Wolf, bankers, who had a sound knowledge of our industry. The standing of these men commanded the complete respect of all factors in the industry. Mr. Wolf, who also rendered valuable service as Chairman of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, has since died. These members of the Commission, together with Raymond V. Ingersoll, the Impartial Chairman, have been indefatigable in their efforts, both as regards the scope and method of investigation, to make such recommendations as would meet the needs of the workers and would have the effect of putting on a sound basis an industry that has always suffered from lack of stability. We do not hesitate in recommending and praising highly the public spirit and cooperation of a group of men of such high standing and sound economic judgment. Though their recommendations of May, 1926, did not meet the program of the Union at every point, we feel that they were made as a sincere and thoughtful effort to solve the problems of the industry.

To sum up the situation, therefore, from the time of the last convention to the beginning of the strike:

Summary

1. Prior to the final recommendations of the Governor's Commission—

- a) There is every indication that the leaders of the Joint Board had in mind the calling of a general strike before the agreement had expired, as a means of "raising the morale of the workers," in accordance with Communist "revolutionary" dogma, and in order further to fasten their clutches on the organization. President Sigman urgently cautioned them against such an action, and suggested instead that the position of the Union be solidified by a strong campaign against the non-union shops.
- b) Because of the known predetermined opposition of the Communist leaders to the Governor's Commission, President Sigman suggested that if the leadership had no intention of considering the recommendations of the Commission that it do not appear before them. Nevertheless, these representatives did appear before the Commission in March of 1926.

- c) An opportunity was opened at that time for the presentation of new issues. The Communist leaders had clamored for this opportunity but now failed to use it, in spite of very definite suggestions made by the International along certain lines.
 - d) A foreshadowing of the political motives of the strike leaders was revealed in their procedure with regard to the General Strike Fund, when they made it possible, by a reversal of a previous decision, for the four Communist members alone to withdraw monies from that fund.
2. When the recommendations had been made-- —
- a) These recommendations upheld the main points for which the Union had struggled. They did include some unfavorable aspects—the granting of the right of one reorganization in two years and the refusal of the forty-hour week. But President Sigman urged its acceptance as the basis of continued negotiations. He foresaw the acceptance of this report for negotiations by the inside manufacturers and by the submanufacturers, and outlined the opportunity this would leave for a full concentration on the jobbers who most likely would reject the recommendations.
 - b) This suggestion of President Sigman was rejected after a series of political maneuverings which took the power of decision away from the Board of Directors of the Joint Board. Nevertheless, even after this, the General Executive Board stood completely with the Joint Board in its attitude.
 - c) The membership was never given an opportunity to acquaint itself with the recommendations of the Governor's Commission.
3. The declaration of the strike--
- a) The strike was not called, as it should have been called, after a referendum vote by secret ballot, but by the far less reliable and less democratic method of passing a prepared resolution at a massmeeting. Nevertheless, the General Executive Board repledged its aid, as did the American Federation of Labor, and issued a plea for complete unity in aid of the strike.
 - b) This plea for unity was immediately violated by the Communists in their organization of the General Strike Committee on a purely political basis, and their complete disregard of the elements of ability, experience and standing of the persons appointed on the strike committee.

PART III

THE CLOAKMAKERS' STRIKE OF 1926 AND HOW IT WAS CONDUCTED

The six-months cloakmakers' strike, which began July 1, 1926, is now a matter of painful history. We can here only review the most important features of that struggle.

The walkout itself on July 1 was complete and the spirit of the workers was vigorous. The workers were led to believe at the mass meeting, through the promises of the Communist leadership, that they would be given that support and efficiency to which they have been accustomed and which are the basis for a successful strike, to wit:

1. Effective picketing and surveillance of non-union production, particularly of work done for the jobbers, who controlled the greater part of the production, and who were chiefly responsible for the evils in the industry.
2. A policy of no individual settlements with sub-manufacturers who might be supplying work for such jobbers, and settlement with inside manufacturers individually only after full and thorough investigation.
3. Financial support of the strikers themselves in their struggle, in the form of benefits, and in the form of adequate legal support in case of arrests for strike activities.
4. Democratic reference to strikers of the terms of the settlement.

Let us see then how these duties by which every general strike committee should be guided were carried out in the 1926 strike by its Communist leadership. Only after the strike came to an end, and together with it the rule of the Communists, that it had become possible to learn of some of their most glaring samples of strike mismanagement.

1. The Failure to Organize Effective Strike Machinery

From the very first day of the strike it became evident that no effective machinery for picketing and for other activities of fundamental importance was organized. The principal effort of the General Strike Committee was directed to staging mass picketing demonstrations. These, of course, had, at the beginning, a rousing effect and a certain publicity value, and in all of them President Sigman and other members of the General Executive Board participated. But they could hardly take

the place of the badly needed picketing of possible production by jobbers and other employers in the shops on strike, or of checking non-union production elsewhere. To this no attention was given at all, and no effective control machinery was organized during the first four important weeks.

It was pointed out to the General Strike Committee by President Sigman that special means for picketing the jobbers were necessary. He made two suggestions: First, that a committee of fifty able men be appointed to follow up the jobbers' activities; and second, that units of strikers from sub-manufacturers which worked in bulk exclusively for a given jobber, be organized, as special picket units for each individual jobber. These workers would have a special interest in this task and these jobbers would be made to feel the full effect of the strike. Neither of these suggestions were adopted, and the strike against the jobbers was ineffective for this reason, as well as for the type of settlements made and described elsewhere. This picketing was under the chairmanship of Boruchowitz, the head of the Hall Committee, jointly with the Picket Committee.

The picketing work, for the checking of production in non-union shops, under the chairmanship of Goretzky and Marks, was not only equally neglected, but the function of this Picket Committee had degenerated into a series of shameful and disgraceful activities. Such districts as Brooklyn, Brownsville, Harlem and the Bronx, which, as President Sigman had warned, would turn out to be sources of extensive non-union production, were completely neglected.

Marks and Goretzky, as heads of the Picket Committee, seemed to have two main functions. The first was, a wholesale system of graft, which led to actual encouragement of non-union production. The second was that of terrorizing and picketing the strikers in the halls lest any signs of revolt against the strike mismanagement threaten their rule.

To give specific instances of the first activity—workers were sent into shops, presumably for the purpose of gathering information, and as nuclei to influence the strikebreakers. Instead, they were permitted to remain producing scab work for weeks at a time. They were supposed to turn over a weekly account of their earnings to the Picket Committee. This Committee, which has never given an adequate accounting, however, pocketed half the earnings, permitting the workers to retain

the other half and to return to the shops. Strikers were sometimes forced to act in this manner like scabs owing to a genuine misunderstanding, and sometimes due to the fact that for ten long weeks no strike benefits or support of any sort had been given them in a strike which followed a long period of unemployment.

We have in our possession proof of this type of "picketing." In the second month of the strike, through a licensed inspector, the International obtained a list of 65 shops controlled by members of the Industrial Council, employing no less than 1,729 workers. This list was submitted to the strike leadership, whose only answer was that these workers had been placed there to do work in behalf of the strike.

Another glaring instance was the opening of shops out of town, presumably for the purpose of aiding in getting valuable information on non-union production. These were deliberately transformed into regular producing units for scab manufacturers. The profits were pocketed by the Picket Committee leaders and their agents. These are but two instances of the type of widespread graft and dishonesty practiced by Communist saviours of the masses.

Rumors of this mismanagement and dishonesty reached the strikers; but no expression of dissatisfaction was possible due to the systematic terror practiced on the strikers in the halls by the paid "guards" of Picket Committee. The spirit of the strikers, however, was gradually becoming demoralized.

In contrast to this graft and profit pocketed by the leadership, the workers, as we shall show, were not paid any benefits until late in the strike. There were even cases of denial of carfare to strikers whose halls were situated miles from the shops which they were assigned to picket.

In addition to this out-and-out scab production, thousands of workers were forced to return, as we shall show, under slipshod agreements signed after improper investigation to produce for the jobbers against whom the strike was declared.

2. Settlements Which Led to Production for Jobbers

The strike which was primarily directed against the jobbers, was early diverted from that purpose by the policy of careless individual settlements with sub-manufacturers.

From the very first meeting of the General Strike Committee, President Sigman emphasized the importance of making the strike against the jobbers effective, as the jobbers were the chief offenders and had ignored the recommendations of the Governor's Commission, as well as every repeated call to confer with the Union. The Industrial Council's production was comparatively smaller and its attitude more favorable. So far as the American Association was concerned, it must be recorded that throughout the strike its administration sided completely with the Union and gave every possible assistance to the strike.

To make the jobbers feel the strike, it was absolutely necessary that, in addition to the stopping of non-union production no individual settlements should be made which would lead to production for the jobbers directly or indirectly, even though sub-manufacturers might insist that they were producing for the trade.

At the first big strike mass meeting on July 6, 1926, Chairman Hyman stated that "settlements will be made only with legitimate inside manufacturers, and with jobbers, and these only after careful investigation."

In actual practice, settlements were made with firms which were proven later to be producing for jobbers. These settlements were made on the recommendation of the Organization Committee, headed by N. Kaplan, and with the approval of the other Communist commissars. The investigations of this committee were worthless. Arrangements were made permitting securities as low as \$200 and \$250, and some, without the knowledge of the Settlement Committee, without securities at all; the provision that the employer deposit 10 per cent of his weekly payroll for a fund guaranteeing 32 weeks of employment during the year was ignored; no unemployment fund debts due from the past or owed on account of future payments, were demanded. Particularly sad were the settlements made with the gangster type of employer, who had always fought the union brutally and mercilessly.

As a result of such haphazard settlements made long before the November agreement with the Industrial Council, 12,000 workers were gradually returned, week by week, to shops to produce for the very jobbers against whom the strike was called. There was a pretext, of course, that these were in-

side shops, but this was contradicted by the fact that at the height of the strike, due to these settlements and to unchecked non-union production, there was an actual over-production by jobber firms. The great mass of this production was concentrated in New York City, and it soon became evident that the strike was completely ineffective.

To account for this undeniable over-production, the Communists began a hue and cry of authorized "scabbery" by the Joint Boards of Philadelphia and Boston. These cities are comparatively small centers, which never did account for more than three or four per cent of the total production of the country. It is obvious that, after satisfying their own demand for work, even if the Philadelphia and Boston manufacturers had legitimately gained some of the trade lost by the New York market, they could in no way produce the eighty-seven per cent of production of the total output which the census figures show New York has produced in the past few years. Chicago was not included in the Communist charges since it was under Communist management.

3. Failure to Provide Financial Aid for the Strikers

It will be recalled that one of the most frequent accusations of the Communist element was that too large a portion of union income went to officials and not a sufficient amount to workers. In all past strikes conducted by the union, the payment of strike benefits used to begin on the fourth or fifth week. It was to be expected, therefore, that in 1926, the strikers would receive from their Communist saviors either larger amounts or earlier payments, especially since the strike had followed right after a very bad season. On the contrary, however, strike benefits did not begin until the tenth week of the strike and then, in puny amounts.

The only source of aid for the strikers came from the Unemployment Insurance Fund—the institution which had been so viciously attacked and practically destroyed by the Communist leaders. Almost \$800,000 was paid out to 17,000 workers in unemployment insurance benefits in June, shortly after the strike was called out.

In our analysis of mismanagement of strike funds—from such data as we were able to get and for which we could not

fully vouch—it is demonstrated that of the three million dollars or more expenditures, of which any record was kept up to November 18, 1926, only 45 per cent was spent for strike benefits; whereas in previous struggles which were at all comparable in length—the 1916 strike and the 1921-22 lockout—over 70 per cent of the total expenditures were for strike benefits.

At a meeting of the G. E. B. early in the strike, President Sigman suggested the sending out of an appeal to the labor movement, both for financial and moral support. This was opposed by the strike leadership on the ground that it was too early in the struggle, that it would have a bad effect, and that strikers must "learn to carry on the struggle without benefits."

When such an appeal was issued in the tenth week of the strike, over the signatures of President Sigman and Hyman, it met with a warmer response than any previous appeal in the history of our Union. We shall discuss this matter under another heading later in this report.

The Aid of the Labor Movement and Our Locals to the Strike

The failure by the Communist leadership of the strike to provide for the strikers could not be justified on any ground. The General Executive Board is unable to account for all the receipts and expenditures of the General Strike Committee, but from such information as can be obtained, more than three million dollars were spent. This was obtained in the following way: Before the strike was called, the Joint Board locals advanced over \$300,000 from their treasuries. \$500,000 was collected from the \$20 tax before and during the strike, and \$1,222,000 from the assessment levied on the returned workers and on the members of the dress locals. This made over two million dollars, raised directly by the cloak locals and their members. In addition to this, we know that Local 22 contributed large amounts, of which we have absolutely no record at all. The I. L. G. W. U. locals outside the Joint Board in New York and throughout the country, contributed \$100,000—a larger amount than had ever been given by them before. Other trade unions contributed \$150,000, and the "Forwards" and the Workmen's Circle contributed \$50,000. Loans from the International Union Bank and the Amalgamated Bank totalled \$600,000. These figures alone account for \$2,920,000, and there undoubtedly were other large amounts.

The \$300,000 loan made through the Amalgamated Bank includes a loan of \$100,000 from the American Fund for Public Service (The Garland Fund). This loan was made possible through the Brookwood School. When application for a loan for the strike was made to the Fund, it was found that the only available resources were the hundred thousand dollars set aside by the Fund for the Brookwood School, whose consent was required and was given freely and gladly to the making of this loan. We wish to record our appreciation to the administration of the School, in particular to A. J. Muste, its director and his colleagues.

More money was spent in this strike, both in absolute amount and in proportion to its length, than in any other of our strikes; more money contributed by the workers in our industry and by the labor movement than in any other cloak strike. And no strike in our history ever ended so disastrously.

The sufferings of the workers in this period formed the background for their later revolt against the Communist leadership, though it embittered them and weakened considerably their morale as union men and women. The betrayal of the strikers was never more flagrantly exemplified than in the failure along the three lines outlined above.

4. Refusal to Take Advantage of Opportunities for Early And Favorable Settlements

Finally, we come to the manner in which the leaders of the General Strike Committee went about the matter of gaining a settlement with all employers.

It must be remembered that, due to the procedure described in Part I of this report adopted by the Communist leaders, public opinion for the first time in the history of our Union was decidedly against the strike. In every other strike in the past sixteen years, our Union has always had the support of the press and of the community. The absence of this support emboldened the employers in their resistance against the Union. Nevertheless, the International, through a steady stream of publicity from its office, exerted every effort to win a favorable opinion, and to counteract any suggestion that there might possibly be a rift in the ranks of the leaders. Because of this whole-hearted support extended but not always accepted by the General Strike Committee,—various offers of mediation

and settlement were made to the Union from time to time during the strike.

The first of these came early in the strike when, on July 14, 1926, Governor Alfred E. Smith issued a statement to the press, in response to a visit from the representatives of the Industrial Council, who were then using every possible means of placing themselves in the public eye as the upholders of the Governor's Commission. In this statement Governor Smith again suggested the recommendation of his Commission as the basis for a settlement. In response to this suggestion, Hyman, as chairman of the General Strike Committee and President Sigman answered, after expressing the thanks of the Union to both the Commission and the Governor, by pointing out that even if a settlement were made with the Industrial Council, it would by no means solve the main problem of the industry, because of the far greater volume of production controlled by the jobbers.

The second occasion came when the strike was about six weeks old. A man who had at one time been chairman of the New York Joint Board, and who gave this as the basis of his interest, Mr. Abraham Axelrod, called to see President Sigman, after having consulted Mr. Hyman. According to Mr. Axelrod, he had met with several of the leading members of the Industrial Council, and with a number of the most important jobbers, and had learned from them that they were ready to confer, on, roughly, on the following basis:

1. The concession of a larger minimum than had been mentioned in the Governor's award.
2. The forty-hour week from the date of the settlement.
3. Limitation of contractors in a form similar to that recommended by the Commission. In fact, the Industrial Council leaders promised in return for the limited reorganization right to eventually withdraw all work from contractors and temporarily, on their bond, to have all contractors' establishments in the name of the manufacturers who supply them work.
4. A compromise on the reorganization question on a more favorable basis, say 5 per cent, than in the report of the Commission.
5. As a counter-proposition in return for the above, the jobbers asked the withdrawal of the time guarantee of employment.

According to Mr. Axelrod, if at the last moment, the jobbers' association, as such, would refuse to stand by these proposals, a number of the largest producers were ready to settle independently and grant full limitation.

This offer, which probably could have formed the basis of negotiations, was laid before the strike leaders, particularly before Messrs. Hyman and Boruchowitz. Hyman made no comment on the offer. Boruchowitz, however, openly declared that the offer could not be considered because the strike was not yet fully developed, and the very entering into negotiations would demoralize the strike leadership. In fact, he used this as an example in pointing out to President Sigman the differences between the leadership of the International and the Communists. He stated that he realized it was dangerous, from their point of view, to begin negotiations for settlement in the early stages of the strike. Once such negotiations were begun, he said, the element of compromise would enter the mind of the leadership. This would have a demoralizing effect on the leadership and would reflect on the manner of the conduct of the strike itself. Therefore, it was impossible, no matter what the offer, to enter into negotiations in the sixth or seventh week. This point of view, stated by Boruchowitz, was a substantial confirmation in the midst of a crisis of the point of view given by Zimmerman at the Philadelphia convention, and later, after the strike was lost, by their leader, W. Z. Foster.

Under the circumstances, President Sigman did not make public this offer. One has only to analyze these terms to see how much more favorable they were than the terms accepted after six months of struggle, when the strikers had gone through unbelievable suffering, many of them starving, others in jail and under sentence through the betrayal of the Communist leadership. However, according to Communist dogma, the importance of a strike was not in what could be won but in the arousal of "revolutionary" feelings on the part of the strikers.

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At about this time, also, a committee of cloakmakers headed by Wolf Langer, an old-time member of the Union, called on Joseph Barondess. They suggested that since he was fully acquainted with our organization and also knew the employers that he attempt to bring about a settlement of the

strike. On telephoning Mr. Hyman, Mr. Barondess was informed that a settlement was expected within the next three days, at the end of which time Mr. Hyman would communicate with him. After the lapse of a week, since no word was received from Mr. Hyman, Mr. Barondess again telephoned and received the reply that "there would be no settlement".

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A fourth occasion arose when on August 25, Governor Smith held conferences with members of the Industrial Council and with strike leaders and suggested that the matter in dispute be submitted to arbitration. The answer of the Union, again signed by President Sigman and by Hyman as Chairman of the General Strike Committee, was that such an arbitration would not touch the larger part of the production controlled by the jobbers. The letter also suggested that instead of arbitration, the Governor exercise his influence to bring about direct conferences between the representatives of both sides. Such conferences, as we shall show, were subsequently arranged, but nothing was done until after it was too late. After the season had begun in September, and it became obvious to the manufacturers that the leadership of the General Strike Committee was ineffective and that they actually could get over-production, they were no longer willing to make concessions.

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In connection with this reply of President Sigman and of Hyman to the Governor, we are afforded a very interesting example of how ready the Communist Party and its press were to betray the strikers, if their nominal head, Hyman, refused to obey them to the last dot, both in the manner and the nature of his "leadership". It was known that the wording of the letter to the Governor had not met with the approval of the real leaders, Boruchowitz and Zimmerman.

Shortly after its release in the press, the "Daily Worker", the official English organ of the Communist Party, carried an editorial on September 2, referring to the "disgraceful letter" in which Hyman "representing the center, a leader from whom the workers had the right to expect better things" had consented to join with the "right wing Sigman element to compromise the struggle". Its conclusion was that the strike "is in danger", that "the left wing is apparently playing only a

negative role in this affair; its fault is in remaining too much in the background" and insisting that "the left wing must take control and lead the strike to victory." The letter also contained, of course, its usual abuse of President Sigman and a denunciation of Governor Smith.

There are two interesting factors, not then known, which reflect on the situation. The first is that President Sigman was opposed to the complete rejection of Governor Smith's proposal. Even though the inside manufacturers did control only 25 per cent or less of the production, a settlement at that time would lead to the strengthening and development of the inside shop system and the weakening of the irresponsible jobber-sub-manufacturing system. These inside shops could, moreover, be controlled in such a way that their work would not be made for the jobbers; the jobbers then could have been brought more quickly to realize the necessity of a settlement. The support of the returned workers also would be a valuable element in helping the strikers that were still out. However, President Sigman on this occasion, as on many others, having offered his suggestions before a final decision was made, fulfilled his duty as a union official, and bowed before what was then exigency of the day. Again, once this decision was made, he did not oppose or in any way hinder the further conduct of the strike. On the contrary, as we have shown, he initiated the movement for aid to the strikers from other locals of the International and from the labor movement in general.

The other fact is the obvious willingness of the Communist press to betray the strike and to depose the nominal head should he deviate even in the least way in following out their orders. Up to that time, since he was elected as a Communist choice, Hyman, who continually and even now poses as a non-Communist, merely followed their orders and was, as everyone knew, a mere figurehead. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the uninitiated, Hyman was the official leader, and the attack in the "Worker" could therefore be construed only as an attempt to hammer down a leader in the midst of a strike.

This brings us now to September and the opening of the fall season. Conferences with the Industrial Council, as a result of Governor Smith's intervention, were subsequently called by the Impartial Chairman, Raymond V. Ingersoll, on September 2 and 3. Even at this stage of the negotiations, a more

satisfactory settlement could have been made than that which was finally reached. In return for a compromise on a 5 percent-reorganization clause, the Union could, by careful negotiation, have won the forty-hour week, the first, and most important provision for the limitation of contractors, an employment bureau under union control, and substantial increases in the scale. It must be remembered that many of the members of the Council employed sub-manufacturers as well. The Communist leadership was still not ready, however, to give up their task of "creating revolutions".

The employers then entered upon the last stage of the fight—this time not to resist union demands but to fight them to the end. A campaign was begun by the Industrial Council in the Jewish Morning Journal and in The Day, challenging the strike leaders to call a referendum of the workers on the continuance of the strike, and charging mismanagement. Instead of meeting this challenge squarely, Hyman dodged by stating that he would conduct such a referendum only on the basis that, should the strikers vote to continue, the Industrial Council would settle on the original union terms. This obvious and ridiculous evasion was not lost on the strikers, who, by now, were in the throes of despair. The arrests of our pickets became more and more numerous, and the protection afforded them; less and less adequate. The payment of strike benefits had only just begun.

In this last stage of the fight, the Industrial Council obtained one of the most sweeping injunctions in the history of our industry against the Union. On September 11, 1926, Supreme Court Justice Charles L. Guy issued a temporary restraining order, prohibiting not only picketing of any kind, but, by implication, forbidding even the holding of strike meetings to discuss the business of the strike insofar as it affected the shops of the members of the Industrial Council. This order was made permanent on September 29, 1926, by Supreme Court Justice Ingraham. Morris Hillquit represented the Union, and in his argument took particular exception to the clause prohibiting any and all picketing of the Industrial Council shops.

As a protest against this sweeping injunction disposing of all rights of the strikers, a monster mass-meeting was called in Madison Square Garden on Tuesday, September 21. This

was preceded by a march of 25,000 cloakmakers from the strike halls to the Garden. This meeting was addressed, among others, by President Sigman and by Congressman Fiorella LaGuardia. The previous day, when the mass picketing demonstration took place in the garment district, President Sigman, Vice-Presidents Halperin, Ninfo and many strikers were arrested for violation of the injunction and were later released on bail. The arrest of President Sigman and his appearance in Jefferson Market Police Court caused a tremendous stir. Congressman LaGuardia, who was on the picket line with President Sigman, demanded equality of treatment, but he was not arrested.

In all the various phases of the mass movement of protest against the injunction, as well as in the mass picketing demonstrations, the members of the General Executive Board of the International took a leading part. It was Vice-Presidents Mollie Friedman and S. Ninfo who presented resolutions of protest at the meetings of the Central Trades and Labor Council, which included provisions for the calling of city-wide conferences and demonstrations of protest. Such a city-wide conference and demonstration was called on October 16, and included as part of its program a visit to Mayor Walker in protest against the activities of the police. These conferences and demonstrations, in which the members of the G. E. B. played a prominent and leading role, occurred at the same time that our delegates at the Detroit convention of the A. F. of L. presented a resolution for the support by that body of the cloakmakers' strike. The action of the American Federation of Labor, described in the section devoted to its conventions, in pledging its support and in sending out an appeal to the entire labor movement for the cloakmakers' strike, was of tremendous moral and financial assistance. Nevertheless, as we shall show, the Communists later charged the International and the American labor movement with "sabotaging" the strike and even with responsibility for the drastic injunction.

During all of this time, in spite of the fact that President Sigman and the other leaders of the General Executive Board and local unions, were aware, to some extent, of the criminal mistakes of the strike leadership,—and what is more, were continually making suggestions for their correction which would be just as invariably rejected—the attitude of the General Executive Board, in the public press, at the strike mass

meetings, and at conferences had been exactly the attitude which trade union leaders, conscious of their obligation to a strike, must take. President Sigman denied, as a matter of record, in the name of the International, the charges of the Industrial Council that the strike was actually managed by the Communist Party. He cited the support of the International, and of the American Federation of Labor, as well as of the whole labor movement, both in a moral and a financial way.

We proceed now to a discussion of the settlement finally reached with the Industrial Council in November, after the fall season had been lost, and the manner in which this settlement was made.

5. Form and Results of Communist "Class Collaboration"

During all of the period under discussion, in fact ever since 1924, the Communist attitude toward any form of mediation had been that it was "class collaboration" and, as such, the vilest outrage which could be committed by a labor organization. This they put forth as the basis of their attack at the Philadelphia convention on the submission in 1924 of our issues to the Governor's Commission.

It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that this cloak-makers strike, which was to have been the symbol of "revolt" should finally have been settled by mediation and "class collaboration". The type of "class collaboration" and of the mediator, as well as the results which followed from it, can be judged from the facts which we submit herewith.

After the failure of the September conference, several unsuccessful efforts were made to bring about further conferences with the Industrial Council. In all this time, the jobbers were completely ignoring the general strike which had so completely failed to touch them. During one of these unsuccessful conferences, or immediately after it, Zimmerman remarked to President Sigman that he could have obtained better terms through one Arnold Rothstein, than had been offered it by the representatives of the Industrial Council. Neither President Sigman nor any one of the Advisory Board of the General Strike Committee, with the exception of Zimmerman, Hyman and Boruchowitz, were aware that any negotiations were being carried on by any mediator at that time. Arnold Rothstein had been chosen by three men, without even consulting the

advisory board of the General Strike Committee, to whom they were responsible.

This "mediator", Arnold Rothstein, so far as we knew, had at no time been identified with any movement of a public or labor nature. Certainly there was nothing in his career to resemble any of the previous mediators and arbitrators in our industry,—Louis D. Brandeis, Hamilton Holt, Dr. Felix Adler, Robert Bruere, and many other prominent men and women of their calibre. On the contrary, he had been prominently mentioned, according to the newspapers, in several unsavory gambling scandals.

On hearing of this mediator, President Sigman suggested that, if any mediation were to be used, the terms upon which it was to be based should be discussed. As a result of this suggestion, an informal conference was held in which took part President Sigman, Morris Hillquit, Raymond V. Ingersoll, Dr. Henry Moscowitz, Hyman, Boruchowitz and Zimmerman. To this conference, held in the first week of October in the Council room of the International Building, came Arnold Rothstein, who was later joined by his attorney. At that gathering, it was discovered that Arnold Rothstein had been acting as mediator for the past six weeks without the knowledge of the Advisory Board or the General Strike Committee—in fact during the very period when the Communist press was hottest in condemnation of "class collaboration".

This revelation was made in the following way. In presenting the demands of the Union, Morris Hillquit included the clause which has existed in our collective agreement ever since 1910 and which had been included in the recommendations of the Governor's Commission—the provision that no worker be discharged or discriminated against.

On hearing this demand, Arnold Rothstein turned on Zimmerman with the indignant rebuke that for six weeks he had been working with the consent of Zimmerman on the understanding that this clause was to be omitted, and that he did not intend at this time "to be made a fool of." This statement astonished President Sigman since it had not only revealed a gross form of "class collaboration", but showed that this procedure had been followed by Hyman, Boruchowitz and Zimmerman without even consulting their own general ad-

visory board of the General Strike Committee, the responsible executive body of the strike.

When official conferences began with the Industrial Council on October 15, or thereabout, finally resulting in an agreement on November 12, it was evident that the Communist leaders of the strike were willing not only to betray the workers through this form of "class collaboration" and concession, but, now that they realized that they were defeated, they were willing to, and did, concede many other points which had been primary issues in the strike.

On November 12, 1926, after twenty weeks of strike, suffering and starvation, the loss of an entire season and of wages amounting to thirty million dollars and after the expenditure of over three million dollars by the General Strike Committee, an agreement was reached which fell far below the recommendations of the Governor's Commission made before the strike and certainly far below what might have been obtained by careful negotiation before the strike was called, or during its early stages. The only gain made was the 42-hour week, which, we have every reason to believe, could have been obtained without a strike. The losses resulting from the strike can be summed up briefly as follows:

A. In the agreement.

1. A three year agreement with three reorganizations instead of a two year agreement with one such reorganization.
2. Reorganization not limited and subject to review as in recommendations of Governor's Commission.
3. Reorganization not confined to establishments of 25 or more workers but applicable to all inside shops regardless of the number of workers. The only concession on this was that reorganization was contingent on 32 weeks of employment or its equivalent.
4. Loss of limitation of contractors—the most important point in the program of the union.

B. Other losses

1. No agreement as yet with the jobbers against whom the strike was directed.
2. No agreement with the sub-manufacturers' association.
3. A great increase in the already excessive number of units, particularly of the small non-union uncontrollable sub-manufacturing type.

4. The loss to a large portion of the membership of a complete season, of thirty million dollars in wages, of all standards in the shops.
5. Finally, a complete financial, moral and economic demoralization of the membership.
6. The Communist Attack on the International and the Labor Movement

The settlement with the Industrial Council, and the situation in general, were so unfavorable, that the Communist leadership of the strike and the Communist Party decided that a special effort would have to be made to "put the agreement over" on the strikers. The following communication, sent out by the Communist Party on the eve of the strikers' ratification mass-meetings, is offered to show the holding of such special caucus meetings, and to show some of the backstage bossing of the strike and strikers by the Communist element.

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

District 2

Industrial Department

108 E. 14th St., New York City

November 12, 1926.

Dear Comrade:

In view of the important developments in the cloakmakers' situation, we are calling a meeting of all party members in the I. L. G. W. U. for this Sunday, 1:00 p. m., at 108 E. 14th Street.

You realize how much is at stake in our having a clear policy on this situation and how important it is to prepare for the meetings that will be held to approve the settlement made with the Industrial Council. There can be nothing more important for you at this time than to attend this meeting. We will check up on the attendance.

We are calling a meeting of the League members at 7 p. m. Please inform all you may meet. Admission will be by membership book.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) Joseph Zack,
Secretary, Industrial Department, District 2

P. S. William Z. Foster will be present at this meeting.

This special effort was perhaps unnecessary, for the strikers after twenty long weeks of struggle under such criminal mismanagement, would have accepted any agreement.

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The failure of the strike and the nature of its leadership was commented on by a leading liberal weekly *The New Republic* in an editorial of November 26, 1926, as follows:

"The strike is now commonly conceded to have been unwise if not unnecessary. It was the culmination of the tactics employed by the Trade Union Educational League of the Workers' Party in winning control of the administration of the Joint Board of the Ladies' Garments Workers. The beginning, conduct and settlement of this strike represents the climax in the application of the principle of 'boring from within' to the management of American trade unions. Mr. William Z. Foster and his coterie of trade union philosophers seized upon the union of women's clothing workers as an experimental station for testing their pet dogmas. Rarely has an experiment had such a disastrous and tragic outcome. By every accepted standard of leadership, the members of this group merit the distrust with which they are regarded by the American Federation of Labor.

"The settlement of this strike is a tribute to the courage of the thousands of cloakmakers who since 1910 have come to appreciate the value of their organization and have learned to fight for its existence. Their last experience may have taught them to distinguish between political and industrial issues, and to appraise intelligently the qualities of successful and honest leadership."

The Communist leadership now decided on two courses. In the first place, it would attempt, prior to ratification, to make as much as it could out of the so-called gains of the strike. In the second place, both to account for the inevitable charges of failure by the membership, and also in line with its general procedure, it would shift the responsibility for the failure directly upon the International, the American Federation of Labor and the whole labor movement, including the *Jewish Daily Forward*, which unselfishly and loyally helped the strike morally and financially. The second alternative was completely in line with Communist activities and was practically ordered in the ultimatum issued by the Workers' (Communist) Party, appearing in the "*Daily Worker*" several days after the settlement, November 17, 1926. This is contained in instructions for "The Immediate Work of Our Party". Paragraph two not only demanded a resumption of the "militant struggle against the Sigman right wing machine" but chided "our comrades leading the strike of the cloakmakers" for "their right wing deviations." The paragraph follows, and is in itself one more item of evidence in the long array of documentary proof of the premeditated manner in which the Communist group

had gone about in capturing and disrupting the Union and the strike in the interest of a political machine;

"However, right wing manifestations have appeared in a number of instances in our trade union work, particularly in the city of New York. The right wing manifestations here referred to have become outstanding in the conduct of some of our comrades leading the strike of the cloakmakers. Permeated by a craft union ideology, these comrades not only resisted the party policy on amalgamation, but failed also to carry out the decisions of the party that a militant struggle be waged against the Sigman right wing machine which consciously worked for the defeat of the strike in order to use the defeat to eliminate the left wing from control of the union. The failure to pursue a militant policy in this and many other matters demanded by the party has weakened the party influence among the masses in the cloakmakers' strike. (Black face type ours).

"The party must therefore, absolutely resist all these manifestations endeavoring to convince the comrades of their mistakes and bring them to the party line. If these measures do not result in the correction of these right wing deviations, the party will be obliged to take stronger measures."

The Communist strike leaders, therefore, at the very ratification meetings, reopened their offensive against the International and the labor movement. At a mass meeting on November 15, 1926, at Webster Hall, Zimmerman began the attack by charging the labor movement, which included not only the International and the American Federation of Labor but the Forward and the Workmen's Circle, with failure to support the strike.

The next move was an open attack, in the form of a letter by the General Strike Committee, which appeared on November 18, 1926 in the "Freiheit," denouncing the International as a "klan," and laying police brutalities, injunctions and scabbing at the door of the International. A translation of the letter is included herewith:

November 18, 1926

Brothers and Sisters:

What we have expected has happened. The klan and its organ, the "Forwards" have openly declared war against the cloakmakers, their strike and their Union.

For twenty weeks this gang has been hiding in its lair in the hope that the brave, courageous and bitter cloakmakers strike would break down. The Union has reached a settlement with the inside manufacturers, and is on the verge of settling with the jobbers and sub-manufacturers. This gang got fright-

ened and quickly started its nefarious work to openly break the strike.

The cloakmakers still remember the attacks of the "Forwards" on the leadership of the Joint Board prior to the strike. As soon as it became known that the Union is not in a position to accept the recommendations of the Governor's Commission and a strike is unavoidable, the organ of this discredited clique rolled up its sleeves and started a systematic, mean attack on the Union. Instead of aiding the Union against the bosses, the "Forwards" and Right leaders strengthened the hands of the bosses by slanderous attacks on the Joint Board. Day in and day out the columns of the "Forwards" notified the bosses that the Union is weak and helpless, that it cannot strike; that the recommendations of the Commission should be accepted and no betterments be sought.

The Union did not agree to this and could not and dared not do so. The strike was called—a strike for the most elementary demands of the tens of thousands of cloakmakers.

That gang feared to openly attack the Union. They still remembered the bitter lesson they learned from the Fur strike. The "Forwards" and its clique had so burnt their fingers by their open treachery in the Fur strike, that they were necessarily compelled to alter their tactics in our strike. Instead of open opposition they chose covered opposition, which is more treacherous than the former. To the world it appeared that they were heart and soul with the strike; on the quiet they continually sabotaged the strike through every means. We cannot here enumerate their dark deeds. The General Strike Committee will have an opportunity to declare to the members of our Union more fully about the true and real role this discredited clique played in our strike. In every important step in our bitter struggle, we were met by systematic boycott and sabotage.

At the time when tens of thousands of cloakmakers were striking in New York, open scabbing was committed in a number of cities. The international officers did nothing to prevent this.

The "Forwards" and its kiansmen now contend that it was useless to strike for a settlement as was now made. They, however, made every effort during the entire period of the strike, to convince the General Strike Committee to accept a settlement that was far worse than the present one. The General Strike Committee had to continually oppose the desire of the Rights to accept such a settlement. If we had followed their advice, the cloakmakers would not have had the conditions they now have through settling with the Industrial Council.

The sabotage did not exist only as far as scabbing out of town is concerned. All who are acquainted with the inside politics of Tammany Hall and its officers wondered: How is

It that the police and courts were so brutal to the cloakmaker strikers. Everyone wondered that the Tammany politicians, who always boasted of their relations with the cloakmakers, should in this strike come out openly against the Union. How is it that the same Judge Guy, who in a previous strike granted an injunction to the Union, should in this strike grant such an outrageous injunction against the Union. The explanation is very simple: Tammany Hall politicians know very well that the "Forwards" and its gang are desirous that the strike be lost. Tammany Hall politicians understand a wink.

These were the plans of the Klansmen. With their secret sabotage they strengthened the hands of the bosses; with their connections in other unions, they prevented our receiving aid for the cloakmakers. They built their remaining hope on the injunction, on the thousands of arrests of strikers and on the starvation and fatigue of the cloakmakers. All their plans came to naught; their hopes vanished. Neither the scabbing in other cities, the sabotage in obtaining assistance for the strike, the injunction, nor the arrests have broken the strength of the strike. The cloakmakers have stood the test 100 per cent. Instead of the injunction breaking the strike, the strike broke the injunction.

The jails were full of strikers, but their spirit was not weakened. The Industrial Council, which largely built its hopes on the help of the Rights, had to settle with the Union on conditions, which they had previously refused to consider. One part of the trade has ended the strike. There are good prospects for settling with the jobbers and sub-manufacturers, and the union must once and for all time get and retain control of the entire trade.

This, the klansmen could not permit. To settle the entire trade, to get the jobber under control—that would mean a victory for the cloakmakers and the death knell for the entire black clique. That would kill all their plans to regain control of the workers and to boss them around, as in the good old days. The black forces got organized. Before the inside manufacturers had shown any signs of approving the settlement with the Union, the "Forwards" immediately attacked it in order to jobbers. The Klansmen in the halls attempted through ever, demoralize the ranks of the workers in the fight against the means available to create demoralization among the strikers; their aim being to hinder a settlement with the jobbers. They seek through various tricks and by innuendo against the leaders to break up the unity of the strikers, to undermine the faith of the strikers in the General Strike Committee. The "Forwards" encourages the jobbers not to settle.

They talk about money when they themselves ruined the Cloakmakers' Union financially.

They suddenly become the caretakers of the Union's funds. The cloakmakers very well know this lecherous gang which have

for many years sucked the blood of the cloakmakers. This same gang, which now clamors through the "Forwards" about money and who now asks, in the midst of the strike, for an accounting of the funds, did not contribute towards the 20 per cent strike fund, which every striker paid immediately upon returning to work. These wage grabbers have the audacity, in time of strike, to talk about money.

Brothers and Sisters! For twenty weeks you have conducted a courageous and brave strike. A world of enemies were against you. Enemies without and enemies within. Nothing frightened you; no hardship hindered you. We settled with the inside manufacturers. We now have to continue the struggle against the jobbers. Let us continue our strike. Answer those who have now crept out of their lair, properly. Do not permit the "Forwards" and its boys to belittle the gains of our long and bitter struggle. Stand united, in closed ranks, and the Union will emerge stronger than ever before from this struggle.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the
CLOAK MAKERS GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE.

Immediately thereafter, there was circulated in the market a leaflet containing a similar attack on the International and the General Executive Board.

In the face of this barrage of slander, the General Executive Board, which met in regular quarterly session from November 30 to December 3, 1926, issued a statement denying these malicious charges and pointing out the shameful mismanagement of the strike. It will be noticed that this answer contains no suspension or expulsion, although it does set forth a great task before the cloakmakers of New York—that of ridding the Cloakmakers' Union of its disastrous Communist leadership. The full statement follows:

Statement to the Membership of the I. L. G. W. U. From the General Executive Board

December 1, 1926

The fate of the cloakmakers' strike is practically settled. It is true that no agreement has yet been reached with the association of jobbers. But since the strike leadership has definitely abandoned the demand for a guaranteed period of employment and has accepted limitation of submanufacturers in the agreement with the Industrial Council in principle only and conditionally, the issues between the Union and the organized jobbers have been relegated to the background. It goes without saying that the Union must continue whatever fight is still left against the jobbers with the greatest possible energy

and determination, and try to secure the most favorable agreement obtainable under the circumstances.

Under ordinary circumstances your General Executive Board would have waited until the complete and formal end of the strike before making a public statement to the membership about the conduct of the strike. But the left wing leadership of the cloakmakers' strike in New York has seen fit at this time to make a public statement charging the officers of our International with bad faith and even treachery in connection with the strike. Under these circumstances we can remain silent no longer. We consider it our imperative duty to the cloakmakers of New York and to the whole body of membership of the International, as well as to the labor movement as a whole, to lay before them the true facts in all their naked ugliness.

The chief issues for the achievement of which the cloakmakers of New York were called out on strike five months ago have been cast overboard or abandoned. They were abandoned solely through the incompetence of the Communist leadership of the strike and through their criminal indifference to the fate of 32,000 workers who have placed their welfare and their whole existence in their keeping.

That the strike has been shamefully mismanaged cannot be argued away by all the sophistries and misrepresentations of its leaders. The gains which the Union has made, in its agreement with the Industrial Council, over the recommendations of the Governor's Commission consist in some additional increases of the minimum wage scale. Those of the operators and cutters are very insignificant. In the other crafts the increases average about three or four dollars per week. It must be remembered, however, that these are not real raises given to the workers, but merely increases of the minimum wage scales which do not benefit the large masses of workers who are being paid at or above the new minimum.

The Union also obtained a reduction of work hours from 44 per week to 42 hours and eventually to 40 hours. This may seem like a gain, although it is doubtful that the New York cloakmakers would have gone into a general strike for the reduction of their hours of labor at this time, especially in view of the fact that it is generally known and accepted that the Union could have induced the manufacturers to concede a reduction of hours without a strike.

As against these gains over the Commission's recommendations, the Union in its settlement with the Industrial Council has practically given up the provisions for limitation of submanufacturers which the Commission had definitely granted. The Commission's recommendations, which were to go into effect at once, provided that every jobber and manufacturer should designate a number of submanufacturers who shall be employed exclusively for his work, and that every jobber shall equitably

distribute his work among all his submanufacturers. This recommendation the Industrial Council accepted at that time. In its present agreement with the Industrial Council the Union accepted a provision which leaves the entire subject in the air by referring it to a joint committee to work out a system of limitation "in conformity with plans put into effect generally in the outside system of production."

Another defeat for the Union is in the reorganization right granted to inside manufacturers. The Commission recommended that such reorganization right shall be exercised only once a year; that it shall be granted only to employers having a regular force of at least 35 workers, and that it shall be free from "unfair discrimination". Under these provisions any worker claiming to have been unfairly discriminated against in any manner would have had the right to reinstatement if his complaint were sustained by the Impartial Chairman. This too was accepted by the Industrial Council at that time.

The reorganization clause accepted by the strike leadership gives to the employer the right to make three reorganizations between June 1927 and December 1928, that is, in the period of one year and a half. The organization right is not limited to manufacturers employing 35 workers or more, but is extended to the smaller manufacturers employing less than 35 workers who do all their work inside. The workers have no right to complain of unfair discrimination, but only of discrimination for union activity.

It is true that the reorganization rights go to only such employers as give their workers earnings equal to 32 weeks wages in the year, but the inside shops have always given more than 32 weeks' earnings. And what is most important, this term does not mean 32 weeks of work but 32 weeks of earnings, including pay for overtime, which in most instances would amount to much less than 32 weeks of work.

Weighing gains against losses the cloakmakers have thus gotten less than was offered to them voluntarily about half a year ago. For this they have been on strike about 20 weeks. They have been deprived of earnings for a whole season and have suffered untold misery and privation. The strike has cost the Union about three million dollars and has left it under the burden of a tremendously heavy debt. Scab production has been increased in all directions and a new crop of substandard non-union shops, in the New York market and outside of it, has been produced. It will take the Union years of hard work and sacrifice to repair the damage which the ill-fated strike has caused.

The General Executive Board fully realizes that when workers in an industry go on a general strike they take the chances of victory or defeat. A loss of a strike is not always the fault of the leadership. But we charge that in this case the

strike was provoked without necessity and authorization and that the defeat was brought about by the incompetence and criminal negligence of the leadership of the Cloakmakers' Union.

The great movement which our International Union has conducted for the past three years to force responsibility upon the jobbers for work standards in the submanufacturing shops controlled by them, was seized by the Communist leaders of the Joint Board as a political move for fortifying the positions of the Communist leadership and for carrying out the philosophy and tactics of the Communist Party. That explains the reason why they brushed aside the recommendations of the Governor's Commission which offered a workable basis for negotiating an agreement and which contained definite proposals regarding jobber responsibility and contractor limitation,—and threw the whole industry into a strike. This strike was decided upon by them long before the Commission had made its recommendations and would have been called no matter what concessions the Commission had granted the Union.

For the first time in the history of the Cloakmakers' Union a general strike was called without the vote of the membership. It was the workers in the shops who had to bear all the hardships and privations of a general strike. It was they who were called upon to make heavy sacrifices,—and yet they were not even given a chance to state in a referendum whether they cared to undertake the fight. The large body of the membership had no voice in this matter of vital importance.

Before the strike was called, we had time and again urged the leaders of the Joint Board not to plunge the cloakmakers into a general struggle with all the employers' associations in the industry, without first attempting to negotiate an agreement on the basis of the Governor's Commission's recommendations. We pointed out to them that on most important issues the Commission's recommendations were not final and that through negotiations a satisfactory agreement could be reached, at least with one important group, the "inside" manufacturers, which would give us a chance to concentrate our strength and wage a winning fight against the jobbers. We emphasized the fact that our chief concern was the jobber-submanufacturer problem, and that the Union must, first of all and primarily, impose responsibility for work conditions in the submanufacturing shops on the jobbers and thereby put a stop to the disastrous growth and spread of the jobber-submanufacturer system contained in the report of the Commission, and the Commission's definite recommendation for limitation of contractors, we pointed out to them, gave the Union an excellent weapon to force the issue against the jobbers with the backing of the entire public opinion behind us.

But the Communist leadership of the Cloakmakers' Union ignored our warning and completely disregarded our advice and suggestions. The very first step in the strike was a childish and unpardonable blunder.

The main grievances of the cloakmakers, as we stated above, were not primarily directed against the inside manufacturers but against the jobbers. It is the jobbing-submanufacturing system which at this time is the greatest menace to the workers because it demoralizes the industry and bids fair to bring back sweatshop conditions. The inside shops are infinitely superior to the submanufacturers' shops in point of wages, length of employment, stability and general working conditions. Yet the erratic leadership of the Cloakmakers' Union managed to turn the struggle into one against the inside manufacturers and practically neglected the fight against the jobbers.

The principal demands on the jobbers were limitation of sub-manufacturers and a guaranteed time period of employment. The wise leaders of the strike have so maneuvered the situation that these demands were practically dropped before any negotiations with the jobbers had even been attempted. The fight revolved around wages, hours and reorganization rights—all matters that concerned the inside manufacturer rather than the jobber.

In organizing the General Strike Committee, no attention was paid to experience and fitness in the selection of members for the various committees. The leadership of the most important committees was entrusted to persons who had nothing in their favor except membership in and adherence to the Communist Party.

Another sample of their unpardonable management of the strike is shown in the manner of settling individual shops during the strike. In general strikes, and especially in this one because it was supposed to have been directed against the jobbers—the question of settlements with individual manufacturers was a very serious one and should have been weighed carefully in each case. Caution should have been exercised to make sure that the work produced in the settled shops would not find its way to strike-bound firms. But we find that large numbers of shops were settled in this strike which were known before the strike to have been producing work in large quantities for jobbers and inside manufacturers. Settlements were made also with a number of shops which were notorious as unfair to the Union.

Yet, in spite of this glaring misconduct of the strike, in order to cover up their own blunders and treachery, these incompetent leaders have the audacity to cast the blame for their misdoings on others who are in no way responsible for this mismanagement. They for instance, have now raised the cry that the Philadelphia cloakmakers have scabbed on the New York strikers during this strike, though it is a known fact that the Philadelphia cloak trade is a very small one, and that the Philadelphia Joint Board exercised every possible precaution to see to it that no scab garments were made for striking New York firms. In the same manner they are slandering the cloak-

makers of other cities and calling them scabs. It is quite logical that the small markets should have gained somewhat as a result of the New York strike, for it is likely that those who customarily dealt with New York manufacturers and jobbers should try to have some work done for them in other markets which were not on strike. Striking firms in New York no doubt tried also to have work done for them in these outside markets and doubtless succeeded to an extent, though the amount of work done for them could not have been sufficient to demoralize the New York strikers, especially in view of the fact that our cloak locals in other markets were vigilantly on the watch to prevent the production of work for striking firms in New York. So that the charge that the cloakmakers of other cities were scabbing on the New York strike is obviously but a smoke-screen raised by the leaders of the strike to cover up their own sabotage, the scab-bootlegging caused by the large number of individual settlements that they made, and their woeful incompetence.

All previous general strikes of cloakmakers succeeded in attracting public support. In these days a large strike of workers must always reckon with public sentiment. The last strike met with general disapproval and antagonism which showed itself in the treatment of the strike by the press and the public at large. A sample of the treacherous tactics of the leaders of the strike is reflected also in their attitude towards the American labor movement in this conflict. While the International Union has actively sought the cooperation of the labor movement and its financial and moral support, and has gained it on a scale unequalled in the past in all our struggles, the left wing chiefs of the strike have continually in their press and at meetings attacked the labor movement, heaping abuse and calumny upon it and antagonizing every organization that would not subscribe to their policy of wreck and disaster.

The strike had been on for about three months before it ever occurred to the leadership that a strike is not an end in itself and that efforts should be made to bring about a settlement. It is a matter of general knowledge that we could have settled this strike more than once during these five months on terms more advantageous than those secured now, but the leadership of the strike which shaped its strike policy to suit the wishes of the Communist politicians, sidetracked all these opportunities and kept on groping blindly with the fight.

Throughout this heartbreaking procedure the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union did not utter a word of public criticism of the ruinous tactics of the left wing leadership, though we constantly pointed out to them their blunders and mismanagement. We felt that any dissensions in the ranks of the cloakmakers while the active fight was on would still more aggravate the situation. We cooperated with the strike leadership faithfully and steadily to the extent that we were permitted to cooperate. Time and again we endeavored to bring some measure of system and reason into

the conduct of the strike, but our advice and admonitions were rejected by the left wing leaders who got their orders from the Communist Party.

We cannot stop the Communists and their party from black-guarding and besmirching the characters of trade unionists and of leaders in the trade union movement. Character assassination and mud-slinging are the Communist stock-in-trade. But our International Union and the American trade union movement must not and shall not permit Communist blackmail chiefs, or such as serve their nefarious schemes and purposes, to assume positions of leadership in the trade union movement. It is the sacred duty of the labor movement to rid itself of this pestilence. The Communist leadership of the Cloakmakers' Union has all but ruined the organization. The great task before the cloakmakers of New York at this time is to rid themselves of their irresponsible and ruinous leadership and to concentrate their whole strength and energy in the effort to rebuild the Union under sane and sensible leadership and to regain its former power and standing for the true benefit of the men and women who work at the trade.

— When this statement, endorsed by a majority vote of the General Executive Board, was read, Hyman arose and stated that for weeks he had been doing his best to keep the "Freiheit" from attacking President Sigman and the International, but that now that a fight had been begun he would not stop it. Portnoy and Boruchowitz read a prepared statement, repeating the charges contained in their slanderous public statements. After emphasizing the necessity of "amalgamation" as the panacea for all conditions, this proclamation of the two Communist members called on the G. E. B., (a) to "condemn the attacks of the 'Forwards' and the pernicious activities of the right wing leaders"; (b) to "take immediate and drastic steps to help check scabbing in Philadelphia and other centers"; (c) to "undertake a campaign to secure immediate financial aid for strikers and a loan of \$100,000 by the International"; (d) to "issue an immediate call for an Amalgamation Conference of all the needle trades". This bombastic and silly statement was rejected.

When the statement of the Executive Board was issued, and even prior to that time, the Communists renewed their attacks in even more virulent form. When the General Executive Board adjourned, President Sigman was given power to call a special meeting at any time should an emergency arise—a power which he always had. Within a few days after the adjournment of the regular session, several occurrences and

crises developed which led to a call for a special meeting of the General Executive Board ten days thereafter, on December 12.

In the statement of the General Executive Board of December 1, 1926, the cloakmakers were called upon to rid themselves of their disastrous leadership. We shall now proceed to a discussion of the response of the members of the cloak locals, and the manner in which Communist attacks, combined with mismanagement and betrayal, forced the General Executive Board to take more drastic steps to bring relief to the membership, to end the disastrous strike which was still unsettled and to prevent further calamities which each additional day of Communist misrule threatened.

In the meantime, before the General Executive Board had adjourned, a spontaneous mass meeting of cloakmakers was called in Cooper Union on December 2. A committee was chosen to bring President Sigman and other officers of the General Executive Board to this meeting, and both he and Vice-President Dubinsky addressed the crowded meeting and promised them relief from Communist misrule if they desired it.

PART IV

THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD ENDS COMMUNIST MISRULE

The Lockout of the Workers in the Sub-Manufacturers' Shops

In the few days between the date of the answer of the General Executive Board to the slanderous charges of the Communists, on December 1, and the date of the important order of the Board of December 13, the Communist leadership, in a series of occurrences, threatened to put the final touch of destruction to our Union and to all standards in the industry. This took place in connection with the threatened lockout in the sub-manufacturers' shops.

During the very days in which the General Executive Board was in regular session, the sub-manufacturers' association demanded of the Communist leadership the same conditions in their shops as had been granted to members of the

Industrial Council by the agreement of November 12. This included the complete right of reorganization. As an alternative, the sub-manufacturers proposed arbitration. It must be remembered that there had been no settlement with the American Association. Most of its members had been given individual contracts, as pointed out here before on the pretext that they were working directly for the trade. These sub-manufacturers now maintained that they had been discriminated against, and that their settlement was contingent on that of the entire industry. Their demand was made on December 1, and they gave the strike leadership, which they said had promised them these terms, five days within which to reply to their demand. Naturally, the strike leaders were asked by the other members of the Board what program they had in mind for meeting this crisis. Messrs. Hyman, Zimmerman and Boruchowitz completely refused to discuss the matter.

At the expiration of the five days, on December 6, after the General Executive Board meeting was over, negotiations with the American Association began. Neither President Sigman nor any other member of the General Executive Board were notified of these conferences and learned of them only accidentally at the last moment and were, therefore, unable to attend the conferences. For two or three days negotiations proceeded, but it became clear that the Communist leadership would not submit the demand of the sub-manufacturers to arbitration.

There were several reasons for this refusal to go to arbitration:

1. The possible effect on the minds of the arbitrators of the type of settlement made with the Industrial Council.
2. The necessity, from the Communist viewpoint, for diverting the minds of the workers by some new conflict in order that they might be forced to overlook the tremendous losses and criminal mismanagement of the Communist leadership in the past six months.
3. The prolongation of a mass strike would insure Communist continuance in power.

In accordance with Communist dogma, if they had heeded the advice of Wm. Z. Foster, the sad plight of the strike at that moment did permit even such an unholy thing as arbitration.

In an article on "Strike Strategy" in the "Daily Worker" of November 22, 1926, Foster had, namely, said, probably in explanation of the outcome of the settlement with the Industrial Council, as follows:

"Left Wing Policy

"The left wing opposes arbitration in principle as well as in practice. It stands for a policy of open negotiations with the employers. This makes for the best clarification of the issues involved, for securing the most material concessions from the employers, for the greatest stimulation of the workers to struggle, and generally for the best development of the trade union movement.

"In some cases, however, even the left wing will find it expedient to arbitrate. This is when the workers are especially poverty-stricken (which sometimes unfavorably affects 'odd' men) or when their weak unions, hopelessly outmatched by the employers' organizations, must grasp at any straw. Thus it is conceivable that the left wing might refuse arbitration offers from the employers at the beginning of a strike when the union is strong and yet accept arbitration at the end of the same strike when the union is practically defeated. In such desperate circumstances something may sometimes be saved by arbitration.

"When going into arbitration, it is of great importance to try to have basic points in controversy, such as recognition of the union, etc., agreed to beforehand, and only points of lesser importance referred to arbitration."

This advice of Foster was pointed out to the Communist leaders at that time; but as their whole existence and rule was at stake, the Communists could not afford to go to arbitration and end the strike. The strike had to be continued, as we have said, in order to postpone as long as possible the day of reckoning. Finally, the continuance of a strike was necessary for the upkeep of the large army of mercenaries maintained by the Communist leadership to terrorize the workers. These paid mercenaries, in fact, had gained such power that the Communist leadership feared them.

On December 9, 1926, therefore, on top of a twenty-week struggle, thousands of workers in the sub-manufacturing shops were locked out, and joined the thousands in the strike halls.

At mass-meetings called by the Communist leadership on the eve of the lockout, no program was outlined. This meeting was packed with Communists from other trades and no trades at all, and only by such packing was the leadership able

to get an endorsement of their policy which refused to accept arbitration.

In the meantime, of course, the Communists kept up their campaign of slander against the International and the trade union movement in an effort to becloud the minds of the workers and to divert them from the crisis confronting them.

The General Executive Board Takes Over the Settlement of the Strike and Lockout

Under the circumstances, the General Executive Board was faced with the alternative of permitting these ten thousand workers to be subjected to additional suffering and losses, or else, as these members pleaded, to take over the conduct of the strike until the crisis had passed.

The discontent of the cloakmakers with the strike leadership was now becoming articulate. Every day committees of workers called at the office of the International beseeching the G. E. B. to take over the management of the strike. Mass-meetings and spontaneous demonstrations in front of International headquarters called by the workers for the same purpose, were taking place with frequent regularity.

The cloakmakers had, at the Cooper Union meeting of December 2, already formally indicated their desire that the International should intervene. When the regular meeting of the Board had ended, President Sigman was authorized to call a special meeting at any time. On December 11, 1926, under his own signature, President Sigman issued in the "Forwards" a statement to the cloakmakers promising them that the General Executive Board would soon take a hand in the matter.

A translation of this statement follows:

"To the Cloakmakers!

**From the President of the International
Sisters and Brothers:**

"Your strike, which has entered its twenty-fourth week, has reached a moment when immediate action is necessary.

"As the president of the International and of the General Executive Board, I feel that it is my sacred duty at this time to say the following words to you—words not merely to ease the heart, but words regarding immediate action.

"Something must be done instantly.

"An end must be made immediately to the unfortunate state into which the Communist leaders have brought you

"You are starved. Many of you simply have no further endurance. They have kept you in this strike for twenty-four weeks. Each week brought with it worse conditions: the leaders have so entangled the entire situation and brought the Union into such chaos that it would be a crime on my part and on the part of all of us to continue to tolerate them further and postpone action.

"This great tragedy and the terrible crimes that are being committed at your expense must be stopped.

"It is twenty-four weeks since the politicians of the Communist Party have taken your fate into their hands. Without obtaining your consent, they forced you into this miserable situation.

"The recent lockout by the sub-manufacturers, which threw tens of thousands of workers again into the streets, threatens our trade and our Union with an even severer plight. That would make the tragedy even worse for you and your families

"This must not be permitted

"This matter cannot be left any longer in the hands of the Communist politicians and their henchmen, who hold your Union by its throat.

"The mess must be undone! You must be freed from starvation and from the fate which threatens to prolong this agony.

"An end must be made to this immediately.

"I am calling a special meeting of the General Executive Board of the International for this Sunday, December 12.

"The General Executive Board is the authoritative body which can, must and will take this situation into its hands.

"The entire organized labor movement of America has its eyes turned on what is happening in this strike.

"Political parties should never rule over you! Communists should not derive any capital for themselves at the expense of your martyrdom!

"An end must be made immediately.

"The Union must be ruled by the Union itself.

"On the eve of the strike the Communist leaders were warned against dragging you into a strike before getting your consent. A referendum was suggested. They refused. They wanted nothing but a strike, without asking you.

"They were so ordered by the commanders of the Communist dictatorship, and only these were asked—you were not consulted.

"A strike affords them the best opportunity to force on an industry that despotic dictatorship which Communists attempt to bring about everywhere.

"The law laid down by Zinoviev and despatched by Moscow day after day is: 'Capture the unions or destroy them.'

"And when they had an opportunity to capture a Union, they destroyed it anyway.

"A Union is important to them first, because of its treasury, and secondly, because through politics and the division of jobs among their comrades and henchmen, they can build up an army to expand their rule.

"Three million dollars passed through their hands in this strike.

"They caused excessive scabbing and ruined the strike. The important thing for them was—to hold your treasury and your lives in their hands.

"During the middle of the strike there were times when it was easy to settle and obtain good conditions. We advised them to settle. Their reply was: No, it is not time yet.

"They desired to prolong their dictatorship in order to keep up the flow of hundreds of thousands of dollars through their hands, to continue to dictate over the lives of tens of thousands of workers.

"Their inexperienced, honest sympathizers were made to believe that a revolution was taking place in America.

"Such naive followers truthfully believed that several thousand Jewish cloakmakers could cause a revolution in America. But these honest followers are forsaking them! By the tens and hundreds they are leaving them!

"There are, however, many among their followers who simply want to make a milch cow of the Union. There are also individuals among them who lack character and who are made their slaves because of personal political ambitions.

"You have been victims of this senseless situation long enough!

"Suffering for twenty-four terrible weeks is sufficient!

"An end must be made to this! And the General Executive Board will have to take the situation into hand immediately.

"Every loyal union man and friend of the Union will help to free the Union from slavery and get it out of the morass in which it is sinking.

MORRIS SIGMAN".

To clarify the situation and to work out a definite policy, a special meeting of the General Executive Board was called for December 12, 1926, at which Messrs. Hyman, Boruchowitz and Portnoy were present. The Board called on them to give an account of the deadlock and subsequent lockout. Hyman gave a long explanation to the effect that the American Association had misinterpreted his statements when it said he had promised to give them the same conditions as were given the Industrial Council. He gave it as his opinion that the American Association took its stand because of the "internal factionalism" in the Union. He dismissed the lockout of the sub-manufacturers then in its fourth day very lightly:

" . . . They think we are weak and helpless and they can take advantage of us. We did not think they would carry through that lockout but they ordered it and it was a failure. I think under ordinary circumstances it would have been settled in a day or two. Their plans are to close their shops until Monday or Tuesday and then call the people to work on the same conditions as in the Council shops. That only means that they would not permit the business agent to visit the shop. How else can the conditions be different? So until the regular season begins, it is only two or three weeks, and in these weeks we will not send a business agent, not until after the season begins."

In other words, the Communist leadership was ready to send the workers back to work on the same condition as the sub-manufacturers demanded, without the recognition of the Union "until after the season begins", and without even a settlement with the Association. This policy of betrayal was substantiated in an answer to a question by President Sigman as to whether reorganization rights had at any time been conceded to the sub-manufacturers. To this question Hyman replied:

"I said in the press that if they withdraw their other demand and if the old agreement stands, they can have, as far as reorganization is concerned, the same clause as the Industrial Council has. . . . I myself believe that they should have it, I think they are entitled to it. . . ."

In answer to another question, it was disclosed that there was a large number of jobless men, whose shops had gone out of existence during the strike, in the strike halls, for whom the Communist leadership had no plans after they had sent the locked-out workers back to work.

The matter of finances was discussed and it was sud-

denly disclosed that over \$800,000 of employers' securities had been expended.

Portnoy and Boruchowitz followed with only one statement—that the General Executive Board feared the issue of “proportional representation”—and was using this means of obstructing it. It is impossible to imagine a more frivolous and criminal statement under the circumstances. They then introduced a motion calling on President Sigman to resign, and were informed that they would have to make charges in the regular way before any such motion could be considered.

Members Petition International to Save Them From Disruptors

On the second day of the General Executive Board meeting, on December 13, thousands of cloakmakers, marching in spontaneous parade, came to the headquarters of the Union where the Board was meeting, petitioning for aid. This parade kept up in an orderly and quiet fashion throughout the entire day. In response to insistent calls, President Sigman and other members of the Board addressed the workers who had overflowed the building from the windows, promising them the aid of the International.

The General Executive Board Issues Order and Names Provisional Joint Board for Settlement of the Strike

The General Executive Board, thereupon, issued the following order to all locals and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in answer to the appeal of the membership:

“To all locals and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and particularly to the members of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York.

“GREETING.

“The New York Cloakmakers' Union is facing the gravest crisis in its history.

“The so-called ‘Left-Wing’ leaders of the Union have brought the organization to the brink of utter ruin and demoralization and have exposed its 35,000 members to acute suffering and misery.

“They have precipitated a disastrous general strike in the industry without a necessity and without the consent or sanction of the membership in gross violation of the Constitution of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

"They have instigated and conducted the strike under the direction of the Communist Party for purely political purposes and in criminal disregard of the welfare and the interests of the workers.

"Through their irresponsible tactics and their methods of stupid and brutal violence they have alienated the sympathy and support not only of the public at large, but also of the great body of legitimate trade unions.

"They have exhausted all resources of the Union and saddled it with a tremendous debt of more than one and a half million dollars.

"They have paralyzed the operations of legitimate manufacturers with the best labor standards in the industry but have permitted work through individual settlements in shops conducted by irresponsible employers and even in shops controlled by notorious underworld characters. They have neglected the fight against the jobbers which was the main issue of the strike.

"They have fostered gangsterism, terrorism and scabblism within the ranks of the cloakmakers, and have subjected their union to public disrepute.

"Through their incompetence, negligence and utter lack of sense of duty and responsibility they have dragged on the gigantic struggle with the inside manufacturers over a period of twenty weeks, thus totally and for the first time in history, ruining an entire season, and now, when the workers are thoroughly exhausted, they are plunging them into a new fight with the submanufacturers and jobbers which may ruin the coming season. They are ready to let the workers bleed to the last drop of blood just because the Communist principles and hairbrained Communist leaders would not permit them to arbitrate the outstanding differences and to permit the long-suffering membership to go back to work.

"No paid agency of the most unscrupulous employers could have brought more crushing defeat and greater disaster to the rank and file of the Union than these false leaders did.

"A continuance of this insane management would inevitably lead to a total destruction of the Union and the sacrifice of all achievements for which the cloakmakers of New York fought and suffered during a period of sixteen years.

"Such a calamity the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union cannot and will not permit.

"By our constitution the General Executive Board is charged with the general supervision of all the affairs of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and is empowered to adopt regulation for the government of the organization, to adjust disputes between employers and the workers and to make contracts with employers. It is also authorized to appoint any sub-committees which it may deem necessary to perform special functions.

"In the performance of these duties and in the exercise of these powers the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in special session on this 13th day of December, 1926,
Orders,

1st. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union through its General Executive Board and the subcommittees hereafter named hereby take over the exclusive management and direction of the pending strike of the cloakmakers' union of New York and of all negotiations for settlement with individual employers and associations of employers, and no member, officer, board, committee or subordinate body of the International shall in any way interfere with the conduct of the strike or negotiations for settlement unless specifically authorized thereto by the General Executive Board.

2nd. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union through its General Executive Board and the subcommittees hereafter named hereby takes over the exclusive management and direction of all the affairs of the Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit, Dress, Skirt and Reefer Makers' Union of New York and of all the local cloak makers' unions affiliated with it, and no members of the Joint Board or any of its said affiliated locals and no officer, executive board, or other board or committee of these organizations shall in any way interfere with the conduct, management or direction of the same without express authorization of the General Executive Board. All dues and assessments must be paid to the General Executive Board or its duly authorized representatives and all working cards must be signed by them. Dues and assessments paid to or working cards signed by other persons will not be recognized.

3rd. This order shall remain in effect and the direct management of the International as above set forth shall continue during the period of the present emergency and until such time as normal conditions shall have been re-established in the Union and a free and honest election of officers has become possible.

4th. All officers and members of the General Strike Committee, and all its committees; the president, secretary, treasurer and general manager of the Joint Board and all other officers, employees, business agents, and members of the Board; all chairmen, secretaries, treasurers, trustees, managers, executive board members, and other officers, representatives and employees of all locals affiliated with the Joint Board, are hereby directed, within 24 hours of the receipt of a copy of this order, or upon personal demand, to deliver to the General Executive Board at the headquarters of the International or to the respective subcommittees appointed by it, as hereafter set forth, all books, records, documents, securities, moneys, and all other properties of their respective organizations in their possession.

Fraternally yours,

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
I. L. G. W. U.

It will be noticed from this order that no officers or members were expelled, and the provisional committee consisting of the General Executive Board and the sub-committees from each local were appointed to take over the functions of the Joint Board during the period of emergency, and until a regular and formal election of officers had become possible. Committees were named from each of the locals, though only the committees from Locals 2, 9 and 35 were new, the committees of the other locals being regular executive board members.

The list of these committees follows:

Local 2

B. Kaplan	L. Goldstein	M. Feinberg
H. Feinstein	L. Goldberg	P. Kritzer
L. Smith	M. Hiller	S. Garnick
B. Lapidus	L. Dinnerstein	L. Katz
J. Weisblath	L. Berliner	L. Cooper
L. Margulski	L. Ferber	N. Sackstein
M. Cohen	M. Wagman	M. Bagno
E. Gutterson	A. Rosen	Ph. Katz
J. Felerstein	Z. Goldfarb	R. Zuckerman
N. Puretz	I. Horowitz	Charles Nash
I. Freedman	M. Levy	M. Rothenberg
P. Kurinsky	T. Orchitzer	

Local 3

D. Rubin	S. Turenshine	M. Borenstein
M. Burst	V. Saltzman	R. Barschack
L. Rouch	H. Post	L. Yalowitz
M. Cohen	M. Bettinger	S. Koren
M. Kamerling	J. Teig	H. Hipszman
M. Michelson	B. Golonty	L. Reiner
M. Gottlieb	M. Schmeterer	Manuel Billig
E. Kalish	H. Rauch	D. Schwartz
M. Lazarowich	M. Silber	M. Bellig
J. Blickstein	B. Winsatsky	

Local 9

S. Amislawsky	I. Schwartz	M. Lefkowitz
Ab. Cohen	H. Saltzberg	L. Kravetz
S. Zuckerman	J. Portnoy	I. Wallech
A. Socowsky	S. Berman	J. Horowitz
H. Dann	M. Blath	H. Wachtel
M. Kipnis	S. Peltman	J. Kehlberg
F. Glassoff	F. Rein	A. Rubin
J. Schneider	G. Sobel	P. Rudnitsky
S. Sherman	N. Steinberg	H. Willemborg
A. Schwartz	M. Freedman	M. Goldstein
N. Kirtzman	S. Rosenberg	

Local 10

M. Friedman
Max Gordon
Samuel Kerr
Fred Ratner
Phillip Ansel
Sam Shonker
Samuel Perlmutter
David Fruhling
Phillip Oretsky

Louis Pankin
Louis Forer
Julius Kwalt
Nathan Saperstein
Harry Shapiro
Sam Massower
Benj. Sachs
Phillip Hansel
Julius Levine

Max Stoller
Jacob Kops
P. G. Lewis
M. W. Jacobs
David Dubinsky
Joseph Fish
Isidore Nagler
Jacob Fleischer

Local 23

M. Konsky
J. Riess
L. Rabinowitz
J. Malmud
S. Goldberg
L. Pinkofsky

J. Frumtchik
B. Altman
J. Sugarman
N. Hine
F. Sidellman
S. Fromet

M. Landsberg
S. Baum
F. Sadowsky
J. Miller
I. Blumengarden

Local 35

N. Kimborofsky
D. Baron
F. Eisenberg
M. Glazer
J. Price
M. Katz
B. Margolin
I. Friend
M. Weisman
J. Seltzer
J. Wasilevsky

D. Bolkin
H. Dorfman
L. Cohen
J. Levinson
A. Saslow
B. Berland
M. Blatt
J. Nachby
S. Deltch
A. Kessler
Isaac Feinstein

J. Faktorowitz
M. Friezer
B. Friedman
P. Leizer
M. Weprinsky
I. Newman
B. Yellin
M. Schechter
L. Rief
M. Love
Aaron Ebert

Local 48

S. Ninfo
G. Blondo
G. Voltri
R. Samperi
R. Esposito
C. Nizza
A. Volardi
G. Spina
A. DiPaola

G. Agli
V. Catania
G. Vollaro
R. Mancuso
E. Lofisani
A. Pallono
G. LaRusso
G. Licastro

C. Ambrosini
A. Termini
P. Nicita
N. Castrovinci
D. Bono
G. Fulmara
A. Lignori
S. Canzonol

Local 22

Jacob Cooper
Phillip Dinnerstein
Louis Borin
Harry Roth
J. Schneider
A. Dashkow
A. Kretter
Alex Cantor
Meyer Rosen

Sonia Farber
B. Wilensky
N. Margolis
Rose Kaplowitz
J. Shapiro
Max Kusher
J. Shankman
M. Rosenfeld

W. Greenberg
B. Fleisher
Ida Rubin
Jacob Leibowitz
Rose Telensky
Isaac Halpern
Isidore Bushkin
Meyer Mackles

The first act of the International and of these provisional committees was to enter into negotiations with the American Association. It was decided to submit the issues to an Arbitration board consisting of members of the Governor's Commission, who were thoroughly acquainted with the situation—Judge Bernard L. Shientag, Col. H. H. Lehman and Professor Lindsay Rogers. During the five days which took the arbitrators to render an award, the Communists perpetrated another outrage, which led to further action by the International. This was the open declaration of war at a Madison Square Garden meeting, called directly by the Communists for the purpose of fighting the International.

The Communist Declaration of War

The order of the General Executive Board directed that the provisional committees take over power until the emergency was over. No members or officials of the Union were expelled or deposed.

Instead of accepting it, the Communist strike leadership immediately sent out by circular and through their press a notice of a massmeeting in Madison Square Garden on Saturday, December 18, to defy the International. Prior to the meeting they attempted to stage a demonstration in front of the International Union Building to counteract the effect of the spontaneous demonstrations of our members. An organized attempt by the Communists to stage a riot in front of the "Forwards" building resulted in a fiasco. It must be remembered that this all occurred during the days when the dispute with the sub-manufacturers was being considered by the arbitrators.

In spite of blatant Communist defiance of the legal action of the General Executive Board and of the local unions, President Sigman urged all International members to go to the Garden meeting and there to demand an accounting of the strike.

That the massmeeting, however, was not a union gathering was proven by the fact that thousands upon thousands of our members, many of them carrying strikers' cards in their caps, were refused admittance to the hall. They were denied entrance by a specially picked committee consisting of Communists from all trades, reinforced by hundreds of police and detectives who guarded the Communists. Only those who

could show satisfactory passmarks of Communist allegiance were admitted. On the day of the meeting, President Sigman had received a notification from them to appear at the meeting. Along with thousands of other members, however, he was refused admittance, in fact, was escorted out of the hall together with several other members of the G. E. B., at the very moment when Hyman was denouncing him from the platform for not daring to attend the meeting.

When President Sigman was excluded from the Garden, thousands of cloakmakers who were waiting around Madison Square Garden, met him with a tremendous ovation and urged him to lead them to another meeting place. President Sigman, together with several vice-presidents, marched from the Garden down to Webster Hall, which proved too small for the large mass of workers and the overflow was directed to other halls where similar meetings were held. At these meetings resolutions of complete loyalty to the International were passed.

The exclusion of union members from the Garden was acknowledged and justified by Hyman in a statement to a reported of the "New York World":

"We do not permit people to enter who are members of our union whom we know to be troublemakers."

That Communist massmeeting, packed with their members and sympathizers, many of whom had come from cities as far as Boston, confirmed the policy of the betrayal of the workers by issuing an order to the locked out workers calling upon them to return to shops without any settlement, and also closing the strike halls on the following Monday morning to the thousands of workers whose shops had gone out of existence, and who were left penniless and starving.

The full significance of this betrayal can be seen in the fact that the Communists did not even wait for the five-day period for the award to be given out, but, rather than see a victory for the workers gained for them by the Union, they ordered the workers back in defeat.

This action of the Communists, and their hue and cry for a vote to show where the membership stood, called forth the next order of the General Executive Board and of the representatives of the provisional committees—for a registration of all the members.

The Order for Registration

At a special meeting of the General Executive Board and of representatives of the provisional Joint Board on Sunday, December 19, it was decided to take a step which would once and for all show whether the cloak and dressmakers stood with the International and with the American Federation of Labor, or whether they wished the continuance of the misrule of the Communist Party. This was to be determined by a free and voluntary vote in the form of registration with the International and expressing support of its policies. It applied to all members in the New York Joint Board. Upon registration, new union books were to be issued which would be the only ones hence to be recognized. The charge for these new books was made low because of the severe leaderships endured by our membership prior to, during and after the cloak strike. Members holding books paid up to July 1, 1926, received new books for fifty cents; others paid \$5 which covered all arrears.

The following is the registration order:

"Cloakmakers Register"

"All cloakmakers of Locals 2, 3, 9, 10, 23, 35, 48 and 82 must register and receive official International Union and working cards.

"Registration begins Wednesday, December 22, and thereafter—hours 9 A. M. to 9 P. M.

"Registration offices:

Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street

(All shops to and including 30th Street)

Bryant Hall, 725—6th Avenue at 42nd Street

(All shops above 30th Street and all avenues)

"Official International Union Books will be issued as follows:

Members holding pink books will receive new books upon payment of fifty (50c) cents. (35c for a stamp and 15c for the book)

Those holding books of any other color will receive new books upon payment of \$5.00 (Five Dollars) which covers all arrears.

BRING YOUR PRESENT DUES BOOK AND WORKING CARD OR STRIKING CARD. REGISTER BY SHOPS.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
Provisional Committee of Cloakmakers

Several days later, on December 22, registration was extended to the Dressmakers' Local No. 22 as well. The Madison Square Garden meeting was a defiance of the International, and registration, therefore, became necessary as a test of the loyalty and affiliation of all members. Moreover, the agreement in the dress trade expired on January 1, and the likelihood was strong that the Communists would stage another disastrous strike in a last attempt to show their power. As a matter of fact, the "general strike of dressmakers" was an item on the agenda of a convention of the Trade Union Educational League called for the early part of January, 1927.

The Provisional Officers

At this meeting of the General Executive Board, sub-committees of the Board and of the provisional committees were appointed to carry on the remaining work of the strike. These were as follows:

Investigation Committee	S. Perlmutter
Organization Committee	D. Dubinsky and P. Oretzky
Finance Committee ...	A. Baroff, H. Greenberg and M. Friedman
Law Committee	L. Pinkofsky
Hall Committee	D. Rubin
Settlement Committee	S. Ninfo
Out-of-Town Committee	J. Halperin

The officers of the provisional committees and of the Union were selected as follows: General Manager, President Sigman; Manager of Cloak Department—Vice-President M. Amdur, Manager of Dress Department—Vice-President J. Hochman, Secretary—Max Schoenfeld. These provisional committees elected delegates to the New York Joint Board of Cloak and Dressmakers, which was duly installed January 3, 1927 as the Provisional Joint Board. A list of these delegates and of the officers of the Joint Board follows:

Provisional Joint Board

January 3, 1927

Delegates

Local 2

L. Cohen	I. Fried	E. Gutterson
B. Kaplan	P. Kurinsky	Sam Orchitzer
R. Zuckerman	Mgr. P. Kurinsky	

Local 3

M. Borenstein	E. Kalish	B. Wisotsky
Mgr., D. Rubin		

Local 9

N. Kirtzman	S. Berman	P. Rudnitzky
J. Portnoy	N. Steinberg	S. Sherman
F. Rein	S. Kravetz	Mgr. N. Kirtzman

Local 10

S. Kerr	Max Stoller	Max Gordon
Louis Forer	J. Qwait	Louis Pankin
Mgr. D. Dublinsky		

Local 21

Leo Arch		Mgr. Max Bruck
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Local 22

P. Dinerstein	J. Schneider	A. Dashkow
Sonia Farber	B. Wilensky	N. Margulies
I. Bushkin	H. Roth	Mgr. I. Spielman

Local 23

S. Frumchick	Meyer Konsky	Ch. Landsberg
Louis Reiss	Mgr., L. Pinkovsky	

Local 35

J. Faktorowitz	H. Dorfman	A. Levinson
H. Schlackman	I. Friend	Mgr. I. Wasilevsky
L. Relf	Ch. Bernstein	

Local 48

Ed. Mollisani	C. Ambrosini	D. Bono
V. Catania	G. Spina	A. Termini
E. Veltri	G. Vollaro	Mgr. S. Ninto

Local 82

P. Helt	L. Yasser	Mgr., L. Rosenblatt
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Local 89

Anna Alfano	Jos. Miranda	Jos. Salerno
A. Barone	John Egitto	
Anna Rugglerio	Mgr. L. Antonini	Jos. Piscitella

Committees

Board of Directors

B. Kaplan, Local 2, Chairman
E. Kalish, Local 3
S. Sherman, Local 9
M. Stoller, Local 10
Leo Arch, Local 21
N. Margulles, Local 22
N. Konsky, Local 23
A. Levinson, Local 35
E. Veltri, Local 48
P. Helt, Local 82
John Egitto, Local 89
I. Oberstein, Local 64

Finance

B. Kaplan, Local 2
F. Rein, Local 9
L. Forer, Local 10
Sonia Farber, Local 22
S. Frumchick, Local 23
L. Reiff, Local 35
E. Mollisani, Local 48, Chairman
Jos. Salerno, Local 89

Grievance

E. Gutterson, Local 2
M. Borenstein, Local 3
J. Portnoy, Local 9
M. Gordon, Local 10
L. Reiss, Local 23
I. Bushkin, Local 22, Chairman
J. Faktorowitz, Local 35
V. Catania, Local 48
L. Yasser, Local 82
J. Mirenda, Local 89

Appeal

I. Fried, Local 2
B. Wisotsky, Local 3
S. Berman, Local 9
L. Penkin, Local 10
A. Dashkow, Local 22
C. Landsburg, Local 23
I. Friend, Local 35, Chairman
G. Spina, Local 48
A. Barone

Executive Office

Max Amdur, General Manager
Max Schoenfeld, Acting Secretary

Harlem Office

M. Mariconda, Manager

Brooklyn Office

Chas. Chiachiarra, Manager
A. Crivello, Business Agent
E. Piccione, Business Agent
A. Ebert, Business Agent

Brownsville Office

L. Goldberg, Manager
B. Smith, Business Agent

Down Town Office

S. Perlmutter, Manager
B. Desti, Business Agent
L. Cohen " "
I. Weissblatt " "

Industrial Council Department

Isidore Nagler, Manager
Morris Feinberg, Business Agent
Chas. Carotenuto, Business Agent

Jobbers' Department

Jacob Halperin, Manager
Max Schoenfeld, Business Agent

Dress Department	American and Independent Dept.
Vice-President Hochman, Manager	Jacob Halpern, Manager
followed by	M. Bluestein, Assistant
M. Moskowitz, Manager	Chas Jacobson, Complaint Clerk
Frank Liberti, Complaint Clerk	A. Cottone, Complaint Clerk
Marie Bonano, Complaint Clerk	L. Bezabler, Business Agent
J. Cablato, Business Agent	S. Fremed " "
J. Fleisher " "	I. Friend " "
D. Fruhling " "	L. Goldstein " "
M. Feinstein " "	Max Gordon " "
C. Iandoll " "	A. Ingulli " "
F. Olivo " "	Ph. Kreitzer " "
H. Roth " "	A. S. Miller " "
N. Schechter " "	P. Muccigrossa " "
H. Strassberg " "	A. Snyder " "
J. Schneider " "	A. Wagman " "
E. Wollnsky " "	I. Wallach " "
Margaret Di Maggio, Organization Department	H. Willenberg " "
	F. Communalle " "

The offices of the Joint Board and of the locals, pending the time during which the deposed Communist officials illegally held the buildings of the Joint Board and its locals, were located in the building of the International.

We come now to an account of the many tasks of reconstruction before the International, the Joint Board, and these special committees during the trying period of registration prior to the period of elections in March of 1927.

These included the settlement of the lockout, the winding up of the strike by agreements with all factors in the industry, the establishment of the jurisdiction of the Union, the re-establishment of standards in the industry, the resistance to assaults by Communists on the loyal members of the International, the campaign against the theft and fraud of the Communists including the illegal holding of buildings and the illegal use of the name and functions of the Union, and the campaign to set the issues squarely and fairly before the entire labor movement. In other words, it was the task of saving the Union, the membership and union standards after the wreckage left by Communist misrule.

The Award of the Arbitrators in the Sub-Manufacturers' Dispute

The first task that lay before the General Executive Board and the provisional committees, as we have pointed out, was the settlement of the dispute with the American Association.

On December 15, the dispute was submitted to a Board of Arbitration consisting of members of the Governor's Commission, Judge Bernard L. Shientag, Col. H. H. Lehman and Professor Lindsay Rogers. The locked out workers returned to their shops, and within five days of the time of submission, an award was made by this Board. The full award is given herewith:

**Arbitration Award in Controversy Between Union and
America Association**

Mr. Morris Sigman, President,
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
Mr. Harry Uviller, Manager, American Cloak and
Suit Manufacturers' Ass'n.

Gentlemen:

We, the undersigned arbitrators, herewith render our decision on certain issues which were submitted to us by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the American Association of Cloak and Suit Manufacturers. On the basis of our determination a contract will be entered into between the union and the sub-manufacturers.

We heard the parties in interest on December 16th and December 17th, 1926. At their request, and having in mind the desirability of a prompt resumption of peaceful relations between the parties and the immediate return to work of thousands of employees, we are not taking the time to present an elaborate report such as would be warranted by the importance of the issues involved, but shall content ourselves with an outline of our decision and the reasons therefor.

At the outset it would be well to summarize the events that have taken place in the industry leading up to our appointment as arbitrators in this proceeding. There are four organized factors in the industry which for brevity we may designate as the union, the inside manufacturers, the jobbers and the sub-manufacturers. The jobbers in the industry are not jobbers in the ordinary acceptance of that term. Instead of merely being wholesale distributors they are indirect manufacturers as they purchase their materials and give out the production to sub-manufacturers who follow the instructions of the jobbers as to style.

In June 1924, a serious strike in the industry was threatened. The union had made certain "demands" on the jobbers who were organized in an association called the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association. Governor Smith appointed a commission of five and instructed them to make a prompt study of conditions in the industry with a view to preventing the threatening strike. Extensive hearings were held at which

time the so-called "demands" of the four factors in the industry were thoroughly discussed. The important disputed issues were largely with reference to the jobbing-sub-manufacturing system, which had developed in the industry in recent years and which had grievous effects in increasing unemployment, breaking down union standards and in dividing production among hundreds of small shops which it was almost impossible to control.

The Commission in the summer of 1924 made a series of preliminary recommendations including, among others, the establishment of an Unemployment Insurance Fund, the adoption of a sanitary label and the creation of an impartial machinery to adjust disputes and differences among the four parts to the collective agreements. This preliminary report was accepted by the parties, a strike was averted and collective agreements were entered into by them on the basis of the commission's recommendations. Heretofore, there had been a collective agreement between the sub-manufacturers and the union, but as a result of the recommendations of the Commission, a collective agreement was entered into for the first time between the jobbers and the sub-manufacturers' associations.

The Commission emphasized the necessity of an impartial scientific investigation of conditions in the industry before it would be in a position to pass judgment on certain other important demands made by the respective parties. Accordingly such an investigation was had, the first of its kind in the history of the industry. The report of the investigators was made the subject of a series of hearings at which time all of the parties in interest presented their respective contentions. The report showed conclusively that the chief evils of the industry, excessive unemployment and a break down of labor standards, were in the jobbing-sub-manufacturing system which was responsible for 75 per cent of the total production.

Shortly before the renewed contracts expired in 1925, the Commission made another report in which it made certain recommendations to remedy grievances complained of by the sub-manufacturers in their relations with the jobbers, such as the provision of net yardage and the elimination of discounts. An impartial Bureau of Research was established. The Commission stated, however, that it was not yet in a position to make a final report on the subject and urged the parties to extend the collective agreements for an additional year. Again all of the parties accepted the recommendations of the Commission.

It should be noted that during all this time the demands of the sub-manufacturers with the possible exception of re-organization (to which reference will hereafter be made) dealt solely with their relations to the jobbers and in no wise with their contract with the union.

In June, 1926, the Commission made its final recommendations. These recommendations maintained the emphasis that had always been apparent in hearings before the Commission and in the arguments of the union and of the American Association. The Commission recommended limitation of sub-manufacturers with the hope that this might stabilize conditions in the industry and do away with the evils existing in the jobbing—sub-manufacturing system. At the same time the Commission made proposals for the encouragement of inside production and for an increase in the size of manufacturing units. No one had denied the bad effects of the change from comparatively few large units of production in the industry, employing a large number of workers, to upwards of 1000 shops for the most part employing a small number of workers each. The Commission furthermore recommended substantial increases in minimum wage scales and the strengthening of such institutions as the Unemployment Insurance Fund, impartial machinery and the Bureau of Research which had been established. The final report of the Commission was accepted by the inside manufacturers and by the sub-manufacturers. It was rejected by the union and the jobbers.

Although the undersigned were members of this Commission, we have as arbitrators endeavored to disassociate ourselves from our prior connection with the industry and have sought to arrive at our decision without in any way being bound by our prior rulings while serving on the Commission. We feel, however, that we should not allow this opportunity to pass without expressing our appreciation of the action taken by the sub-manufacturers association and by the Industrial Council of inside manufacturers, along the lines of industrial peace and harmony and to deplore the mistaken policy of the union in allowing the opportunity to pass to bring about a situation which would have compelled a readjustment of the jobber-sub-manufacturer relationship from the evil effects of which the workers themselves were the greatest sufferers.

It was inevitable, of course, that neither the sub-manufacturers nor the inside manufacturers who accepted the Commission's report should be entirely satisfied, but both showed an admirable spirit in desiring to continue the peaceful relations which had been maintained during the two years of the Commission's existence.

The result was that after a long and costly strike involving considerable loss to the employers and great hardship to the workers and their families, the Union finally concluded a separate peace with the inside manufacturers substantially along the lines which had been recommended by the Commission some months before. It is true that the manufacturers consented to a reduction in hours and to an increase in wages over the minimum scales recommended by the Commission, but from our knowledge of the situation, we are convinced that these concessions would in all probability have been secured if the

Union had joined with the inside manufacturers and sub-manufacturers in accepting the Commission's report as the basis for their negotiations. If the Union had followed this procedure, it would have accomplished the same results for its membership without jeopardizing the fundamental, constructive recommendations dealing with the jobber-sub-manufacturing relationship embodied in the Commission's report.

One of the Union's objections to accepting the report of the Commission was the proposal made that larger shops be permitted to reorganize. The settlement that was finally made between the Union and the Industrial Council gave a much greater degree of reorganization than had been recommended by the Commission. The principle that only larger units should be permitted to reorganize was given up. The result was that striking to prevent any reorganization at all, the Union was finally compelled to accept a much more extensive plan of reorganization than the Commission had recommended.

The immediate occasion for the present arbitration proceeding is the separate peace that the Union is now negotiating with the sub-manufacturers. The position of the sub-manufacturers now is that the old agreement which it has had with the Union for the past eight years should be discarded and in its place the agreement just entered into between the Union and the inside manufacturers should be used as a basis. We have already pointed out that no such contention was at any time advanced by the sub-manufacturers during the several years that the Governor's Advisory Commission functioned. During all that time the American Association was concerned primarily with the relations of its members with the jobbers. It was interested in limitation of contractors, minimum cost of production, net yardage, discounts, and the method of payment of unemployment insurance. The American Association presented to the Commission few if any differences that it had with the Union. It never argued before the Commission that its contract with the Union should be changed. It asked only for reforms which would strengthen its members in their relations and dealings with the jobbers.

The claim of the sub-manufacturers that early in the course of the present strike the Union promised them the same kind of agreement that it would negotiate with the inside manufacturers is denied by the Union and may therefore be dismissed from consideration. The contention of the sub-manufacturers that failure to receive the same kind of contract that the Union has made with the inside manufacturers is in our judgment untenable. No element of discrimination is involved because conditions of employment in the inside shops and in the shops of the sub-manufacturers are fundamentally similar. Each form of production has its own peculiar problems which require different provisions for their solution. There is a difference between the two forms of production in the number and size of the shops involved, in the tenure and stability of employment

afforded to the workers, in earnings, and in the ability to supervise and control labor standards

It is argued that if the contract with the sub-manufacturers is to provide for a reduction in hours and higher minimum wage scales as stipulated in the contract with the Industrial Council of inside manufacturers, that the contract with the sub-manufacturers should embody certain advantages which shops of the Industrial Council have always enjoyed. Hours of labor and minimum wage scales, however, have always been and must necessarily continue to be uniform throughout the entire industry. That the new contract with the sub-manufacturers will contain these changes does not, in the opinion of the Arbitrators, require changes in the other respects contemplated for by the sub-manufacturers' association.

There is, however, the special question of reorganization. Periodical reorganization to a limited extent was recommended by the Governor's Advisory Commission to encourage inside production and an increase in the size of shops. That the Union in its contract with the Industrial Council abandoned the second of these principles—the encouragement of large shops—is no reason why it should not now be applied so far as possible to sub-manufacturing shops, particularly in view of the different conditions existing in two systems of production, to which reference has been made. We therefore decide that the contract between the American Association and the Union should contain a clause with reference to reorganization in substance as follows:

Members of the American Association employing thirty-five workers from the date of this agreement to June 1st, 1928, and thereafter a regular force of forty or more workers, who have been manufacturers or sub-manufacturers in the industry for two years, and who have given thirty-two weeks of employment, or its equivalent during the year preceding the reorganization date, shall have the right to displace, not to exceed ten per cent of their workers subject to the following limitations:

- (a) That workers displaced shall be replaced through the Employment Bureau.
- (b) That workers discharged in pursuance of such reorganization shall receive a weeks' pay.
- (c) That reorganization rights shall only be exercised in the months of June, 1927, June, 1928, and December, 1928.
- (d) That there shall be no unfair discrimination for Union activity in connection with such discharges.
- (e) That the new firms admitted to membership in the American Association shall not have the privilege of reorganization until they have been members of the American Association for at least six months.

With reference to the other questions submitted to the Arbitrators, the decision is that the old contract between the Union and the sub-manufacturers should be used as the basis for the contract which is now being negotiated between these two parties. We therefore rule specifically as follows:

1. That there shall be no change in the clause of the contract relating to the unionization of designers.

2. That there shall be no change in the clause of the contract covering procedure in discharge.

3. That there shall be no change in the clause of the contract covering access to the shops of the American Association members and providing for the investigation of complaints.

4. That the reduction in hours and increase in minimum wage scales stipulated in the contract recently entered into with the inside manufacturers shall be embodied in the contract now being negotiated with the sub-manufacturers.

In conclusion we desire to thank the representatives of the two organizations for the clear and forceful manner in which they present the contentions of their respective bodies and to say that if there is any further service that the parties feel we can render in this proceeding, we shall be available for that purpose.

The conditions as they have developed in this industry have demonstrated that industrial warfare is not the most satisfactory solution of disputes arising between employers and employees. It has been shown, we are convinced, that better results could be secured for all concerned by the peaceful methods and mediation and by resort to arbitration, not through compulsion but through the voluntary action of the parties themselves.

Respectfully submitted,

BERNARD L. SHIENTAG
HERBERT H. LEHMAN
LINDSAY ROGERS

This award provided the following gains:

1. That only such shops of the American Association as employed 35 workers were to be granted the right of reorganization; and that such shops must grant 32 weeks of employment or its equivalent; with the further restriction that firms must be in business at least two years.

2. There should be no change in the contract covering procedure in discharge, which was to be permitted for gross misconduct only.

3. There should be no change in the clause of the old contract covering access to the shops of the American Association members by business agents in investigation of complaints.

4. There should be no changes in the clause of the contract relating to the unionization of designers.

The Jobbers' Agreement

After the settlement with the sub-manufacturers, the International set about the task of negotiating the last of the collective agreements—with the jobbers' association. After a number of conferences arranged by the International with the jobbers, at which President Morris Sigman, Mr. Hillquit and representatives from the provisional committees were present, an agreement was signed on January 12, 1927, between the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association. This agreement was in most respects a renewal of the one which had expired in July, 1926. Three very important gains were made, however:

1. To the paragraph relating to the production of garments for jobbers under union conditions there were added the words "or supplies" besides "those produced" as a means of safeguarding against the claim of purchasing merchandise "outright in the open market." This paragraph guaranteed that all products were to be made in union shops.

2. The second gain was that under this new agreement, the jobbers were to be part of the impartial machinery, and that the office of the Impartial Chairman had the right at any time without specific complaint to make an investigation of the books of the employers to ascertain whether any or all provisions were being carried out, particularly the provisions with regard to non-union production.

3. The formation of a joint committee of all factors to wipe out sub-standard non-union production.

This agreement with the jobbers now completed the collective agreements with the employers' associations in the cloak industry.

Renewal of Agreement in Dress Industry

Under the leadership of Vice-Presidents Hochman and Antonini and of members of the executive boards of Local 22 and 89, the agreement in the dress industry was also renewed and the dressmakers were thus saved from a calamitous strike. The details of this agreement are discussed separately under the New York dress industry.

The Jurisdiction of the International in the Industry Established

When the International took over the settlement and after the Joint Board had been formed, the deposed officials had kept up their efforts to control shops wherever they could, promising the employers "bargain rates" or the abandonment of union standards in exchange for their recognition. The Industrial Council which had signed in November, 1926, before the International had issued its order, announced a policy of "neutrality," that is, it said it would act on complaints from representatives of the deposed officials as well as from the International officers and the officers of the Joint Board. Several conferences were called by the International and the Joint Board with the Industrial Council for the purpose of clearing up this position. The Union, speaking through Bro. Isidore Nagler, Manager of the Industrial Council Department, insisted that if the Council continued this policy it would be construed as the breaking off of contractual relations with it. The Council tried to avert meeting the issue for the time being, but it was brought to a head when it announced in a specific complaint lodged by the Joint Board that it had already settled the matter in dispute with the deposed officials. It was then decided to bring the case before the Impartial Chairman, Raymond V. Ingersoll, who on January 31, ruled that the International Union and its duly constituted Joint Board were the sole bodies with jurisdiction. Bro. Nagler represented the Union at these conferences. The full text of this important decision follows:

Full Text of Decision by Impartial Chairman, Raymond V. Ingersoll, in Industrial Council Case

The hearing was on a complaint filed by President Morris Sigman on behalf of the International Union, and of the new committee or Joint Board set up recently by the International, against the Industrial Council of Manufacturers.

The complaint charged wrongful refusal by the Industrial Council to have its clerks investigate, upon demand, the discharge of a worker by a firm holding membership in the Council. The complaint stated that the reason given by the Industrial Council for this refusal was that the issues arising out of the same discharge had already been taken up by it on a complaint received by the old Joint Board of the Union. There had, however, been a disagreement on the prior complaint so that it had never been finally disposed of.

The question now raised does not involve directly the merits of the original controversy, but does involve vital mat-

ters of procedure and jurisdiction affecting the operation of the impartial machinery as set up collectively by the union, by the Industrial Council, and by the other organizations in the cloak and suit industry.

Representatives of Both Sides Attend

Because the question affects the functioning of two rival boards or bodies, each claiming to represent the union in handling Industrial Council complaints under and through the impartial machinery, representatives of both union groups were invited to attend and did attend, the purpose being that all points of view might be fairly and fully presented.

The Industrial Council explained that ever since their settlement with the union on Nov. 13, 1926, they have taken up complaints filed by representatives of the old Joint Board. Since December 20, they have also taken up complaints filed by the International and its appointees, doing so in accordance with notice received from the International Union that such appointees had temporarily taken over the functions of the old Joint Board.

Speaking for the Industrial Council, Samuel Klein admitted the facts as set forth in the complaint and outlined the difficulties and confusion which his organization has experienced in attempting to hold a neutral position and to deal at the same time with two different and rival sets of men, each claiming to be the duly authorized officers and clerks of the union.

That this division and duplication within the union is unsatisfactory, that it is an embarrassment to manufacturers, and that it tends to break down agreed labor standards, appeared to be recognized by all who were present at the hearing.

Hillquit Argues for Executive Board

Morris Hillquit, speaking as counsel for the International, argued that under the union's constitution, power over all affairs, both general and local, is concentrated in the general executive board, whose recent action in taking over the functions of the New York board, he maintains, is binding on the union and on all its members, and this, notwithstanding the fact that the old Joint Board participated last November in the execution of the collective agreement with the Industrial Council. Council pointed out further that the International itself was and is a party signatory to the collective agreement with the Industrial Council and that its officers and appointees are the only ones who have executed, and the only ones who are administering, similar agreements entered into with the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association and with the American Association of Cloak and Suit Manufacturers. These two other organizations, the Merchants and the American, share equally

with the Industrial Council and the union in the maintenance and operation of the impartial machinery.

Morris Sigman, speaking as president of the International and manager of the temporary or emergency Joint Board, argued along similar lines.

Louis Hyman, appearing as manager of the old Joint Board, denied that his board had been fairly and legally superseded by action of the International. He stated that such action had been resented by the rank and file of the union as unwarranted and void and had never been accepted by them. He questioned the propriety of having this controversy brought up before the impartial chairman. When asked whether in his opinion his Joint Board should have exclusive jurisdiction or whether the two Joint Boards should function separately through the impartial machinery, Mr. Hyman replied that he was not prepared to answer that question.

Now it is not the function nor the habit nor the desire of the impartial chairman to interfere in the internal affairs and controversies of any organization participating in the collective agreements. The impartial machinery was established for another purpose, namely to interpret and help to enforce the collective agreements themselves and to regulate to that extent relations between the organizations, in this instance between the Industrial Council and the union.

Because of the unfortunate division in the union and of rival claims to participate in the working of the impartial machinery, it was in the nature of things unavoidable that the present question or a similar one would come up. It has to be faced and the existing state of affairs must be considered for the light to be thrown upon the specific issues which are here to be disposed of.

Constitution Shows Union is Centralized

Examination of the constitution of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union shows throughout that it is of a highly centralized character. The rank and file membership is primarily membership in the International, membership in local organizations being important but secondary. Direct allegiance is to the parent body, whose very extensive powers are centered in the president and the general executive board.

Under the constitution the general executive board controls the property of the union and has almost unlimited authority to direct its policies. It has power among other things to discipline or expel members to organize or reorganize locals or to revoke their charters, to authorize strikes and to settle them and to remove officers of locals or joint boards for violation of the constitution or "for any act which may be calculated to impair the usefulness of the organization."

While under the constitution the general executive board has power to remove a joint board and to take over its functions, representatives of the old Joint Board strongly emphasize the fact that the regular constitutional procedure for removal of officers, involving a hearing as well as notice of charges, has not in this instance been carried out.

To this the International replies that the old Joint Board has not actually been removed but that its usual duties and functions have been taken over temporarily for direct administration by the International and by the emergency Joint Board establishment to aid it in that purpose. Their explanation is that because of the abnormal and demoralized conditions of the union after the strike the general executive board felt called upon to take summary action under its broad powers to "do things necessary to promote the welfare of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union," and under its power to exercise its authority either directly or through the appointment of special committees or otherwise.

Decisions of General Executive Board Final

The constitution of the union provides that "all questions involving the interpretation of this constitution and all points of law" shall be decided by the general executive board. Any local or member feeling aggrieved by a decision may, after complying with it, appeal to the next regular or special convention. Unless the general executive board itself entertains an appeal its "decisions shall be final until the next convention."

In issuing its drastic December order, the general executive board recited reasons upon which it said that its unusual procedure was based. Upon the validity of these reasons or upon the justifications given for the procedure it would be difficult, and also unwise and unnecessary, for this tribunal to pass judgment. Unfortunately for all concerned, there has been a division within the union and each group has charged the other with having resorted to irregular or unlawful procedures. If on this account any individual or group within the union has internal disputes or grievances, no one contends that they can be determined by a decision of the impartial chairman. On the other hand, the state of facts resulting from the order can not be disregarded.

The order itself appears to have been accepted or acquiesced in by many, though not by all, of the union's separate craft locals.

More important in its bearing upon the issues in this case is the fact that the order is effectively operating in a branch of the industry which is distinct from the Industrial Council, but which produces about three-fourths of the total merchandise manufactured in the New York market. That branch of the in-

dustry is the jobbing-manufacturing system. The jobbers are the submanufacturers in the American Association of Cloak, the sugmanufacturers in the American Association of Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers. Each of these organizations has an equal part with the union in the maintenance and operation of the impartial machinery. In the case of each, the strike was settled after the issuance of the order already discussed. Collective agreements with the union were made by them without any participation by the old Joint Board and only the International and its temporary board are in relations with them and handling the adjustment of complaints which must be cleared through the impartial machinery.

Want Impartial Machinery to Continue

The impartial machinery is not a new device. Beginning in August, 1924, it functioned successfully so long as the old agreement lasted, or in other words, until the beginning of the recent strike. Evidently all parties wish it to continue to function, for its continuance has been provided for in the various new collective agreements under which industrial relations within the industry are to be regulated for the next two and a half years.

This impartial machinery does not consist merely of the chairman. The managers and clerks of the various organizations are an essential part of it. In fact, they adjust and dispose of the vast majority of disputes without recourse to the chairman. Usually it is only the more difficult and irreconcilable controversies which are brought up to him. Even in these cases the managers and clerks play a most important preliminary part.

Pact Treats Union as Unified Body

In examining the contract between the union and the Industrial Council, one is struck by the fact that in it the union is treated as one unified body. Though the contract fills 30 pages of print and deals with a great variety of subjects, neither the International officers nor the Joint Board are once mentioned except in the first paragraph, and in the signatures. As to the signatures, first comes Morris Sigman, signing as president for the International organization and then comes Louis Hyman, signing for the Joint Board. The first paragraph reads as follows:

This agreement made and entered into the 13th day of November, 1926, by and between the Industrial Council of Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers, Inc., hereinafter designated as the Council, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the Joint Board of the Cloak, Skirt, Dress and Reefer Makers' Union of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, all collectively designated herein as the union. Witnesseth."

A somewhat elaborate procedure is provided for the mutual investigation and adjustment of disputes. They are to be taken up first by the filing of a complaint by either organization with the other. It is not contemplated that all complaints will originate with the union. In case of a stoppage in some shop the Industrial Council must file a complaint with "the union." It can hardly file complaints with two different sets of officers. Upon the filing of a complaint, it is a clerk from "the union" and a clerk from the council who go together to the scene of trouble to investigate and to seek an adjustment. If they fail it is taken up together by the manager of the "union" and the manager of the council. It is only thereafter, and upon failure to reach an agreement, that there must be a hearing in this office.

In all these contract provisions in regard to inter-organization relations, there is no description or identification of the union clerks and managers with whom the Industrial Council is to deal, and therefore nothing very specific to guide them in a situation such as has developed. The contract merely binds the council to deal with "the union." The union itself, for the purpose of all relations with the employers' organization, is treated as a unit, one and indivisible.

That the functioning of the machinery of adjustment as between the Industrial Council and the union is closely tied up with its functioning as between the American and the Merchants' Association and the union is clear both from the history of the institution and from the wording of all the collective agreements. The contract between the Industrial Council and the union, after describing the methods and machinery of adjustment, says:

"The procedure hereinabove outlined for the adjustment of disputes between the union and the council shall also apply to all disputes between the union and the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association and the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association if and when such associations enter into collective agreements with the union and between the associations among themselves, and the impartial chairman shall serve in that capacity with respect to the determination of all such disputes. All disputes shall be heard on notice to all parties interested therein."

Another paragraph in the agreement reads as follows:

"A joint committee composed of representatives of the parties hereto and all other organization subject to the machinery herein established shall be organized and charged with the duty of checking up the sending of work to and production of garments by non-union or sub-standard channels. Such committee shall be headed by the impartial chairman herein-after mentioned."

Clearly in the organization of this committee the union member or members must officially represent the union in all branches of the industry.

Then there may be a case involving three parties, as where a manufacturer has some work done in a sub-manufacturing shop and there is a stoppage in the submanufacturing shop or a claim against the manufacturer for default in wage payments. Instances to show that for practical purposes there must be unity in the relations of union to the impartial machinery could be multiplied indefinitely.

So far as the workers are concerned, unity is necessary to the adequate protection of their rights. A rift in the machinery would bring confusion and demoralization. So far as the Industrial Council is concerned, the mere fact that historically it was the first organization of employers to reach an agreement with the union should not subject it to the disadvantages of a double relationship. Yet whatever the Industrial Council might decide to do about the Joint Board it could not easily escape dealing with the union's supreme executive body, especially as that body alone is an effective party of all the other collective agreements under which labor standards throughout the industry are governed.

While the effort of the Industrial Council to hold at least temporarily a position of neutrality as between two factions is undesirable, its own spokesman admits that the results of such a policy are intolerable.

The decision is that, as the impartial machinery is organized, it is the duty of the Industrial Council to transact official business with the International and with the clerks and officers recognized by it and to proceed on that basis to investigate the discharge complaint out of which this discussion arose.

Attempts to Enforce Unemployment Insurance and Prosanis Label Provisions

One of the provisions which could have served as a very effective check at that time, even more than before, was the "Prosanis" Label. The Communists, in their term of office, had deliberately sabotaged this important provision on the pretext that it was a form of "class-collaboration," and the General Executive Board and the provisional committees made every attempt in the months of January and February, through special warnings to the shop chairmen, to have this provision strictly enforced. Due to the complex problems, as well as to the indifference engendered by the Communists in previous times, we must record to our sorrow that our membership did not adequately respond to this call and that this important contract provision had been completely neglected.

The General Executive Board and provisional committees made equally strenuous efforts and held several conferences with regard to the Unemployment Insurance Fund. On March 19, 1927, it was, however, decided to discontinue the fund temporarily until July, 1928, in accordance with an agreement, discussed in full in the special section on unemployment insurance.

Work of Special Committees

During this period, hundreds of members, including many former officials of locals, offered their services on the many committees. One of the most delicate tasks of the G. E. B. and of the Provisional Committee consisted in the selection of the committee members. The final selection represented a very careful choice and the use of sound discretion.

The Organization Committee, headed by Vice-President Dubinsky, assisted by Brother Philip Oretzky, had before it one of the most difficult and painfully unpleasant tasks in this period of registration and reorganization.

It carried on the usual work of organization committees, the calling down of non-union shops and their unionization. This work, however, was by no means a simple and normal activity.

In the first place, during the strike hundreds and hundreds of non-union shops, particularly of the small sub-manufacturer type, came into existence. These are always difficult to organize and control. At that time, however, the work was made more difficult because of the fact that many of the persons who had acted as scabs during the strike—newcomers and men who had left the industry years ago—who were forced out of the shops, flocked to these non-union shops when the settlements with the associations were made.

In the second place, there was a complete demoralization in the industry. All standards had been thrown to the winds by many employers of the irresponsible type, aided on one hand by the erstwhile scabs, and on the other, by the apathetic element always to be found in any organization, which now was claiming to be "Communist" to camouflage its indifference. In the wild scramble for a livelihood after the disastrous strike, with thousands of newcomers competing in an already overcrowded industry, many workers contributed to the chaos of

the period by flagrantly neglecting their elementary union duties in the shops.

But that was not all. The organization committee had in addition to defend union workers, members of the International, from actual physical assault by the hired gangsters of the Communist deposed officials. Every day, union members on their way to shops, shop meetings, registration halls, union headquarters and even at their homes, were set upon by the large retinue of mercenaries whom the Communists had attached to themselves during the strike. Moreover, the Communists indulged in a series of outlaw artificial strikes to terrorize the workers.

The organization committee met this tremendous task well and contributed greatly to the upbuilding of the Union during the period of reconstruction.

The work of the law committee, headed by Brother Pinkofsky, was also exceedingly strenuous. In many cases, Communist scabs incited arrests of our workers on false charges. The work of this committee, in aid of union members, was an outstanding contrast to that of the law committee during the strike. This committee also aided in the liberation of the imprisoned cloakmakers, described elsewhere in this report.

The hall committee, headed by Brother D. Rubin and assisted by Brother Chas. Jacobson and Brother S. Perlmutter, was in charge of the important work of registration in Bryant and Beethoven Halls. This committee, which included a large number of members of the provisional executive boards, labored devotedly and for long hours during the whole provisional period.

The settlement committee, headed by Vice-President Ninfo went about its task of settlements with the many individual employers whose shops had not yet signed, and did most commendable work.

The finance committee, too, had a tremendous task before it. The Union, at the end of the strike, was faced with a financial crisis. The Communist leadership, so far as we were able to ascertain, had expended over three million dollars, completely depleting the treasury of the Joint Board of the International, and of its locals, expending all funds collected for relief and all loans made to the International and to the

Joint Board. In addition, it was discovered that in that period they had illegally expended over \$800,000 of employers' securities. Up to the very time of the writing of this report, the international and the Joint Board are being besieged by suits for the recovery of these securities.

The Communists left behind them a long trail of unpaid bills for halls, for office rent, for printing, for lawyers' fees, for the salaries of workers out-of-town, particularly non-Communist workers, which the International had to meet. They left behind them a disgraceful record of many cloakmakers in prison, and the International undertook their defense and rendered financial aid to their families, which added considerably to its burden. These cloakmakers included strikers imprisoned in New York City and in the out-of-town sections. The support of some of these families is even today a large item of expense to the Union.

The Communists refused to vacate union buildings and legal action was necessary in order to dislodge them. In the case of the four locals, Nos. 2, 9, 22 and 35, the deposed Communist officials illegally appropriated whatever sums were left in the treasury to the task of fighting the International.

The task was made all the more difficult because the workers, too, were bankrupt and could not meet their obligations as promptly as in the past.

In this financial crisis, from which we are now just recovering, the finance committee consisting of Vice-Presidents Mollie Friedman and Greenberg, General Secretary Baroff, and other members of the Board, exerted every effort to raise loans and funds amongst friendly organizations and the labor movement, and thus made it possible for the Union to carry on its work.

All other appointed committees carried on their labors amidst unbelievable difficulties with great devotion and effectiveness. When one recalls the moral, financial and industrial wreckage left by the Communists, it seems almost miraculous that the cloak and dress organizations survived and were able as well as they did to carry on the work of the Union. During all of this period, of course, the regular routine work of the Union had continued unabated.

This Provisional Committee and the officers of the Union also undertook several tasks which extended over into the period of the spring elections, in 1927 and are, therefore, treated elsewhere—namely, the liberation of the imprisoned cloakmakers and the defeat of all Communist efforts at destruction and fraud.

The Results of Registration

All through January of 1927, of course, registration was carried on. Originally, the final date had been set for February 1, but later it was extended for another week. Shortly after the period of registration was over, the General Executive Board met to consider further plans.

The results of the registration, as reported by these committees and by the Provisional Joint Board, were even more encouraging than had been hoped for. When the full extent of Communist demoralization is taken into consideration, when the apathy engendered by it among the membership is considered, the figure of 32,000 registered workers in six weeks is, we believe, a remarkable one, and proved once and for all that the membership of the New York Joint Board was loyal to its trade union principles.

The minority of the workers which did not register had often been claimed by the Communists, but very few indeed belonged with them. Many, as we have pointed out, were apathetic; others were genuinely bewildered because the events which led up to the disastrous "peace" prior to the Philadelphia convention had made them believe that the conflict as to authority was not yet finally settled, and they withheld themselves from definite commitment out of fear. This bewilderment was, of course, increased and capitalized by the Communists, ever since they had been defeated, by their systematic engineering of camouflage "peace movements."

The General Executive Board, after expressing its thanks to the devoted members of these provisional committees, then proceeded to discuss further plans.

Locals 2, 9, 22 and 35 Suspend Themselves

In the meanwhile, the following letter, signed by Secretary-Treasurer Baroff, sent by registered mail, had been forwarded to each of the four locals, 2, 9, 22 and 35, at the old buildings:

"January 11, 1927.

"Greeting:

It has come to the attention of the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, that your local is collecting dues from members, receipting the same without the use of dues stamps of the International, and appropriating the entire amount of such dues without paying per capita taxes to the International.

In conformity with the provisions of the International constitution, demand is hereby made upon your local union to pay all per capita taxes and assessments due from it to the International, and that the officers of your local union produce all books of your local and particularly the membership ledger and records before the General Secretary-Treasurer of the International at its headquarters, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.

By order of the General Executive Board,
(Signed)

ABRAHAM BAROFF,
General Secretary-Treasurer."

The letter calls for no comment. According to the provisions of the constitution, a period of sixty days must elapse before the local becomes automatically suspended after such notice for having failed to pay its per capita and assessments. This period had expired at the time of the Board meeting, February 12, 1927.

In other words, these locals had automatically suspended and expelled themselves, in the same way that an individual member would have expelled himself by failure to comply with the constitution of the International after due notice.

So far as the other locals of the Joint Board were concerned, Locals 3, 10, 21, 23, 48, 64, 82 and 89, there had been no question at any time of their loyalty of the Union. Their members had remained steadfast all the time, and elections in them had duly taken place.

The General Executive Board Reorganizes the Four Locals and Orders Nominations and Elections

In accordance therefore, with the constitution, the General Executive Board on February 12, 1927, issued an order—

- a) Suspending the four locals from the International.
- b) Granting new charters to the workers in these four crafts, considering as members those who had registered with the International.

- c) Naming the provisional committees of these four locals to conduct the business until regular elections.
- d) Ordering nominations for the 21st and 24th of February and elections for the third week of March, 1927.

The order itself follows:

"WHEREAS, Local Unions Nos. 2, 9, 22 and 35 are in arrears in the payment of their per capita tax assessments to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for a long ~~time~~ and have failed to pay such per capita tax within thirty days after formal demand for payment made by the General Secretary-Treasurer and have failed to apply for an extension of time to make such payment,

NOW, THEREFORE, the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the International hereby decides and orders:

1. Local Unions Nos. 2, 9, 22 and 35 are hereby suspended from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

2. The charters of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union heretofore issued to Locals Nos. 2, 9, 22 and 35 are hereby revoked and the said Local Unions and their officers are hereby directed to turn over to the General Secretary-Treasurer within forty-eight hours their charters, books, funds and all other assets and property.

3. A new charter is hereby granted and shall immediately be issued to the Cloak, Suit and Reefer operators working in Greater New York and holding membership in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union under the designation and number of Cloak, Suit and Reefer Operators Union, Local No. 2, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and such reorganized Local shall be exclusively entitled to the use of such designation and number.

A new charter is hereby granted and shall immediately be issued to the Cloak and Suit Finishers working in Greater New York and holding membership in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union under the designation and number of Cloak and Suit Tailors Union, Local No. 9 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and such reorganized Local shall be exclusively entitled to the use of such designation and number.

A new charter is hereby granted and shall immediately be issued to the Dressmakers working in Greater New York and holding membership in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union under the designation and number of Dressmakers Union, Local No. 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and such reorganized Local shall be exclusively entitled to the use of such designation and number.

A new charter is hereby granted and shall immediately be issued to the Cloak, Skirt and Dress Pressers working in Greater New York and holding membership in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union under the designation and number of Cloak, Skirt and Dress Pressers Union, Local No. 35 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and such reorganized Local shall be exclusively entitled to the use of such designation and number.

4. All sub-committees heretofore appointed by the General Executive Board take temporary charge of the business and affairs of the said Locals Nos. 2, 9, 22 and 35, and which sub-committees are, at this time, temporarily performing the functions of officers and local executive boards, shall continue in the management of the business of the said Locals in their respective capacities until the elections hereafter provided for shall have been held, whereupon they shall turn over their respective offices and all books, effects and property of the said Local Union in their possession to the persons elected at such elections.

5. All operators who have heretofore registered with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union or with any committee authorized by the General Executive Board to act in behalf of the International are hereby continued as members of the new and reorganized Cloak, Suit and Reefer Operators Union, Local No. 2, I. L. G. W. U. with all the rights and privileges of membership accruing to them by reason of their membership in the former Local No. 2.

All finishers who have similarly registered with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are hereby continued as members of the newly chartered and reorganized Cloak and Suit Tailors Union, Local No. 9, I. L. G. W. U. with similar rights.

All dressmakers who have similar registered with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are hereby continued as members of the newly chartered and reorganized Dressmakers Union, Local 22, I. L. G. W. U. with similar rights.

All pressers who have similarly registered with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are hereby continued as members of the newly chartered and reorganized Cloak, Skirt and Dress Pressers Union, Local No. 35, I. L. G. W. U. with similar rights.

All members of the former Locals Nos. 2, 9, 22 and 35 who have heretofore failed to register with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union may be admitted to membership in the respective reorganized Locals upon payment of all their arrears of dues and assessments, provided they make application for such admission to membership prior to the date of nomination of officers hereinafter provided for:

6. Each of the four reorganized and newly chartered Locals shall hold a special meeting for the nomination of Executive Board officers on the 21st day of February, 1927, at 6 o'clock P. M. at the following places:

Local No. 2 at, Borough of Manhattan City of New York
Local No. 9 at, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York
Local No. 22 at, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York
Local No. 35 at, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York

Elections of officers shall be held by each of the said Locals in the third week of March, 1927, fromo'clock A. M. too'clock P. M. at the following places:

Local No. 2 at, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York
Local No. 9 at, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York
Local No. 22 at, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York
Local No. 35 at, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York

Eligibility of Candidates for Election

By this order, the eligibility of persons who sought nomination and election was made clear. Only those persons who had registered with the International during the period of registration were considered members of the Union and eligible.

In this connection, the advisability of several candidates in the locals was discussed by members of the G. E. B. As in the case of the provisional committees, some members showed an eagerness to serve in them, whose candidacies, for strategic reasons, would have had a bad psychological effect. These persons included some ex-officials of these locals. In the case of Local No. 35, the Board was confronted with special difficulty. A number of members of this local were eager to have Brother J. Breslaw on the ballot and nominated him. He, too, was eager to come into office, in order, as he said, to clear his record of the accusations made against him by the Communists. It required great effort on the part of the Board to dissuade him from running for office at that time, and to impress his supporters in Local 35 with the advisability of his candidacy.

As it might have been expected, the discretion used by the G. E. B. in stressing the tactical disadvantage of certain union members running for office at that time, has created a feeling of personal grievance among some of them, which, however, was not in the least justified by the logic of the situation.

An election and objection committee for the elections was chosen consisting of Board members: Gíngold, Antonini, Halperin, Baroff, Friedman, Amdur and Greenberg.

General Executive Board Reaffirms Decision

Although this action of the Board was in accordance with the constitution of the Union, due to a hue and cry of persecution on the part of Communist ex-officials, Board members Baroff, Amdur and Halperin sent in the following request for the reopening and reconsideration of all the matters contained in the resolution:

"February 24, 1927.

"Mr. Morris Sigman, General President
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Dear Sir and Brother:

We, the undersigned, vice-presidents and secretary-treasurer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, hereby request in accordance with the provisions of Article IV, Section 4, that you call a special meeting of the whole General Executive Board for the purpose of reconsidering the resolution adopted by the Board on the 14th day of February, 1927, with respect to the reorganization of Locals Nos. 2, 9, 22 and 35 and reopening all matters and subjects mentioned in the said resolution for new consideration and action.

The undersigned have voted in favor of the said resolution and make this request because they understand that the regularity of the meeting of February 14th, 1927, is disputed by certain members of the General Executive Board who claims to have received no notice of the same.

Fraternally yours.

(Signed)

MAX AMDUR

JACOB HALPERIN

ABRAHAM BAROFF"

Such a meeting was called for March 2, 1927. A special notice was mailed to each member of the Board, including Hyman, Boruchowitz and Portnoy, copy of which is given below. These three members of the Board had failed to appear at this meeting and at all meetings since December 13, 1926. They had not been expelled up to that time from the General Executive Board, and their names appeared on the letterhead of the General Executive Board. At this meeting the Board reaffirmed its decision of February 12th. By this decision, these three members of the Board, who had failed

to register, were no longer members of the Union and therefore could not be members of the Board. They had automatically expelled themselves. The notice for the meeting read as follows:

SPECIAL NOTICE.

February 26, 1927

"At the request of Brothers Max Amdur, Jacob Halperin and Abraham Baroff, a special meeting of the General Executive Board is hereby called for Wednesday, March 2nd, 1927, at 2 p. m. at the Council Room of the International, 3 West 16th Street, New York City, for the purpose of reconsidering the actions and resolution adopted by the Board at its last quarterly meeting, held from the 12th to the 14th day of February, 1927, and reopening such matters and subjects for new consideration and action.

"You are requested to be present without fail."

"M. SIGMAN, President."

Results of Elections, March 1927.

As a result of the elections so held the following were elected officers of the four locals:

Local 2—Manager, B. Fried, Secretary H. Fried, Chairman, R. Zuckerman. Executive Board members—J. Ackerman, Z. Abrahamson, J. Bratkofsky, J. Berliner, J. Cohen, S. Chaiken, Harry Chancer, J. Cooper, J. Deltch, Louis Dinnerstein, J. Friedman, Louis Farber, H. Felerstein, J. Gutterson, J. Goldberg, S. Gordon, A. Gutman, I. Horowitz, Ben Kaplan, Phillip Katz, J. Levinson, S. Levy, J. Lyon, B. Lapidus, H. Miller, Adolph Nagoshiner, Sam Orchitzer, S. Rudin, N. Nilson.

Local 9—Manager, N. Kirtzman, Chairman, L. Kaufman, Executive Board, S. Amislavsky, S. Bercovici, M. Blatt, P. Cohen, M. Dobkin, A. Elfert, J. Friedman, M. Freedman, M. Goldstein, J. Horowitz, M. Kipness, S. Krawitz, J. Kindjersky, C. Lofkowitz, J. Portnoy, B. Rosenberg, J. Rachlin, J. Rubin, S. Sherman, A. Sakovsky, H. Zaltzberg, S. Zuckerman.

Local 22—Manager, J. Spielman. Executive Board members, W. Black, Joseph Brauner, Isodore Bushkin, Isaac Canel, Alex Cantor, Emma Cashmer, Isodore Cohen, Jack Cooper, Aaron Dashkoff, Abe Deutch, Ph. Dinnerstein, Sonia Farber, Julius Fox, Louis Goldstein, Mm. Greenberg, Rose Kaplowitz, Max Kursher, Jack Liebowitz, Julius Liebowitz, Harry Levin, Sonia Pinsky, Morris Rosen, Meyer Rosen, I. Rosenfeld, Ben Shapiro, B. Spielman.

Local 35—I. Wasilevsky, Manager, Max Cohen, Chairman. Executive Board: Cloak Pressers—S. Eisenberg, Morris Goldowsky, N. Fachicrowitz, Harry Press, N. Katz, Max Glaser, N.

Walzer, I. Seidman, A. Saslow, A. Rudin, M. Fraizer, N. Slavin, M. Holnick and B. Friedman. Dress Pressers—Max Schechter, Abraham Weissman, Simon Deutch, L. Relf, J. Shuldizer, Charles Queen and B. Sigman.

The other locals had held elections during the year and thereafter all duly elected delegates to the Joint Board. Their executive board members were as follows:

Local No. 3—D. Rubin, Manager-Secretary; F. Fenster, Local Chairman; H. Berkowitz, Business Agent. Executive Board members: I. Reich, M. Billig, N. Blickstein, H. Turensheln, E. Kalish, M. Kurtz, H. Lasky, M. Michelson, O. Pick, S. Pitchersky, Wm. Schmetterer, L. Schwager, D. Schwartz, M. Silber, P. Wisotzky.

Local No. 48—Camillo Ambrosini, Giovanni Biondo, Domenico Bono, Salvatore Cansoneri, Nunzio Castrovinci, Vito Catania, Alfredo DiPaolo, Raffaele Esposito, Gabriele Fiumara, Alfonso Liguori, Genaro Licastro, Antonio LoCaso, Giovanni Lo Russo, Paolo Mancuso, Pasquale Nicita, Carrado Nizza, Agostino Pallone, Rosario Samperi, Vinconzo Scherma, Genaro Spina, Ercole Veltri, Giovanni Vollaro.

Local No. 10—Louis Pankin, Max Stoller, Max Gordon, Louis Forer, Nathan Saperstein, Jacob Kops, Meyer Friedman, Joel Abramowitz, Morris Feller, Israel Ostroff, Frank G. Lewis, Fred Ratner.

Local No. 82—L. Rosenblatt, M. Greifer, L. Yasser, Ch. Bernstein, J. Fox, Alter Gold, H. Finegold, Ph. Heit, B. Nadler, N. Samson, J. Singer, M. Solo, S. Rush, D. Toback.

Local No. 23—Harry Altman, Aaron Baum, Aaron Cohen, Sam Frumchick, Rubin Hein, Meyer Konsky, Louis Keller, Chas. Landsberg, Louis Reiss, Harry Rabinowitz, Harry Sadofsky, Sam Sugarman, Isidor Seltzman, Harry Saladow, Jacob Ushelevsky, Solomon Levine, Phillip Palley.

Local No. 64—A. Friedman, Chairman. Executive Board members: J. Berman, K. Jaffe, Max Lifshitz, Max Libow, Ike Oberstein, S. Rosenblith, J. Schwartz, S. Silver.

Local No. 89—Anna Alfano, Joe Costa, Martino Apuzzo, John Gelo, Rose Faranda, Leon Galasso, Joseph Miranda, Albina Lovisolo, Anna Radosti, Lillie Raitano, Joseph Salerno, Giuseppe Di Mella, Antonio Barone, Antonio Graziano, John Egitto, Stefano Iovino, Joseph Piscitello, Santo Aversano, Giuseppe Providenti, Constanza Ghiloni Ialli, Rosina Trapani, Anna Ruggiero, Ida Finocchio, Tessie Agli, Esther Selvaggio.

All officers of the Provisional Joint Board were re-elected, and in addition Brother Benjamin Moser was elected as Secretary-Treasurer of the Joint Board, which post had been temporarily filled by International Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff, with the assistance of Max Schoenfeld.

The installation of the Joint Board in April, 1927, was one of the most inspiring events in the history of the Union. It marked, moreover, the end of the provisional administration of these locals and of the Joint Board. It marked the beginning of a new era of union history.

• • •

In the midst of the many trials of our Union, a very inspiring and encouraging occasion was the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Local No. 10, March 25 and 26, 1927. This celebration, which included a concert and a mass-meeting, was addressed by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, and Vice-President Matthew Woll, Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, who had been one of our staunchest supporters in the struggle, Morris Hillquit, our counsellor, Hugh Frayne, New York representative of the A. F. of L., Joseph Barondes, President Morris Sigman, and many others. An unexpected but welcome visitor was Alexander Kerensky, then visiting in this country. In connection with the celebration, the local issued a "History of Local No. 10," written by the widely known labor journalist, James Oneal, which recorded the events in the life of this local, for twenty-five years of its existence a militant, well-organized trade union and always steadfastly loyal to the principles of sound trade unionism.

Summary of the Situation Since November 1926

In order to place succinctly before the delegates the outstanding points in the situation following the settlement with the Industrial Council, we make the following summary:

1. During the entire period of the strike, and up to the time that the Communists began an open battle in the name of the General Strike Committee against the International, the International and the General Executive Board, in spite of the mismanagement and betrayal of the strike leaders, did all they could or were allowed to do, to make the strike successful.
2. After the settlement with the Industrial Council, which was far inferior to the recommendations of the Governor's Commission and still further beneath the possibilities of negotiation before and during the early period of the strike, the Communist leaders of the General Strike Committee began a public attack against the International. This was carried on in their press, at meetings, and through circulars.
3. At about the same time, the workers in the sub-manufacturers' shops were locked out because of the refusal of

the strike leaders to submit the issues to arbitration. The strike leaders, after twenty weeks of struggle, had no plan for dealing with the lockout except to permit the workers to return to the shops without an agreement and then wait "until the season starts" to begin a guerilla warfare.

4. There was not the remotest prospect of a settlement with the jobbers, the factor against whom the strike had primarily been called and the strike leadership had no program in the matter.

5. Concurrently, too, spontaneous demonstrations of the cloakmakers were held asking the International to take over the strike and lead them out of the chaos into which they were plunged by the Communists.

6. Because of the lockout and the suffering of the workers, the General Executive Board, which at its regular meeting on November 30, 1926, had been content to answer the false charges against the International, now, at a special meeting duly called, stepped into the emergency, and named a Provisional Committee of all crafts, which together with the Board, would bring the strike to the most satisfactory conclusion possible.

7. Under this order of December 13, this Provisional Committee and the Board—

- a) Submitted the issues in the fight with the sub-manufacturers to arbitration and secured a completely favorable award.
- b) Succeeded in negotiating an agreement with the jobbers who had hitherto ignored the situation, which agreement included several new and important favorable features.
- c) Renewed the agreement in the dress industry which had expired.
- d) Carried on this work under tremendous financial disabilities left by the criminal expenditures of the Communists, with the market in a chaos as a result of the conduct of the strike, and in the face of a continued campaign of slander, abuse and falsehood of the Communists.

8. Registration, to ascertain the true wishes of the membership, was ordered on December 19, following the defiance of the authority of the International and the General Executive Board by the Communists in the Madison Square Garden meeting of December 18, which meeting emphasized the Communist betrayal of the strike by the "order" it issued to the workers to return to the shops.

During the period of registration, which ended in the first week of February, the Provisional Committee above named, carried on the work of the Union.

During this period, too, the Communist ex-officials and their sympathizers were spreading statements about their expulsion, though they had never been expelled, and were illegally using the name of the International to further several schemes of raising funds for the destruction of the International and were attacking the loyal members of the Union.

9. Notice having been sent to the four locals, whose Communist officials had violated the laws of the Union by collecting money without affixing stamps or remitting per capita, to turn over all their books and ledgers for accounting purposes to the International, and said notice having been ignored, at the end of thirty days according to the International Constitution, these locals were automatically expelled.

10. The self-expulsion and suspension of these locals led to the revocation of their charters and the issuance of new charters. The Provisional Committee and the General Executive Board enrolled as members of these locals such workers as had registered with the International during the period named. This order of February 12, 1927, was reaffirmed on March 2, 1927, after special notice had been sent to the Communist ex-officials, who were still members of the Board, to appear, which they had done at no time since the meeting of December 12, 1926. As they had not registered themselves, they could not, under this new order, be thereafter considered members of the International.

11. Thereafter elections were held in the regular manner in the four reorganized locals.

12. During this period, while the Communist ex-officials were still illegally occupying all the union offices, and had access to the records and funds of the Joint Board and of the locals, the work of reconstruction was centered in the International Building, and some of the locals were housed in the building of Local No. 48.

PART V

PROBLEMS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS SINCE APRIL, 1927

In the year since April 1, 1927, up to the very writing of this report, the Union, in spite of overwhelming odds, has succeeded in the task of rebuilding the organization and re-establishing control after the disastrous strike of 1926.

Tests of its growing strength during the past year have been made in many ways. There was the task of establishing control in shops under agreements; the task of extending the

control of the Union to unsettled shops; the morale of our workers had to be revived in order that they might participate in the great work of rebuilding the organization. The continuous slander and abortive efforts at destruction of the Communists, often in conjunction with the employers, had to be overcome. A vigilant watch on the process of "reorganization", in June, 1927, was necessary to keep it from having disastrous effects. Union buildings and property had still to be recovered from the Communist ex-officials who were illegally holding them, and several locals still had to be put on a firm financial basis. The efforts to bring about the release of the imprisoned cloakmakers continued until the last of them was freed during January, 1928. New developments in the industry had to be dealt with, and, needless to say, new problems of internal government. We believe that the record of steady achievement given below ought in itself to be a testimonial to the eagerness and will of our Union and its membership to recover from the almost fatal blow struck at it by its former Communist leadership.

Control in the Market

We have already indicated the fact that whereas in 1926, prior to the strike more than 90 per cent of the production of c'oaks was under union control and was concentrated in the shops belonging to the various association members, in 1927 the Union had to contend with no less than seven or eight hundred non-union shops which sprang up in the market, of which the great majority were small sub-manufacturing units employing seven or eight workers apiece. The competition of these shops naturally made the problem of control of the Union shops very difficult. The existence of a large sabotaging element in both union and non-union shops which used the crisis as an excuse for complete indifference and violation of all union standards added to the problem of control. From the very day the provisional committees took control big policing committees to enforce the observance of overtime, Saturday restrictions and other union work terms, and to organize non-union shops, had to be sent out into the market. The outstanding result of all this work was the complete elimination of the gangsterism which had prevailed in the time of Communist control and the revelation of a remarkable spirit of sacrifice and devotion which actuated those union members who participated in the volunteer organizing work.

Non-Registered Workers

By the end of the first season, June, 1927, union strength had become sufficiently asserted to make the issuance of a decision on non-registered workers possible. Non-registered workers had, of course, to be regarded as non-members, but for several months, because of the many factors involved, including the acute financial distress among the workers in the trade in general, no decision had been made with regard to them in union shops. In June, 1927, however, the Joint Board felt that the time had come when the clause in the agreement with regard to employment of "union workers only" must be enforced. Accordingly it passed a resolution to that effect. Subsequently it held conferences with the employers' groups, and this decision was announced to go into effect.

Few Displacements in Reorganization of Industrial Council Shops

A very drastic test of the Union's position in the market came in the enforcement of the reorganization clause. According to the terms of the agreement, employers who were members of the Industrial Council and provided their workers with at least 32 weeks of employment, had the right to reorganize their shops to the extent of 10 per cent of their force on June 1, 1927. If this right had been exercised to its fullest possible extent, some seven hundred workers would have been displaced at that time. With the bad unemployment situation and the continual uphill task of maintaining morale for the rebuilding of the Union to be contended with, had these seven hundred workers been thrown on the market, a very considerable problem would have confronted the Union.

It is a matter of no little satisfaction to us that only 203 workers or 3 per cent instead of 10 per cent of the 6,772 employed by the Industrial Council members were actually discharged. This was due to the vigilance of Union officers, notably of I. Nagler, against unjustifiable discharges. Strenuous efforts were made to have the workers placed in other factories for the coming season. Several independent inside manufacturers attempted to avail themselves of the "reorganization" privilege but the prompt action of the Union defeated their effort.

While it is true that the effect of this clause has not proved numerically significant, it still has a very depressing effect upon the psychology of a large number of our workers.

**Conferences With Employers' Associations for Elimination
Of Non-Union Production**

In the months following the wind-up of the strike of 1926, the various employing groups in the industry had come more and more to realize the necessity for adequate control of labor standards, if the industry was to be saved from complete chaos. No single group amongst the employers could adequately cope with the problem, even if it should sincerely so desire, without the aid of the Union. Under the new agreement, a clause had been added which provided for a joint committee of all factors with the Impartial Chairman to eliminate non-union production, and other clauses in the jobbers' agreement provided for their full participation in all these joint enterprises. One of them was the power given to the office of the Impartial Chairman, through its staff of accountants, to investigate, at any time, without specific complaints, the books of jobbers inside manufacturers and sub-manufacturers as a means of enforcing the agreement with regard to non-union production.

A number of conferences were held between the several factors which led to renewed pledges, particularly by the jobbers, that their work would not be sent to non-union sub-manufacturing shops.

The Investigations by the Office of the Impartial Chairman

In the late summer of 1927, it was decided by the office of Impartial Chairman Raymond V. Ingersoll to carry on an extensive investigation of the books of many cloak firms. This was conducted by Mr. F. Nathan Wolf and his staff of accountants, who had been engaged by the office of the Impartial Chairman, for this purpose. The investigation revealed the existence of hundreds of non-union sub-manufacturing and contracting shops which existed on work supplied to them by union jobbers.

During the spring season of 1928, these investigations were followed up by a number of strikes against independent jobbers, who violated their contract by supplying non-union contractors with work. The Union also followed up the investigation of the books and records of many members of the jobbers' association by forcing them either to unionize their shops at once or to withdraw their work from non-union

shops. A number of independent jobbers were made to pay heavy penalties. Several members of the Merchant's Association were also fined. This drive resulted in the unionization of a large number of shops, strengthening the morale and influence of the Union, and making the employers' feel that the Union is in a position to enforce conditions. It is, of course, self-evident that no collective agreements or machinery can function without the policing force of the Union.

We cannot consider this report to the delegates complete without some mention of the invaluable services for the stabilization of the industry and for its restoration to a union basis rendered by Impartial Chairman Raymond V. Ingersoll. We cannot recall any person in office in the past fifteen years who has rendered greater service and who has earned the respect of all factors in the cloak industry as completely as Mr. Ingersoll.

The result of all these efforts to strengthen union control, including the winter drive of 1927-1928, the Saturday work patrols which had a tremendously salutary effect, and the strikes against jobbers, can be seen in the figures of union control in the coat and suit market as of March 1, 1928, when 1,160 cloak and suit shops were reported under union control and contractual relationships, including 105 jobbers, in addition to some 560 dress shops and about 60 dress jobbers.

In connection with the drive to stop Saturday work in the last few months, it is interesting to note that the Industrial Council in its annual report uses this drive as an example, to prove that no group of employers is in a position to defy and violate with impunity the work standards set up in the industry by the Union.

Defeat of Further Communist Sabotage

It must be clear to all by this time, that the Communist cry of "persecution", by which they sought to mislead the membership and the general public, was a camouflage for the actual fact that it was they who were attacking the International and every loyal union member. From the time the General Executive Board had issued its statement on November 30, 1926, the entire course of the Union was one of defense against

the destructive activities of the Communists, which continued long after they were out of office and long after they had decided to outlaw themselves from membership in the Union. They were not content to have bequeathed to the Union a condition of bankruptcy and moral and financial chaos. During the period of reconstruction, even at the present moment, they have done all that was in their power to prevent the rebuilding of the Union. Fortunately the membership and the labor movement of the country defeated every one of their efforts, and their power has steadily diminished until now it has become merely a cover-up for disloyal workers who refuse to live up to union standards, and for the activities of outright scabs.

The activities of the Communists since November, 1926, have taken many forms.

Their first attempt, after their declaration of war at the Madison Square Garden meeting, was to make out a case for "expulsion", and, a little later, to induce the Civil Liberties Union to supervise an "impartial election" in December. The Civil Liberties Union, however, refused to be a party to this attempt.

Their efforts to raise money with which to fight the International and to attempt to build up their dual union, took several forms. In the first place, the Communist officials of some locals illegally retained the funds of the locals, which in the case of Local 22 was a considerable sum. Secondly, they continued illegally to collect dues and assessments in the name of the Joint Board and its locals, and tried, moreover, to extend this mischief by the issuance of duplicate books to such locals as 48 and 89, which never had been under their control. These locals immediately took out restraining orders to put a stop to this fraud. But even after the Communists had exhausted the stamps on hand, they still kept on collecting money without affixing stamps. In addition, they shortly thereafter issued "Save the Union Bonds," which were not bonds at all, but fraudulent notes, using the name of the International and the seal of the Joint Board. They tried to float these bonds all over the country, and it took considerable publicity on the part of the International and continued vigilance to protect innocent persons from being swindled by these frauds.

Finally, when the "bond" fraud failed, these desperate charlatans did not hesitate to use the cloakmakers who had

been imprisoned as a result of their betrayal as a stalking horse for innumerable "defense committees." Their own defense committee not yielding sufficient income, they attempted to set up "impartial" committees for "imprisoned cloakmakers." The most notorious of these was a "Committee of One Hundred." This committee, founded and fostered by Communists, was able to mislead a few liberals, while the names of others were used without their permission. Some of the officers of the Civil Liberties Union permitted their names to be used in connection with this fraud, which gave rise to the following correspondence between it and the International.

"March 25, 1927

The American Civil Liberties' Union,
100 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Attention Mr. Forrest Bailey, Executive Director

Gentlemen:

We have been reliably informed that prominent officials of the American Civil Liberties Union are permitting their names and prestige to be used by a so-called "Defense Fund Committee" initiated and inspired by a group of Communists who no longer are official spokesmen of the New York cloak and dress unions affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. This so-called defense fund is ostensibly raised for a group of cloakmakers, who are bona fide union men, and a number of hired strong-arm men active during the recent cloak strike. The prominent members of your organization who have accepted on this committee include, we are informed, Messrs. Forrest Baily, Dr. Harry F. Ward and Dr. John Haynes Holmes.

From records in our possession, the group of defendants, numbering about 40, divide as follows: 20 men, innocent of all charges of felonious assault or other crimes, but who were pleaded guilty by their former Communist leaders and their Communist-hired lawyers; a number of men actually not guilty and who pleaded not guilty; and several prominent Communist officials who pleaded not guilty and are now out on bail.

As regards those who were pleaded guilty over their own protests of innocence, no legal steps can be taken on their behalf, since they have no recourse to appeal, other than efforts to obtain parole for them. This the International Union, without any outside agency, is now endeavoring to do through its duly assigned legal counsel. Out of the number of defendants who are actually not guilty and have pleaded not guilty, the International Union is now appearing for those who have applied to them for legal aid. Out of the total groups, therefore, there remain only those individuals who refuse International aid, including prominent Communist officials now out on bail.

We solemnly charge that those innocent cloakmakers were pleaded guilty against their will by the very group of Communists who are now inviting prominent Civil Liberties officials to participate in this so-called defense fund committee. We solemnly charge that, to date, a so-called defense fund committee has not devoted a single dollar of monies raised to defend cloakmakers sent by the Communists to jail, nor those who have pleaded not guilty, with the exception of the high Communist officials out on bail. We solemnly charge that the innocents went to jail to shield these Communists higher-up who have invited the aid of this Civil Liberties group. We charge that all funds obtained to date for so-called defense purposes have gone into the hire of gangsters and guerrillas to beat up union workers seeking peaceably to earn their livelihood. No strike situation now exists, since we have contractual relations with every manufacturers' association in both the cloak and dress trades and with every independent union manufacturer.

We respectfully insist, from the foregoing, that the American Civil Liberties' Union, which has steadfastly refrained from interfering in an internal difficulty in a trades union, cannot help being grievously injured by the participation of some of its prominent officials in this latest Communist venture. We do not impugn the motives of a single member of this so-called new defense committee, but it is inheriting so vile, so corrupt, so dishonest a mess that, no matter how often it may be announced that these prominent officials of your organization are acting as individuals, and not as officers of your organization, the Civil Liberties Union will never be able to convince the world of labor that the actions of these individuals are not directly or indirectly aiding attacks upon the International Union. No matter what safeguards these individuals may place about their committee, it is not safe from Communist double-dealing.

We beg you to appreciate the dangerous ground your organization is now treading. We shall be forced, naturally, to protect ourselves in every legitimate way against any move, no matter how well intended, which has for its end, either immediate or ultimate, a cynical perversion of true liberalism and the good and welfare of an organization like ours which, over 16 years, has laboriously built up one of the most enlightened and most progressive institutions in the world of labor, only to have it nearly wrecked by a band of irresponsible whose conduct of our recent strike cost the union \$3,500,000 and a loss in wages to our workers of \$30,000,000.

Will you please inform us as soon as possible what action, if any, you take on this communication.

Yours very cordially,
(Signed)

MORRIS SIGMAN

P. S. Copies of this communication are being sent to Dr. Norman Thomas, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Harry F. Ward and Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays.

March 28, 1927

Mr. Morris Sigman, President
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
3 West 16th Street, New York City.

Dear Mr. Sigman:

Your letter of March 26th addressed to this Union for my attention and sent in copy to four other members of our Executive Committee was a subject of discussion at our meeting this afternoon.

Our Committee has instructed me to say that it cannot undertake to hold itself responsible for any action on the part of its members when they act as individuals. All persons connected with the American Civil Liberties Union who have accepted membership on the Committee of One Hundred for the Defense of Imprisoned Needle Workers did so in their independent capacities. They feel confident that due precautions will be taken to safeguard expenditures of funds collected in the committee for the purpose for which the committee was organized. No one of them is officially concerned with any other issues than just those involved in defense and relief. No one of them is likely to wish to remain a member of the committee if it should develop that funds are being diverted to uses not comprehended in the original purpose of the committee. On this understanding each of them accepts full responsibility for his personal relation to the Committee of One Hundred.

I think you will see that our Executive Committee, in view of the principles for which this Union exists, could not take any other position than that which I have indicated. For the sake of illustration, let me point out that we have always insisted that a teacher in a university has a right to express his individual opinions publicly outside the university without jeopardy to his position in the university. It would appear to me that the case of the university professor furnishes a parallel with the case of individual members of our Committee. Perhaps it would be a more pointed illustration to suggest that our Committee has never undertaken to restrain the outside activities of its members in such matters as political campaigns, birth control, or anti-militarist advocacy, although the Committee is far from being in agreement on any one of these matters. In the present instance there is a clear issue of furnishing defense and relief for persons who have suffered as a result of recent industrial conflict in the needle trades. Our Committee would therefore be in no position to check or control any of its members who see fit to support activities in behalf of these persons.

I hope you will see that both our Committee as a whole and the individual members who have accepted membership on the Committee of One Hundred are entirely impartial in the stand they have taken. They must individually take the risk, if any risk there be, of finding the association an embarrassment because of things that may happen in the future.

Cordially yours,

(Signed)

FORREST BAILEY.

March 29, 1927

American Civil Liberties Union,
100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Gentlemen:

We have your astounding letter of March 28, 1927, signed by Mr. Forrest Bailey, one of your directors, in reply to our communication of March 25 in which we protested against the inclusion of prominent American Civil Liberties Union officials in a so-called "Defense Fund Committee" initiated and inspired by a group of Communists no longer official spokesmen of the New York cloak and dress unions and others affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Your assurances that none of them "is officially concerned with any other issues than just those involved in defense and relief" of prisoners coming under the general head of cloak-makers and dressmakers are not convincing, when the actions of your high officials must be inextricably bound up with the gangsterism, fraud and corruption employed by these former leaders, who themselves conspired to imprison certain cloak-makers and then invoked "the humanitarianism" of your members ostensibly to get them out of jail.

To have the record clear, we must advise the individual Civil Liberties members participating in this so-called "defense committee" to keep their hands off all cases of convicted cloak and dressmakers who were pleaded guilty by Communist-hired lawyers, despite their innocence, and who have appealed to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for legal aid. We must also advise them to keep their hands off all cases of cloak and dressmakers who pleaded not guilty and who have asked the International for aid. The International Union can take care of its own, and regards it as a sheer impertinence for anyone not responsibly connected with this organization to set up defense committees and defense funds for these International members, especially since the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was not consulted. We hope that this point is absolutely clear.

For your information and for the record's sake, there remain only a handful of Communist adherents and high Communist officials, the latter out on bail, for whom this so-called defense committee may care to act. It is still inconceivable that prominent members of the American Civil Liberties will care to defend ex-labor officials who prostituted their position by cowardly sending innocent cloakmakers to jail, for fear of being exposed in having advised or performed possible criminal acts.

One other thing, for the record. It is incredible that the official Civil Liberties Union can contend that its prominent members are acting as individuals on this so-called defense committee. Whatever standing these gentlemen have in the public eye, whatever usefulness they may have in raising funds for this questionable purpose, is due, to an overwhelming degree,

to their public association with the American Civil Liberties Union. Well meaning individuals will contribute, if contribute they do, to this fund only because of this connection. To try to divorce them from their official connection, in this matter, is a piece of rhetoric.

We are also enclosing, for the record, copies of certain literature distributed by the inspirers of this group in connection with their present fund raising efforts. If the gentlemen associated with your organization care to take up with such blackguards, character assassins, underworld characters and corruptionists, in the name of humanity, they are welcome to do so.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) MORRIS SIGMAN.

P. S. Copies of this communication are being addressed to Messrs. Forrest Bailey, Arthur Garfield Hays, Norman Thomas, Dr. Harry F. Ward and Dr. John Haynes Holmes.

Letter to "Committee of One Hundred"

April 4, 1927

Committee of One Hundred for the Defense of
Imprisoned Needle Trades Workers,
Civic Club, 18 West 10th Street,
New York City.

Dear Sirs:

We are taking this occasion to address a communication from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to the Committee of One Hundred for the Defense of the Imprisoned Needle Trades Workers. It is regrettable that not a single member of your committee found it necessary to consult officials of the International Union before forming or accepting on a committee ostensibly operating on behalf of members of this union. We, therefore, must take this moment to acquaint you with the fact that the International Union has not abdicated, nor has it grown remiss, after twenty-seven years of its existence, in rushing to the defense and relief of all members who need it.

It is singular, indeed, that those members of your organization who are somewhat familiar with the labor movement should suddenly forget that 150,000 men and women earning their livelihood in the needle trades are represented by a responsible organization known as the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. As to those of your members who are not acquainted with the world of labor, their acceptance on the committee can be forgiven on the grounds of lack of information though it does not make them less responsible for the uses to which it is being put.

Despite protestations of certain prominent members of your committee that it is not the committee's intention to be used

by a group of Communists seeking to disrupt our International Union by their guerrilla activities, the intention of the Communists is brazenly revealed in an editorial in the April 1st issue of the Jewish Daily Freiheit, official Communist organ, which declares:

"He (Sigman) did not believe that such respectable persons as Holmes and Bailey would come to the assistance of his enemies." (Emphasis ours).

So that there is no mistake about this, we repeat the quotation:

"He (Sigman) did not believe that such respectable persons as Holmes and Bailey would come to the assistance of his enemies."

No, your members, of course, can pretend that "The Freiheit" does not know what it is talking about in this present instance. If your committee cares to continue to operate under this stigma of the official organs of those who inspired the committee's formation, then it is welcome to do so, but we will reserve the right to expose the committee, at every opportunity, for its supine willingness to be used as a tool, in the name of humanity, by a group of cowardly rascals who themselves sent cloakmakers to jail, despite their innocence, in order to save their own skins.

At this point, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union seeks to make its position unmistakably clear. The Committee of One Hundred is advised that it must not solicit funds for any convicted cloak and dressmakers who were pleaded guilty by Communist-hired lawyers, despite their innocence, and who have appealed to the International Union for aid. The Committee of One Hundred is also advised to keep its hands off all cases of cloak and dressmakers who pleaded not guilty and have asked the International for aid. Though your committee seems to have forgotten the existence of our International, we are amply supplied with means for protecting the above-mentioned members of our union. Further, our International Union does not care to be embarrassed by the aid, direct or indirect, of an outside committee which has undertaken the defense, among others, of gangsters and strong-arm men who have beaten bona fide union men and who deserve to be punished.

For the record, at this point, we append a communication from four cloakmakers—prisoners now at Harts Island, dated March 17, 1927. It speaks for itself:

"We, the undersigned imprisoned cloakmakers have learned that the Communists have sent out an appeal in our names for money.

"We wish to notify all cloakmakers and the whole labor movement that this appeal is but another dirty Communist trick for collecting money to carry on their union-smashing business.

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munist Party sent out a call to every town in the vicinity of New York, to rush to that meeting. The net result, however, was a complete failure, and was admitted by them as such. In May, 1927, they selected the enforced absence from office because of illness on the part of Secretary-Treasurer Baroff as the occasion for a slimy attack, charging both that he had deserted the organization owing to a lack of funds and that he had stolen large amounts which the Union had.

As slack time approached in the summer of 1927, and after the out-and-out Communist May Day gatherings proved to be failures the disowned group turned to a new ally, the "Day," a Jewish newspaper, which had carried during the strike the paid advertisements of the Industrial Council attacking the strike. Now it suddenly became a fervent ally of the Communist "peace" movement, clearly in order to bolster its circulation. A "peace" meeting, as a result of this new alliance, was held in Cooper Union, May 7, 1927. None but Communists and their sympathizers were given the floor; the usual type of resolutions were passed, but again nothing came of this move for "peace."

When the reorganization period in the Industrial Council shops drew near, the Communists reinforced their attack upon the Union, but the results of the reorganization and their own visibly diminishing influence more than offset these attempts.

On a par with its efforts to besmirch Secretary Baroff when he was ill, the "Freiheit", during President Sigman's absence from the city, carried slanderous stories of a fabulous "million dollar estate," which they said he owned in Iowa. Later they launched a personal attack on Mrs. Sigman, charging her with operating a "house of ill fame" on the property, with conducting a bootleg establishment which had been padlocked, and accusing President Sigman further of misuse of union funds. Under the circumstances and because of the extremely personal nature of these attacks, President Sigman, with the approval of the General Executive Board, began a libel suit against the editors and publishers of the "Freiheit" and the "Einigkeit," which, after numerous hearings, resulted in the holding of the editors of these two Communist sheets for the Grand Jury on charges of criminal libel.

This unusually vicious attack on President Sigman is significant. On very reliable authority, it is known that late

In the spring of 1927, W. Z. Foster called a meeting of the faithful in the needle trades and informed them that they were thoroughly and completely beaten. The only possible suggestion he could make as to further activities was to forget all other issues and to begin a personal attack on President Sigman, by any and every means available. In order to do this, it became necessary for them to concentrate on a successor or on candidate to replace President Sigman, preferably a non-Communist.

Another "peace" meeting was called for September 10, 1927, in Madison Square Garden, which again failed. The last of these mass meetings was held on November 14, 1927, at Mecca Temple and was, in the nature of its conduct, an indication of the end. The circular which announced this meeting was issued by a "Committee of Fifty," and demanded not the reinstatement of the Communists, but the condition that "Sigman must go!" On investigation it was found that the backers of this meeting were the "Day," John A. Dyche, prior to 1914 an officer of our International and since then an employer of labor, Meyer Perlstein, now in business, several real estate dealers, and so on. The secretary of the committee was S. Shally, whose name has become a by-word for Communist "peace" camouflages. The meeting at Mecca Temple, presided over by Mr. Shally, brought forth a new saviour of the cloakmakers, a Dr. I. Sirowich, Democratic Congressman from the 14th District—who seized upon this opportunity to reinforce his own political props.

A prepared resolution calling on the American Federation of Labor to take over the organization from "those who had usurped it" just as "it was taken from the Communists" did not appeal to the Communist audience, and after considerable uproar, a modified one to suit them was passed. This meeting, too, having failed, a "shop chairman" meeting was called on December 16, 1927, which called for the resignation of President Sigman.

The last effort at the time of the writing of this report to bring about such "impartial intervention" was in January, 1928, when it was learned that John A. Dyche, on behalf of Hyman and the other Communist officials, had called on Mr. Samuel Klein, manager of the Industrial Council, to act as "peace mediator." The terms of this overture were that all the Communists would agree to abstain from office-holding.

if negotiations only were entered into with them. This "plan", too, brought no results.

At the present writing, we can, we believe, safely say the following: The Communists have retarded the period of union reconstruction by these "peace movements," since some of our members were inclined to believe that it might all end up in a "peace" similar to that which wound up the storm in 1925. Nevertheless, as a force in the Union and in the industry, the Communists have been completely defeated. We have, of course, in many of our locals individual members who are Communists, or Communist sympathizers. But, as we have so often stated before, the International is based on the principle of political tolerance, and it is only when such members outlaw themselves by going beyond the limits set for all trade union members by our constitution, that their activities become a source of just objection. We have expelled or suspended no members on the ground of political belief, though many individuals have automatically suspended and expelled themselves by their failure to register and join the duly elected and recognized Joint Board and its locals and to live up to their union obligations. It is the belief of the International that persons who owe their primary allegiance to such bodies as the Communist Party and the Trade Union Educational League cannot honestly function as union officials, and for this reason, the General Executive Board, at its meeting in January, 1928, ordered the use of the following pledge to be signed by all candidates for office:

"I, the undersigned, a member of Local No., of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and a candidate for office in the Union, hereby affirm that I am fully in accord with the aims, principles and policies of the International, and that I recognize the General Executive Board as the supreme authority within our International Union between conventions under our Constitution, and pledge myself to abide by all its orders, decisions, rules and regulations.

"I do further state that I do not hold membership or office in a dual union or in any other organization not constituted or functioning within the framework of the Constitution of the International and attempting to shape the policies, determine the choice of officers or influence the action of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union or any subordinate body of the same, or otherwise to usurp or interfere with the legitimate functions and rights of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, its subordinate bodies and its officers, and that I do not and will not support any such organization. I

further expressly state that I recognize that the Communist (Workers) Party, the Trade Union Educational League and all other organizations, bodies or groups of persons acting under the directions of or in concert or sympathy with the said organizations come within the above definition of a dual union; that they are detrimental to and destructive of our Union and the trade union movement generally and that their officers, members and sympathizers are not fit to serve in any official capacity in our locals, joint boards, the International Union or any other part of the trade union movement.

"I do hereby sincerely pledge my honor to perform the duties of my office as prescribed by the laws of this International Union and to bear true allegiance to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. I will deliver to my successor in office all books, papers and other property of the Union that may be in my possession at the close of my official term. I will also deliver all property of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to the General Executive Board upon demand. All this I solemnly promise with the full knowledge that to violate the pledge is to stamp myself as a man devoid of principle and destitute of honor.

"If found that I have signed this pledge falsely and thereby assumed office in the Union, I agree to waive my right to hold or continue in such office and my services in such a capacity shall automatically cease."

Date:

(Sign)
Ledger No.
Address"

It also issued a statement with regard to non-Communist non-registered workers, endorsing the manifests issued by Locals 2, 9 and 35 to all honestly misguided workers:

Statement by G. E. B. on Communist "Peace" Agitation

"The General Executive Board has adopted a clear and firm decision concerning the sundry 'peace' proposals and 'peace' propaganda recently carried on in New York. The decision removes all doubt that our Union wants no peace with the Communists or with their agents at this or at any other time.

"We know what the object of the Communists is when they agitate for 'peace'. They know well enough that they were beaten hopelessly in their assault upon our Union and they are, therefore, trying now, in the worst way, to save some sort of an appearance, on the one hand, and, on the other, to create among some workers confusion that would leave an impression that peace with them is still feasible.

"To the various self-appointed 'groups', 'committees', and busy-bodies who are endeavoring to keep this hopeless 'peace' issue alive, we want to say that each and every one who aids in this agitation and tumult shall be regarded as an ally of the Communists and of the bosses and as a promoter of dis-sension which harms our workers and their unions. They are in the same category with Communists and other enemies of the trade union movement.

"The Cloakmakers' Union will never bend its knee to any party or political clique, and it has nothing in common with the Communists to make 'peace' with them. The attitude of our Union toward the Communist Party is the same as the attitude of the American Federation of Labor and of the legitimate Labor movement all over the world is towards it. Those who want to destroy the trade unions have no room in the trade union movement, and with these we shall make no 'peace'.

"We are satisfied with the action of the several cloak locals in New York which decided to facilitate the readmission of former members in to the Union. Locals 2, 9 and 35 have opened wide their doors to all honest workers, making admission accessible to all of them. We hope that other locals will follow their example.

"No peace with the Communists! Not a shred of recognition to their cliques or agencies!

"We welcome back the workers who need their Union and whom our Union is ready to receive with open arms!"

Subsequently, Local 22 issued a similar manifesto to dress-makers employed in non-union shops.

At its previous meeting in September, 1927, the General Executive Board had set forth the following conditions for reinstatement of defaulted members by the locals:

"1. The Board believes that our local executive boards should be lenient with such workers as have failed to register due to negligence, lack of employment or similar causes, and that they be accepted as new members in the Union, in accordance with the usual procedure.

2. As regards the application for membership of such as are known to be Communists and who have played a leading part in the pernicious campaign to weaken and undermine the prestige and influence of the International Union and its affiliated locals and who have interfered with the legitimate functions of the International Union and its affiliated bodies and officers, the following should be the procedure:

(a) Such members shall apply for reinstatement to the membership committees of their respective locals upon the payment of an application fee of an amount fixed by such com-

mittees which shall be not less than Twenty-Five Dollars (\$25) in any case.

(b) The membership committees shall take into consideration the offences committed by the applicants against the International or the respective local unions, and shall act as follows:

3. The application shall be kept in abeyance for six months, if the local deems it advisable. When admitted the member shall be reinstated subject to the following provisions:

(a) He shall not be eligible to hold office in the union or in the shop for at least five (5) years.

(b) He shall be debarred from attending union meetings and participating in any vote of the local for at least three (3) years.

(c) The union book issued to such member shall indicate his status.

(d) After one year the General Executive Board may remove such restrictions and reinstate such members with full rights and privileges, on recommendation of a local or on request of the member concerned."

Nevertheless, our Union cannot afford to sit back and assume that our task of vigilance is over. As long as there is a Communist party attempting through its members in trade unions to interfere with the legitimate functions of such unions in order to make political capital for itself, as long as its policies are directed, as admitted by the Communist International, to the purpose of "capturing" the unions, we shall have a recurrence of attempts to destroy our organizations, a repetition of "peace" movements and the raising of false issues. We believe, however, that our membership having tasted the fruit of Communist leadership, can never again be misled as once it was by these false messiahs.

In the defeat of all these Communist efforts, the Union has had the aid of the entire labor movement, of the American Federation of Labor and of the Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unions, in the manner described in the section devoted to this matter.

The Liberation of the Imprisoned Cloak Strikers

The International undertook another big task at this time—the liberation of the cloak strikers who had been imprisoned as a result of the Communist leaders' perfidy, and the support of their families until their release.

In the course of the strike, many of the strikers were arrested and brought up before police magistrates on serious charges. Toward the end of the strike, twenty men, including the leaders of the picket committee, Goretzky and Marks, were brought before Judge Rosalsky.

The Communists then adopted a course of procedure with regard to the arrested strikers, which for sheer brutality can be matched only by depredations of agents provocateurs. Against the will of the accused strikers, these leaders induced them to plead guilty to serious charges of felonious assault and malicious mischief, on the promise that such pleas would result in light monetary fines or suspended sentence. Instead, the men received sentences of from six months to five years in jail, plus heavy fines. That the leaders knew well that the men would not be let off lightly is shown by the fact that they themselves pleaded not guilty and were given suspended sentences or let out on bail. They excused their conduct on the ground that "the leadership could not admit its guilt."

Obviously this procedure, coming at the conclusion of the strike, when the Communist officials foresaw the end of their regime, was a method used by them for manufacturing martyrs not of themselves but of cloakmakers, as a means of raising funds for Communist purposes, and as a method for diverting attention from their own criminal incapacity.

The full significance of this act can be realized when it is recorded that never in the history of our Union nor in the history of the labor movement have strikers or members been encouraged by union officials to plead guilty to charges which would not only unjustly incriminate them, but would form an admission that the activities of trades unions are illegal and criminal. It remained for the Communist leadership of the cloakmakers to perpetrate such a betrayal.

The International and the provisional committees immediately took up the case of these betrayed strikers. The first case they undertook was that of Isodore Cohen, a member of Local 2, whom the Communists had tried to induce to plead guilty with twenty or more other cloakmakers, but who had steadfastly refused to do so. Through Joseph Baroness, who has a long record of service to our organization, we secured the voluntary services of his son, Benjamin Baroness, who acted as counsel for Brother Cohen and succeeded

in having his case dismissed. The International announced in the press its intention of aiding and protecting all the imprisoned cloakmakers, and such as were under charges. In the meantime, several other prisoners appealed for help to the Union. We believe that their letters tell the story of their betrayal more vividly than any second-hand account and we reprint them below:

Letters From Cloakmaker-Prisoners

"Tombs Prison, 101 Center Street.

Feb. 2, 1927

Mr. Morris Sigman, Pres. I. L. G. W. U.
Dear Sir and Brother:

Please allow us to say a few words which come from the bottom of our grieved hearts.

After reading to-night's article in the "Forward" that the International will make every effort in behalf of the cloakmakers who were sent to prison for long terms for which we have to thank the Communists who, in order to save their own clique, sent us to jail, we can honestly say that every word that was in the "Forward" is the absolute truth. Mr. Goretzky, the chairman of the Picket Committee, who was in jail a few days was just there to fool the poor, unfortunate cloakmakers. He was just there until the cloakmakers were sentenced and sent to jail. On January 31st, as soon as the cloakmakers were taken to jail, they immediately took him out.

Now, dear President and members, is this more than a blind, a dirty double cross? When Mr. Goretzky was in the Tombs he ate of the best and when a cloakmaker by the name of Harry Friedman, who got 3 years in the penitentiary sent down a waiter he should pay for his meal, he told him he has no money, and a brother by the name of Paul Kalechman, a member of Local No. 35, who is in the pen, sent to him begging him he should send up some money for the boys as they have no funds; he broke his heart and sent up one dollar while he was eating of the best.

Dear President Sigman, I am in jail now for the past 3 months and Sam Cohen, who is here for six weeks, and during the entire time not one of the leaders of the Communists sent us a letter of hope or good faith, but on the last day before we were sentenced, they sent us telegrams and Marks called Paul Kalachman down and told him to tell the boys not to talk too much for when the judge will ask them any questions, they should not say anything so they will all get suspended sentences. We were all fooled and double crossed by the dirty bunch of liars and fakers, in whom we trusted. It is a crime from God to take poor workers and tear them apart from their dear wives and children and loved ones, and send them to jail for

years, so that they can come out with statements saying the International double-crossed us.

We the undersigned, make these statements of our own will, not as squealers but just as any honest union men would do when they find out the true state of matters as we have found out.

Dear Brother Sigman, also the brothers of the G. E. B. and all loyal union members, we appreciated that the International has taken up a noble fight in our behalf and in the behalf of justice for all honest cloakmakers, who wish to maintain their union by clean and honest men as their leaders, and we sincerely hope that by your just fight in behalf of the poor unfortunate prisoners, cloakmakers will be successful and also rid our union of unworthy Communists and traitors who ruined us and our poor families and who are trying to ruin our union for which we gave our blood to build.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) SAM SCHULTZ, Local No. 10;
SAM COHEN, Local No. 2;
JOE FIGOWITZ, Local No. 2."

"101 Center Street.
February 2, 1927.

President Sigman and Brothers of the International:

I have now realized that Hyman and his gang have turned their backs on me. I was told to plead guilty and received heavy sentence from Rosalsky. This morning I was tried by Special Sessions. I had no lawyer and no help from them. When I am through with the first sentence which is one year, I will have to serve the second. This is because they know that I am not one of them.

I will try to get even with them even if I will send them all to jail.

I would like to hear from you or Busbel, the lawyer.

(Signed) ARTHUR ZINN, Local No. 10, Ledger No. 3155

In addition to these men, appeals were received at this time from Brothers J. Porensky and Nathan Lenz, who wrote at a later date:

"March 17, 1927.

"We, the undersigned imprisoned cloakmakers have learned that the Communists have sent out an appeal in our names for money.

"We wish to notify all cloakmakers and the whole labor movement that this appeal is but another dirty Communist trick for collecting money to carry on their union-smashing business.

"We are in jail because the Communists had told us to plead guilty. They did that to save their own necks. We have no confidence in these deposed leaders who ruined the cloakmakers and their union and committed a crime against us.

"We have full confidence in the International, which is doing all in its power to help us in our sad plight.

"We condemn the Communists and we appeal to all cloak-makers not to contribute a single penny to these swindlers, and to stand by the International in its fight to rebuild our union.

With fraternal greetings,

J. PORENSKY,
NATHAN LENZ,
AB. FIGOWITZ,
SAM COHEN,

Cloakmakers Prisoners."

Anton Kutzuk, another imprisoned cloakmaker, wrote as follows:

"Blackwell's Island, 600 E. 55th St.
February 1, 1927

President Sigman:

I am a union man for the last sixteen years. I have always worked for the best of the organization. I am now in jail through the Union. I have left a wife and four children home and I am almost going crazy. This is no life for a working man who has a wife to provide for. For my wife and children's sake, I want you to give me some help to get out of this jail.

(Signed) ANTON KUTZUK - Local No. 35, Ledger No. 9884."

Another prisoner who appealed at this time was Brother Antonio Marandino, of Local 48:

July 1st, 1927."

"I wish to tell my brothers and comrades of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union through our press, what I told last night to the members of the Executive Board of Local 48, of which local I am a member, of what I feel about my liberation from prison and my viewpoint concerning the present and future of our Union.

"I was innocent of the charge for which I was railroaded to prison by the Communist chiefs. Through their attorney they forced me to plead guilty when I was brought into the court room after the jury had already been selected. I fought with them for hours refusing to acknowledge the commission of a crime of which I was innocent. They, however, finally coerced me into pleading guilty by promising me that everything was fixed and that by pleading to 'assault in third degree', I would get off with a very easy or a suspended sentence.

"The result, of course, is known to all. Together with several others of our brothers, who were not Communists or followers of their party, we were given from two to five years prison.

"The Communists and their agents are not interested in the welfare of our cloakmakers and of any other trade unionists as human beings. What they are interested chiefly, is to keep up their propaganda to be able to get money by raising all sorts of collections, and naturally, when they get some people into jail, it offers them an excellent pretext for money raising and party agitation.

"As I told my brothers of Local No. 48 at last night's meeting, the Communists have no legitimate place in the trade union movement and should be driven out as mischief-makers and politicians. As an example of their treachery I can cite the fact that two days after I came out of jail, they sent to me agents promising me a weekly salary for as long as I am out of work, if I will only abstain from making any statements that they had forced me to plead guilty and also that the International is responsible for my freedom.

"I wish to express my sincere thanks to the International leaders who have taken an interest in me and in my fellow cloakmaker prisoners and have succeeded in freeing us from jail. I want particularly to thank President Sigman for his noble and tireless efforts, and I further wish to state that I shall henceforth devote all my energy and whatever I can personally do and persuade others to do to help reconstruct our Union, to build it up and to make it an effective and powerful weapon for the protection of the interests of the workers, as it was for many, many years in the past.

(Signed)

ANTONIO MARANDINO.

In addition to these nine imprisoned cloakmakers, there were four others who did not so appeal to the International.

The International immediately set about the task of aiding all these imprisoned cloakmakers and of engaging counsel for those still under charges. Of these Brother J. Braff of Local 10, who was represented by Mr. Samuel Markewich, was set free on March 29, 1927.

In this case, as well as in all other cases in which he represented the Union, Mr. Markewich rendered services of far greater value than the mere legal routine they involved. We are indebted to him for the ardent devotion and sincerity with which he handled these prisoners cases, as well as all other legal work entrusted to him by the International and by the Joint Board.

As a result of the efforts of the International for the men already in prison, five of them, Brothers Joe Figowitz, Nathan Lenz, Sam Cohen, Antonio Marandino and Joe Porensky were freed after serving only four months of sentences from two

and a half to five years. These brothers appeared at a mass meeting at Webster Hall on June 29 and told our members of attempts by Communist ex-officials of the old Joint Board to bribe them to state that it was they, the Communists, who had aided in their release.

Subsequently, on November 8, 1927, five more men were released as a result of the efforts of the International, after serving only half or less of their sentences. These were Paul Kalechman, Samuel Grossman, Harry Friedman, Arthur Zinn and Morris Bernstein. Of these all but one man, Bernstein, had appealed to the International for aid, as is shown in the letter below:

September 28, 1927.

Mr. M. Sigman, Pres.,
International Ladies' Garment Union,
3 West 16th Street, New York City.

Dear Sir:

You no doubt are aware of the fact that I have been imprisoned for one year, having been sentenced on a charge growing out of the last strike to which I have pleaded guilty.

Inasmuch as I have already served eight months I am appealing to you with the hope that you will exert your efforts in my behalf to obtain my release.

Please do your utmost for me as I do not have to tell you that life over here is unbearable.

Anything you will do in my behalf will be greatly appreciated and thanking you in advance, I am

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GROSSMAN

We, the prisoners of Harts Island are appealing to you, as our President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to help us in our release.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GROSSMAN, No. 46711,
HARRY FRIEDMAN, No. 46894,
PAUL KALECHMAN, No. 46708.

But after their release, and after they had appeared at the Joint Board and offered their thanks, several of these men were "kidnapped" by the Communists who claimed in their press to have been responsible for their release. One of the freed men, Brother Kalechman, told of the many attempts made by the Communists to bribe his wife and himself to forswear the International. These efforts included visits from Boruchowitz and other Communist chiefs and offers of large

amounts of money. Brother Kalechman, however, spurned their false, insincere offers. At the time of writing of this report, every one of the imprisoned cloakmakers has been released, long before their sentences expired, through the aid of the International.

During all this period the International helped the families of some of the imprisoned cloakmakers. President Sigman and Vice-Presidents Hochman and Brother Schneid and Brother Pinkofsky of the law committee, visited the cloakmakers often in jail, comforted and aided their families.

Recovery of Union Property

For the six months or more after the order of the General Executive Board of December, 1926, the Joint Board and Local 22 were housed in the International building, and the other Joint Board locals were housed in the building of the Italian Labor Centre. During this period, the Joint Board building, the buildings of Locals 2, 9 and 22 were all illegally held by the Communist ex-officials. With the exception of the Local 22 building, on which action is still pending and which we hope shortly to recover, these buildings were recovered by the Union in the following manner. They had been placed as collateral against loans made by the International Union Bank during the strike. All buildings were, of course, subject to mortgages, and when the Communists failed to pay taxes and interest on the mortgages, the mortgage holders brought foreclosure proceedings. A receiver was appointed for the Joint Board building and the buildings of Locals 2 and 9. The International Union Bank stepped in and purchased these buildings at auction, as a protection of the bank's equity, which had precedence over the claims of the mortgagees. In the meantime, upon the refusal of the Communist officials to pay rental for the Joint Board building, the receiver obtained a court order dispossessing them. The Communists did not leave the buildings, however, before they had completely despoiled the property, stripping it of all furniture and fixtures, disconnecting electrical appliances, ruining the plumbing, and damaging it in many other ways.

On June 23, 1927, the Joint Board and Locals 2, 3, 9, 22, 23 and 82 moved into the old building of the Joint Board, at 130 East 25th Street, and this event was made the occasion for a spontaneous celebration of thousands of members, who

marched down to the Joint Board bringing flowers and messages of greetings. The workers were addressed by officers of the Joint Board and of the International. For several weeks workers streamed from the garment district to the Joint Board building to congratulate their organization and themselves on this home coming. The genuine enthusiasm of the membership was a source of inspiration to the officers to go on with the many difficult tasks still before them.

Action was immediately entered for the recovery of the safes and other office furniture and records taken unlawfully, and on August 16, 1927, recovery of this furniture was ordered and city marshals, acting on court orders, replevined this furniture which had been hidden in Communist headquarters, and stored away in "cooperative homes" and in "relief headquarters" all over the city.

At the present time, all the buildings had been recovered, excepting that of Local 22 on West 21st Street. The action to recover the Local 22 building is coming to a head. We believe that this building, too, will soon return to our possession.

The return of our locals and of the Joint Board to their own headquarters marked in a very tangible way the complete end of Communist misrule and the return of the Union to its previous position in the legitimate labor movement. It occurred at about the same time, in June, 1927, when several of the imprisoned cloakmakers were freed. It marked the close of the most critical period of the history of the Union:

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We cannot close this section without mentioning the great service of Morris Hillquit, our counsel, to the Union. More than ever before, has he given us his able and earnest advice, not only along legal lines, but in the capacity of one deeply interested in the fate of our organization. Both during the period before the strike, during the reconstruction period, and ever since, he had aided us in the many complicated situations, legal and economic, which arose during this crisis. We feel that the carrying of the great burden of the Union would have been impossible without his able advice and counsel.

SUMMARY

A little over a year has passed since the election of officers in the reorganized locals and the installation of the first Joint Board after the strike. We have had three seasons, each of which presented new problems of control and new industrial complications to the leaders of the New York cloak and dress organization. We have had new elections in all of the locals and in the Joint Board, as a result of which many of the men and women who had served in the critical period were re-elected, while some were supplemented by others.

At the present time, the officers of the Joint Board include Vice-President Julius Hochman. General Manager; Brother H. Wander, Secretary-Treasurer, who was chosen during the January elections of 1928; Brother B. Moser, who had served in that capacity did not run for re-election. The Joint Board delegates expressed in a resolution recognition of Bro. Moser's devoted services during the year of 1927 as secretary-treasurer of the Joint Board. Other officers of the Joint Board are as follows:

Jobbers' Department: Manager—J. Halperin.

Industrial Council Department: Manager—I. Nagler.

American & Independent Department: Manager—S. Perlmutter; Assistant, L. Rosenblatt.

Dress Department: Manager—Ellas Reisberg.

Downtown Office: Manager—Basilio Desti.

Harlem Office: Manager—M. Mariconda.

Brooklyn Office: Manager—C. Carotenuto.

Brownsville Office: Manager—H. Chancer.

Bensonhurst Office: Manager—A. Cottone.

Organization Department: Manager—H. Freed.

Organization Department (Dress Division): Manager—N. Wasilevsky.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the industrial problems which confront the cloak industry today we wish to comment on a problem of internal government which has arisen in the past year, and which deserves the earnest consideration of the delegates. This problem concerns the existence of "groups" within the union.

Groups Within the Union

In the local elections of December, 1927, certain activities were revived carrying within themselves the possibilities of grave dangers to our union. These were the activities of so-called groups, clubs or societies within locals which, especially on the eve of elections, or in connection with important events in local affairs, would issue circulars in the market, hold private caucus meetings, and in other ways accentuate divisions within the locals.

In order to understand the hold which these groups have had on the membership, it is necessary to go back somewhat into their history. During the period when the Communist rule was especially rampant in Locals 2, 9, 22 and 35, it resulted in discrimination against non-Communists, and freedom of expression was actually forbidden in shops and at meetings. Many active members were, therefore, forced then to organize themselves into groups for self defense.

When the General Executive Board took over, first, the settlement of the strike, and, later, the task of rechartering the locals, these groups had come to the front and cooperated in the constructive efforts to rehabilitate the Union.

It was, nevertheless, hoped that, after the organization was reestablished on a sound trade union basis, these groups, having served their purpose, would dissolve and their members would join in the union activity as a whole. Unfortunately this has not been the case. These groups kept up their separate activities and their separate caucus meetings. While it is true that these meetings have been confined largely to trade union affairs and were not directed by an outside political party, they, nevertheless, constituted, and still are a menace, which may grow to be as serious as was the menace of the Trade Union Educational League. At the very time of the writing of this report, after the hotly contested elections early in 1928, these groups still continue to function in a manner quite detrimental to our trade union organization.

A glaring example of group activity of an undesirable type is that of a group of members of Local 2, formerly members of Local 17. From time to time, since the dissolution of Local 17, there has appeared before the General Executive Board and other branches of our union, a group of these ex-mem-

bers of Local 17, with petitions to revive that local. This group had formed itself into a club outside the union known as "Friends Forever of Local 17" for the purpose of keeping alive the friendships formed in that local. This club has, however, developed into a political clique, which, whenever the union has found itself in a difficult position due to one reason or another, has stepped in and demanded that it be given back the charter of Local 17. This demand would be accompanied by a threat, direct or veiled, that in case it was not granted, the club would throw its support to the "other side", be that other side Communistic or otherwise.

It is a matter of disgraceful record that during the period of the Joint Action Committee, some of the members of this club joined in the Communist "pogrom demonstration" against the Union. On the other hand, however, during the period of reconstruction, after some members of this group approached members of the General Executive Board, including the President, for such a Local 17 charter and were given absolutely no encouragement, they had done nothing which would in any way hinder the constructive work of the Union, and were in many instances even helpful.

Within the last six months, however, this group has manifested unhealthy tendencies again, which offer, in our belief, a real menace to the peaceful development of the Union.

It is the belief of the General Executive Board that, should the activities of these groups not cease by the time the convention meets, the convention should take definite action with regard to members who belong to such groups.

* * *

In the main, however, we believe the events of the past seventeen months have proven beyond a shadow of doubt that the members of the International in the cloak and dress industry of New York have shown a will, in the face of tremendous odds both in the political and in the industrial situation, to rebuild their organization. In view of the scope and complexity of the tasks with which it was confronted, we believe that the recovery of the Union has been speedy and effective. We believe that the leadership of our Joint Board and of the locals is capable enough to cope with the problems of internal government, with the problems of control of union

production in the market, and with the problems which confront the whole industry today, which we shall now proceed to outline.

PART VI.

THE PRESENT INDUSTRIAL SITUATION IN THE COAT, SUIT AND SKIRT INDUSTRY OF NEW YORK

The foregoing narrative of events, together with the analysis of the work and recommendations of the Governor's Commission, presents an adequate account of the outstanding problems and ills of the cloak industry developed within the last few years.

Since the strike of 1926 we have had three seasons, and it can hardly be said that any of the evils complained of have been materially reduced during this period. Some new developments, both in the industrial situation and in the nature of collective agreements, did give an indication of a change to the better. Counterbalancing developments, however, complicated the situation, and our workers continue still to suffer from underemployment and from low annual earnings.

The factors which, we believe, would, under more normal circumstances, have had a more favorable effect were:

A. In the market:

1. The partial return of the suit in the last season providing additional employment and the consequent demand for greater skill and more work on the garment.
2. The reaction against the jobber-submanufacturer product due to its inferiority in favor of that of the inside manufacturer.

B. In the collective arrangement of 1927-1929:

1. Provisions for increased power over submanufacturing output "purchased direct" as well as under the supervision of the jobbers.
2. Increased power of the office of the Impartial Chairman giving him authority to investigate without specific complaint the books of the employers to ascertain the extent of enforcement of provisions with regard to non-union production.
3. The formation of a joint committee of all factors in the industry to check the growth of non-union production.

These favorable factors were counterbalanced by the unhealthy and demoralized condition of the market resulting from the disastrous strike, which were, as stated before

1. The great increase in the number of shops, particularly the small, submanufacturing non-union shops, with their continued depression of all union standards.
2. The great increase in the number of workers in an already over-populated industry, particularly workers with anti-union tendencies.
3. The breaking down of all standards in these shops and its disastrous effect on the union shops.
4. The failure to carry out the provisions with regard to the "Prosanis" label which had been sabotaged before and during the strike and which could have served as a helpful agency in efforts at union control.

Nor did the workers this year receive any unemployment insurance to supplement their low annual earnings.

Even such a tendency as a greater conservatism in the manufacture of stock, which, in better times would have led to a feeling of stabilization, during this period tended only to add to the discouragement of the workers who had become even more uncertain from week to week concerning the amount of work they would have during the season.

Another development which has caused considerable apprehension to the Union has been the increasing tendency of jobbers to employ designers, sample makers, and even cutters on their premises. On the one hand, this development is encouraging in the sense that it confirms our statement that the sub-manufacturing product is losing ground in the market and the jobber is being forced to employ these crafts in order to place himself on a production basis similar to the "inside" manufacturer. However, this development brings in its train another evil—the possibility that the jobber instead of returning back to the industry as a full-fledged manufacturer, would come back as a "cutter-up." Under this arrangement, he may make up his designs, produce his samples and, in some instances, cut samples for sub-manufacturers; but he may also cut up all of his work and ship it out to be manufactured in innumerable and uncontrollable "bundle-contractor" shops.

The delegates to this convention and the incoming General Executive Board must so formulate their industrial pro-

gram as to take advantage of the favorable aspects of this development and to avert the consequences of its dangerous tendencies.

* * *

The question arises as to whether there is any new program which can be advanced to deal with these industrial evils, which have had their roots in the industry for the past fifteen years, and which have reached their height in recent years, especially since 1923?

The answer of the General Executive Board, which it throws open for the consideration of the delegates, is

- a. The most important of our fourteen points not yet enacted into agreements is of course the limitation of sub-manufacturers and contractors.
- b. The next in importance is the twin demand for a time guarantee proposal. In the discussion of this proposal we suggest that the delegates do not limit themselves to the original plan for a time guarantee proposal, but consider all possibilities which may have a sound economic basis and are adaptable to the New York market.
- c. We throw open again for the discussion of the delegates the question of eliminating the evils of the present wage system in the market, which, so far as the large majority of workers—the above-the-minimum workers—are concerned, results in the competition of member against member and shop against shop.

The last named point has been fully discussed by the General Executive Board in its recommendations to the Boston convention of 1924 and the Philadelphia convention of 1925. However, we shall here repeat the main items which form the basis of this point. We shall suggest here one method of eliminating this evil; and we hope, the discussion of the problem may lead to further suggestions by the delegates to the convention. This problem, as we shall see, is intimately bound up with the evils of the jobber-submanufacturer system.

It has always been the contention of the manufacturers that the jobber-submanufacturer system is a result of the introduction of the week-work method. The Union has always answered, and does so now, that the system existed prior to the introduction of week-work in 1919, as proven by the fact that we signed a contract with a jobbers' group during that year. Moreover, we need but point to the existence of the system. Moreover, we need but point to the existence of the same

system with all its evils in the dress industry, which is, in the main, a piece-work industry. It has been our contention, that certain fundamental changes in style, added to other conditions in the market, already fully described in our first section, had given rise to the system. To return to the piece-work system as a means of stabilizing the industry is a futile and disastrous course. Equally futile and absolutely inapplicable to so highly stylized an industry as ours, is the other panacea of measured production.

On the other hand, if we are to be honest with ourselves, we cannot but admit that the week-work system in the cloak, suit and skirt industry, as it exists today, has not had the beneficial results which it was hoped would come from its introduction. The main evil which it sought to overcome, but which still exists, is the competition between worker and worker, between shop and shop, amongst the large majority of our members who still receive above-the-minimum scales.

Under the present week-work system, the Union protects the wages of these workers so long as they remain in the same shop. Should a worker, however, leave the shop for any reason, the Union protects him only at the minimum scale, but leaves him without any collective protection for any amount above that scale.

The result has been, of course, that with the great turnover in our industry, due to the enormous number of units annually going out of existence, the worker, when seeking a new job is forced to compete through a lower wage with his fellow-members. The advantage from this competition, of course, accrues to those firms which engage new workers, and the large shops, which might desire to retain inside manufacturing on a large scale, are forced in many cases, through the competition of shops employing new workers at lower rates on goods of similar quality, to turn to the more profitable and less responsible role of jobbing. Competition between shop and shop is therefore not on the basis of superior production and efficiency but on the basis of the actual lowering of wages.

If this were not the case, it would be inevitable that the larger shops, with a more permanent footing, would have smaller overhead costs both during the busy and the slack seasons. The smaller manufacturing shops manage to exist because they produce cloaks cheaper than the inside shops by

reason of cheaper labor and production costs, they are, therefore, a distinct menace to the welfare of our members.

The task still remains, therefore, of regulating labor costs for the large majority of our workers. To this end, in addition to the other points in our 1923 program, the General Executive Board suggests the plan outlined by President Sigman in his articles in November, 1927, in our own press and in the "Forwards".

The suggestion is that a joint trade control and adjustment board, under the supervision of the Impartial Chairman, be formed in the industry. The work of this committee would be, first, that of investigation—to visit every shop, sub-manufacturing as well as inside, and to ascertain wages and all other labor costs in the shops. Then, the committee would have to consider the grade of work made in each shop singly, and in that way determine production costs. Its final task would be the regulation of wages and the raising of the standards in inferior shops to those of the better shops.

For example, let us take as an illustration a jobber who employs twenty sub-manufacturers on a \$10.75 garment. At the present time, an investigation would disclose that amongst these twenty sub-manufacturers, working for the same jobber and on the same quality of garment, workers of equal skill and productivity receive widely varying wages, not at all commensurate with their output and skill. There is constant competition amongst these twenty sub-manufacturers, and the workers are unwittingly forced into this competition. The same situation is true of a manufacturer who employs contractors.

The function of such a board, after thorough investigation, would be so to regulate wages that labor would cost nearly the same in each shop making the same line of garments. This would check the competition between shop and shop at the expense of the worker and would give legitimate advantage in the market to the manufacturer, sub-manufacturer or contractor, who can reduce his overhead charges on any other item but not on the item of labor.

It is necessary, of course, in connection with this proposal, to consider means for the control of the supplying factors in the sub-manufacturing shops in the industry—the job-

ber and manufacturer. This proposal is, therefore, inevitably bound up with our original program especially with the limitation of contractors which was one of the demands granted to us by the Governor's Commission. Together with these points, we believe, this proposal for the joint trade control and adjustment board would lead to the elimination of the excessive number of sub-manufacturers and contractors and to the return of the larger, more stable and more efficient shop in the industry.

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Another alternative offered in previous years by the General Executive Board was the fixing of minimum scales on a scientific study of a standard of living, taking into consideration not weekly but annual earnings. The Union under this plan, is to protect only minimum scales of both newcomers and old workers in the shop, leaving above-the-scale bargaining in all cases to the individual workers.

These are suggestions. It may be, of course, that our delegates have other methods in mind for the elimination of this evil. We believe that the delegates should face this problem fairly and squarely in a thorough discussion of every means available for the solving of the problems of our present wage and production system.

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This concludes the analysis of our problems, our progress and our proposed program of action in the New York cloak market. We need add only one word: the future of the Union in the cloak industry of New York—as in any branch or center—rests not only upon the conditions outlined above, but even more upon the spirit and the morale of our organization.

In the history of our Union, we have always succeeded in obtaining agreements which embodied excellent provisions, often far superior to those obtained in other industries. Since, however, our industry is more subject to seasonal and style fluctuations, is more unstable than a great many of other industries, our Union requires more than good agreements and for its efficient service. It requires the moral force, the belief and the will to enforce the standards established by long struggle and embodied in the agreements. In the last analysis, back of all agreements and arrangements, and inextricably

interwoven with them, there must be the power, numerical, financial, but most important of all—the moral power of the membership to insure the Union's progress.

We feel that the great task of the Union since December, 1926, cannot be measured in terms of immediate accomplishment only; we feel that the resurrection of hope and of confidence in the hearts of our members is just beginning to show results. It will take time for our membership to raise itself from the slough into which it has been cast by economic circumstances and by the criminal blunders of the Communist misleaders. But we have faith, derived from the events of the past year, that it has the spirit and the will so to raise itself, and to bring back its organization to its former position of prestige in the industry and in the labor movement of the country.

NEW YORK DRESS INDUSTRY.

We come now to what is, in many ways, the most important problem before our Union—the organization of the dress industry as a whole, and of the New York dress industry in particular. In a later section we shall show how the dress industry has grown with remarkable speed, while the cloak trade was rapidly declining. Unfortunately, union membership and union control during this period of growth of the dress industry has failed to keep pace with it.

The dress industry, like the cloak industry, is cursed with the evils of the jobber-submanufacturer system. This is significant because opponents of the week-work system in the cloak industry have laid the entire responsibility for these evils on it, forgetting their existence in an even more vicious form in the piece-work system dress industry. It follows, therefore, that, in the main, the program of the General Executive Board outlined for the cloak industry applies with equal force to the dress industry.

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It was reported to the Philadelphia convention that a two-year agreement expiring in January, 1927, had been signed in the dress industry with both the dress jobbers' and the sub-manufacturers' associations. These agreements contained a number of gains, the most important of which were:

1. The establishment of an unemployment insurance fund.
2. The introduction of a sanitary union label on dresses.
3. Increases for both piece and week workers; and
4. A schedule system for sectionalizing garments with a guaranteed minimum of earnings for piece workers.

While, on the whole, these gains were important and were followed by a successful spring drive against non-union shops, the developments of 1925 were far from being satisfactory. The jobbers failed to comply with the provision which required them to attach the adopted price schedules mentioned above on all work sent out to contractors, as a means of enforcing uniformity of standards. To enforce this provision a very effective stoppage was called by the Joint Board, under the direction of Vice-President Hochman, March, 1925, which lasted one week. It resulted in a renewal of the agreement, with one amendment; the Union consented to release the jobbers from taking part in the permanent committee provided for the working out of the additional price schedules.

Shortly thereafter, both the unemployment fund and the sanitary union label were introduced into the dress industry, the latter at a very impressive ceremony.

As we remarked, however, the enforcement and observance of the agreements throughout 1925 were far from satisfactory. One of the causes for this lay in the enormous influx of new comers in the new non-union plants in the industry, as discussed later. Another was, of course, the destructive internal conflict engendered by the Communists. As a result of the disastrous "peace pact" of 1925, practically the entire staff of the dress division, headed by Vice-President Hochman, resigned, and was replaced by a staff of Communist officials headed by Zimmerman and Portnoy.

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Under Communist leadership, in the period following the convention, the control of standards in the dress industry became more and more lax.

In the first place, the new leaders of Local 22, and of the dress department of the Joint Board; Zimmerman, Portnoy and Rose Wortis, became, together with Boruchowitz, the real leaders of the cloak situation in the Joint Board. The Com-

munist press, in discussing the coming cloak strike, spoke of it mainly from the point of view of the new party leaders—"Comrades Zimmerman and Wortis." It was a foregone conclusion with them that the cloak strike would be called and the entire attention of these dress officials was turned from the tremendous problems of their own industry to Communist politics which required a cloak strike.

In the second place, such drives as were made against non-union shops before seasons were badly and inefficiently managed. To cite a definite example: When the spring drive of 1926 was contemplated, President Sigman and others made certain suggestions as to its conduct. It was generally held that a campaign against non-union jobbers and contractors alone would be utterly ineffective. Many non-union jobbers used to give the better grade of their work to union sub-manufacturers, and, on the other hand, many union jobbers would give the poorer class of work to non-union sub-manufacturers. If, therefore, as suggested at that time, both union and non-union jobbers and sub-manufacturers were simultaneously affected, the Union would have a better chance for success—since there would be greater possibility of exerting control through both union jobbers and contractors. The advice was, therefore, to institute an investigation which would lead to control of non-union work in union sub-manufacturing shops, and to institute a drive against the supplying of work to non-union sub-manufacturers by union jobbers. This drive was not to be accompanied by premature publicity. This plan was quite feasible, and growing laxity of control in union shops made it essential. Needless to say, this suggestion, like all others made by non-Communists, was rejected. The method of conducting the drive against non-union sub-manufacturers only netted meagre results, except for a lot of premature and bombastic publicity.

In the third place, the Communist administration showed itself unwilling and unable to cope with the English-speaking, "Americanized" dressmaker, union and non-union, who presents an especially difficult problem to the Union. It deliberately antagonized the Italian workers, who were better organized, because the Italian local was non-Communistic. Shops containing a majority of Italian or Italian-American workers, which had always been attended by Italian business agents, were shifted to non-Italian Communists. Protests made by

Local 89 were completely ignored by the Joint Board. A campaign of slander was carried on against Vice-President Antonini, manager of Local 89, and other members and officers of the Italian local. Although this campaign had little direct result, these officers having been re-elected nearly by a unanimous vote, the general morale of the Italian workers, organized and unorganized, was damaged. The direct consequences of this antagonistic attitude towards the Italian workers by the Communists was that several large shops, employing for the most part Italian workers, which had been for years under union control, were lost to the organization.

In connection with the Italian situation, we might mention an incident which foreshadowed the criminal negligence which Communist officials were later to display with regard to the arrest of pickets. Sister Margaret de Maggio, one of the best known of our Italian workers, who remained on the Joint Board staff for the sake of the Italian members, was arrested in connection with picket duties. Although it would have been a comparatively easy matter to do so, the Joint Board officials did not furnish her adequate legal defense, and sister de Maggio served a thirty-day sentence in the workhouse. While her loyalty won the admiration of the membership, the negligence of the Communist officials in what should have been a very slight case, one of the kind which occurs daily in a union, made it increasingly difficult for a time to enlist the volunteer services of our Italian sisters and brothers.

Both the unemployment insurance and label provisions were deliberately sabotaged. So little was done to enforce the payment of employers' contributions to the fund, that, in April of 1926, the Communist leaders, to cover up this failure of enforcement, announced the discontinuance of workers' contributions to the fund. In this way the unemployment insurance fund, so long fought for, was wiped out of existence. The amount left in the treasury ostensibly was to be paid back to the workers who had contributed to the fund at an equal ratio of \$11 per capita. In a great many instances, however, this money was kept by the Communist officials on the pretext of it being applied to an assessment.

Finally, in the face of adverse financial conditions as a whole, the administration of Local 22 completely despoiled its treasury. The annual report of the local, then under Com-

munist control, signed by Portnoy, appearing in "Justice" of December 10, 1926, states: "We have turned over our entire treasury to the Furriers and have also made loans in banks and altogether have raised the sum of \$103,000." In addition to this appropriation of \$103,000 to their Communist brethren in the fur industry, there was an advance of \$59,863.19 made to the "Joint Action Committee" during the previous year. In spite of all this pilfering, there was still a substantial treasury left at the end of 1926, which the Communist officials appropriated for the purpose of fighting the Union after the order of the General Executive Board in December, 1926.

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The weakness of trade control by the Communist officials during this period can be illustrated by the fact that early in the spring of 1926, the dress contractors' association deliberately suspended its agreement with the Union, and then applied for an injunction against it. They obtained a temporary injunction. The hearing to make this injunction permanent came up before Supreme Court Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, who had often been called in as a mediator in our industry, and who now took the initiative to mediate again. An adjustment was effected and contractual relations with the association renewed. At this time it was suggested that a permanent impartial chairman, preferably Mr. Raymond V. Ingersoll, who was already acting in that capacity in the cloak industry, be appointed. The Communist officials ignored this suggestion.

During all this time, the jobbers consistently sabotaged the price schedules, but the contractors' association lacked the aggressiveness to force the jobbers, jointly with the Union, to live up to the obligations under the existing agreement.

As a matter of fact, conditions in the dress industry were so bad that when, finally, the general strike in the cloak industry was in progress, President Sigman in the second week of the strike, made the suggestion that the elaborate strike machinery be simultaneously utilized for the dress industry. The enforcement of the agreement was actually non-existent, and industrial conditions might have led to a speedy settlement. The Communists, in spite of their oft-repeated doctrines of amalgamation and of joint action, wholly ignored this suggestion. During the strike, the entire attention of the Communist officials was absorbed in carrying out the dicta of

their party, Messrs. Portnoy and Zimmerman having been important officials in the general strike committee. The dress situation was completely ignored.

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This brings us to the situation of December, 1926. Early in the fall of 1926 a call, printed in the "Daily Worker," was sent out for a convention of the T. U. E. L. to be held in January. ~~One of the~~ items on its order of business, in addition to the cloak strike, was a discussion of the "coming dress strike". There was every indication that the Communists would not hesitate to call a general strike in the dress industry in January, 1927, to complete their work of destruction and demoralization, though there was but little left in the dress industry to destroy. Although, as stated elsewhere, the original registration order of the General Executive Board in December did not include Local 22, the Madison Square Garden meeting in which the Local 22 leaders, of course, took part, together with the menace of another general strike, led to the extension on December 22, 1926 of the registration order to the dress local.

Following this order, Vice-Presidents Hochman and Antonini, together with a committee from the provisional executive boards of the locals, arranged conferences with the employers and negotiated a renewal of the dress agreement, thus averting a repetition of the cloak strike disaster. The renewed agreement was signed on January 5, 1927, and was confirmed by mass meetings of the dressmakers. In the meantime, the response of the dressmakers' locals to the registration call proved even more encouraging than had been expected, considering the long record of Communist activities in Local 22.

Because of legal technicalities the Communist officials have thus far been able to keep the headquarters of Local 22; which now serve as the headquarters for Communist activities in all trades. This clique has no legitimate contractual relations with any employers, and exists mainly on contributions from a group of faithful fanatics and by begging. It is noisy and hysterical and occasionally causes commotion in the market; its chief function is to supply Communists or alleged Communists as scabs into cloakmakers' shops where union workers are on strike, to act as allies to the police in the arrest of pickets, and generally to terrorize the workers on

every occasion. Because of the element of the workers in this trade and of the ferocious competition in the industry, their activities have had a far more pernicious influence on the dress trade than on the cloak trade.

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We turn now from the sad account of the breakdown of control in the dress industry under Communist administration, the loss of the unemployment insurance fund and of all other union work-standards, to a summary of the activity of the new administration, and to an analysis of the serious problems which face the Union today in the dress industry.

In the period of registration up to March, 1927, Vice-President Hochman, in addition to his other duties, headed the Dress Division of the Joint Board; the manager of Local 22 was then as now J. Spielman, while Vice-President Antonini was the general secretary of Local 89. We have also given, in the list of provisional committees, the names of the business agents and staff in this period. Of great assistance in this period also was Miss Sadie Reich, a devoted member and former officer of Local 22, whose services were loaned to us by the Woman's Trade Union League, with which she was then associated. Following the election of Brother Hochman as general manager of the Joint Board, Brother Max Moskowitz acted as manager of the dress division from March to December, 1927. In December, 1927, Vice-President Reissberg was elected as manager of the dress department by the Joint Board.

In the past year or more, great progress has been made by the dress locals in the enforcement of standards, in the growth of membership, and in the rise of the morale of the workers, all the more praiseworthy in view of the fact that the dress-makers were harder hit by the Communist epidemic than any other group in the International.

In the early winter of this year, at the beginning of the season, following several mass gatherings, the possibility of a general strike in the dress industry had been discussed as a means of reaching the unorganized workers in the industry. As the season developed, however, it turned out to be very irregular and discouraging, and the matter of a strike was postponed for another time. Instead, a general organization drive, under the direction of I. Wasilievsky, was undertaken, which thus far has brought substantial results.

The active members of the dress locals have shown a singularly fine spirit in the face of great obstacles, especially considering the tremendous growth of non-union shops in the last few years. Special attention has been paid to the newer type of worker through the arrangement of outings and social gatherings by a group of active women members of Locals 22 and 89, in cooperation with local executive boards and the Educational Department of the International. This work has been conducted as a part of the efforts of the Union to reach the new comers in the dress shops.

* * *

The major problems with which the Union is confronted are, first, the industrial evils, and second, of course, the problem of organization.

We have already indicated that the dress industry, like the cloak industry, is cursed with the ills of the jobber-sub-manufacturer system, even though it is a piece-work industry. The entire analysis and program laid down for the cloak industry by the General Executive Board on this point, therefore, applies in a modified form to the dress industry.

In addition, however, it is our belief that the gains in the 1925 agreement providing for a price schedule system of sectionalizing garments with a guaranteed minimum for piece workers, together with the provision requiring the jobbers' cooperation on the joint committee to work out such standards and definitely to fix prices on all sent out garments, should be re-incorporated in the collective arrangements with the employers groups in the dress industry. We believe this provision, together with the G. E. B. program of 1923, can be of great aid in checking the evils of the present industrial situation.

* * *

The organization problem is an even more serious one. In the period under consideration, while the cloak industry has been declining the dress industry has steadily mounted in importance, both in the number of workers employed and in value of product. From 1914 to 1925, according to government figures, the value of the products of the industry jumped from 36.3 to 49 per cent of the total value of all branches, whereas the cloak branch in the same period declined in value

from 48.4 to 35.7. Similarly, while there was a decrease of some 15,000 workers in the New York Cloak Industry since 1917, there was an increase of several thousand dressmakers. The actual number of newcomers in the industry was even larger, for it must be remembered that since the large majority of workers in the dress industry are women, there is a tremendous turnover in the personnel of the workers. In the years under consideration probably over half of the 50,000 dressmakers in New York and vicinity were newcomers when all these factors are considered.

Had the Union possessed both the information and the foresight to see that the decline in the cloak industry was likely to remain and even increase, and that the dress industry was the growing one, plans should have been evolved to transfer the union members from one to the other branch. This was possible in the early years of this change, since in 1918, 1919 and 1920 our Union was very strong in the dress industry. Such a plan would have led to the strengthening of the Union in both branches, by relieving the cloak industry of its excess workers and consequent unemployment and by regularizing the influx of newcomers in the dress trade, who had later weakened union control in it. We discuss the study of such shifts in all branches and centers, under organization problems, in another section.

It happens that some of the newcomers in the dress industry were actually cloakmakers, but since they had drifted haphazardly and as individuals into the dress shops, union and non-union, instead of aiding unionization, they hampered it. In the first place, they considered their positions in the dress trade temporary, constantly hoping that they would return to the cloak shops, and made no effort to raise standards; in the second place, they were disgruntled with what they considered the failure of the Union to provide jobs for them in the cloak industry.

The vast majority of the newcomers in the dress industry were, however, a new element—the native-born girl and woman whom thus far the Union has not been successful in reaching. We discussed the special organization methods required for these women workers in all branches of our industry in a separate section.

We believe that the New York Joint Board still has before

It the opportunity of shifting its surplus cloak members into the dress trade on a sound basis for the purpose of strengthening both branches. Furthermore, it can and should reach those cloakmakers who have gone into the dress industry and seek through them to improve its position in the shops.

So far as the problem of organizing the vast majority of the non-union dressmakers is concerned, we believe, that in spite of the ~~growing~~ strength of the New York Joint Board, this is a problem in which the International will have to give its assistance along the lines described in the special section on organization work amongst the newer elements in our industry.

THE CLOAK AND DRESS INDUSTRY OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK

We come now to a consideration of the state of affairs since the last convention in the cloak and dress centers outside New York City. There are seven such large centers in this country—Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore, St. Louis and Los Angeles. The total output of these seven cities, however, for all branches of the women's clothing industry, is only about 13 per cent of the total value of manufactured products, and the total number of workers in all centers is less than one-fifth of all the workers in the country. The proportion for the cloak and dress industry is even smaller, for, as we have shown in the New York section, concentration in New York is more marked in these two principal branches. Nevertheless, these seven centers are important factors in the industry.

In our discussion of each of these centers, we have combined the cloak and dress branches. In most of them, the Joint Board includes both industries. Certainly the work of both of these branches is even more closely interdependent in the smaller centers than in New York. In practically every one of these cities, as we shall show, there has been a decline of the cloak and a rise of the dress industry, proportionately on the same scale as in New York; and the existence of Joint Boards has been of aid in directing the flow from one branch to another.

As in the case of New York, though not perhaps to the same extent, nor with as serious consequences, most of these

other large centers have been afflicted with the twin disease of economic maladjustment—unemployment and internal upsets, the latter manufactured and fostered by Communists in each of these centers with the aid and assistance of their New York brethren. Each of these centers, too, has its out-of-town problem and its problem of organization. We proceed now to a discussion of each of these large centers in which we have an organization existing, as well as of some smaller places where cloak locals have been organized.

Chicago

It is a well known fact that in the period since 1921, Chicago has risen from third to second rank in the women's garment industry, replacing Philadelphia. Chicago, like New York, has, since 1923, witnessed a decrease in the number and proportion of workers at the same time that its product increased greatly in value and in proportionate importance. Moreover, the same shift in the importance of the two main branches as in New York has taken place; whereas in 1921, of 7,000 workers, 1,800 were cloakmakers and some 3,000 dressmakers, in 1927 the number of cloakmakers had decreased to 1,500, who were almost 100 per cent organized, and the number of dressmakers had increased to over 5,000, of whom but a small percentage are organized. Chicago's main problem has been the organization of the dressmakers.

In the past two and a half years, the Chicago organization has gone through some harrowing experiences which, however, it has withstood well.

At the Philadelphia convention it was reported that the cloak industry had been covered in an agreement signed on February 25, 1925, to expire December 1, 1926. Amongst the important provisions of that agreement were the recommendations for an investigation of the Chicago industry along the lines of the New York industry, since the Chicago industry, too, had its ills. A gain was scored in the provision for the establishment of an unemployment insurance fund along the lines of the fund in New York, to which manufacturers would contribute 1½ per cent of their weekly payroll and the workers ¾ of a per cent, the fund to be administered by an impartial body as in New York. Other important new provisions were for the adoption of a sanitary union label, for the organization of a board of sanitary control, for wage advances and so on.

This agreement was, on the whole, very favorable, and if properly enforced, would have resulted in great gains to the Union. Unfortunately, as we shall see, these provisions were not enforced.

After the convention, in the early spring elections of 1926, due to the Communist hysteria which was beginning to affect some of the important Chicago locals, and due to the disgust of the loyal trade union element with the disastrous "peace past," the tried trade union officials, including M. Bialis, the manager, M. Novack, H. Rufer, B. Dolnick, declined to run for office. Because of this, the Communists gained control of all paid Joint Board posts, with the exception of that of secretary-treasurer. To this post was reelected the man then holding the office, M. A. Goldstein, a loyal trade unionist. The majority of the delegates to the Joint Board were Communists or close sympathizers.

The Communist administration of the Chicago Joint Board repeated on a smaller scale the misdeeds of their New York comrades. The unemployment insurance fund, whose chairman was Judge Henry Horner, was sabotaged. The Communist officials made no effort to collect funds from the employers, and on the pretext of relieving the workers of their contribution to the fund, made a ruling that the workers were to pay nothing, but that the employers were to contribute $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent instead of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. As a result, employers deducted this $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent from the workers' envelopes and then, because of poor enforcement, failed to turn it into the fund at all. There were other evidences of mismanagement of this fund.

The Communist administration also sabotaged the collection of dues so as to lower the payment of its per capita to the International, by conducting a campaign amongst members to pay nothing over 39 weeks' arrears. Its great emphasis was on the organization work it pretended to be doing amongst the dressmakers. Their organizer, I. Davidson, announced the formation of a vast organization committee and of extensive plans, which, on investigation, proved to be existent in his fancy only. A demand was sent to New York for \$200 weekly from the International as a contribution to the organization work. After a visit to Chicago in April, 1926, President Sigman suggested a contribution of \$100 weekly for organization purposes. This was approved by the General Executive Board.

and that amount was sent regularly until the exigencies of the general strike in New York had made this impossible. When payments were delayed, the Communist administration launched into abuse of the International, completely forgetting its own indebtedness to the International and its refusal to pay the 1925 International assessment which it had collected.

From time to time during the spring and summer of 1926, the International office received communications from members and officers of the local unions complaining of discrimination against non-Communists by the Communist officials and citing acts of their mismanagement.

At about this time, too, October, 1926, the Communist group decided to combine the office of manager with that of secretary-treasurer in order to get rid of Brother Goldstein who was not one of them. This attempt was defeated by a referendum. Subsequently, the Communists announced an election for this office, but this too resulted in a defeat for them as Brother Goldstein was re-elected against a Communist opponent by a large vote.

Matters in Chicago finally came to a head when the New York Communists began their open warfare against the International following the settlement with the Industrial Council in the New York strike on November 12, 1926. Even before the General Executive Board had issued its order on December 13, 1926, temporarily taking over the supervision and leadership of the strike and the sub-manufacturers' lockout in New York, the Communists of the Chicago Joint Board began an open fight against the International. This was in the form of a so-called mass-amalgamation meeting called for December 9, 1926, for the purpose of fighting the International. Our loyal Chicago members, however, took over the meeting and saw to it that it was conducted along true trade union lines. Thereafter, on December 17, 1926, the Chicago Joint Board at a meeting passed a resolution, which it subsequently printed and to which it gave wide publicity, condemning the General Executive Board of the International and pledging its support to the deposed Communist officials. The membership of the Chicago locals replied to this at a meeting called on December 29, 1926, and attended by over four hundred dress and shoemakers, which passed a resolution condemning the action of the Communist officers of the Joint Board and pledging the support of the members to the International.

During the enforced preoccupation of the General Executive Board with the New York crisis, little attention could be given the Chicago situation in spite of continued appeals from our membership there. In the spring elections of 1927, charges were brought against several of the Communist candidates by trade unionists, but the Communist administration refused to consider them. Continued appeals and protests against this administration were being received, copies of which are given herewith. These charged discrimination against union members, the destruction of the unemployment insurance fund and the looting of the union treasury. In addition, the charges stated, the Communist officials transformed the office of the Chicago Joint Board into the middle-west headquarters for the deposed Communist leaders of New York, transferring funds to them, aiding them in their fake bond issues, etc. Copies follow herewith:

April 5, 1927

TO THE OFFICERS AND DELEGATES OF CHICAGO JOINT BOARD INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, GREETINGS:

We wish to direct your attention to the fact that J. Levin, Roy Glassman and Harry Zeff, in violation of an order of our International Union, and contrary to Sections 3, 5 and 13 of Article X of the Constitution and By Laws of our International Union, approached various members of our local unions and sold to them bonds and stamps called "Relief Stamps for Prisoners" which are known to be a fake method of the Opposition which is doing so much to destroy the good work accomplished by our organization.

We are asking at this time for a full hearing on these charges, at which time we will produce witnesses who will substantiate the charges made, and at which time J. Levin, Roy Glassman and Harry Zeff should be required to disprove these statements and if they do not do so should be disqualified for office in accordance with the Constitution and By Laws.

Fraternally Yours,

MAX TROUBAKOFF, Local 59, Ledger 1564
M. FEINBERG, Local 54, Ledger 44
M. MINTZ, Local 54
MEYER LEVY, Local 100, Ledger 2535
HELEN MOSICKI, Local 100, Ledger 21500
ADOLPH FREIMAN, Local 59, Ledger 2529
MEYER COHEN, Local 5, Ledger 227
DAVE BOROWITZ, Local 5, Ledger 254
ABE LEVINE, Local 18, Ledger 90
J. EPSTEIN, Local 18, Ledger 213.

June 26, 1927

President M. Sigman and Members of the
General Executive Board,
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Greetings:—

I herewith submit a written report issued by the manager and approved by the majority of the Joint Board. This report as you will see, openly attacks the policy of our International, of which they are members, and is in violation of Sections 3, 5, 9 and 13 of Article 10 of the Constitution of our International.

This report shows specifically that they have declared war against the International Union and its membership. The following delegates, as loyal members of the International, voted against the acceptance of this report at the time it was submitted.

Phillip Davis, J. Goldstein, J. Summers, B. Reicher, S. Lederman and W. Daley.

We, as members of the International request that you take up this situation and call those responsible for this report to account in order that our Union may be saved.

Fraternally yours,

P. DAVIDS, Local 18, Ledger 316

SAM LEDERMAN, Local 21, Ledger 184

President M. Sigman, and
Members of the General Executive Board,
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Greetings:—

We, the undersigned members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, prefer charges against Manager J. Levin, and organizer I. Davidson for violation of Section No. 5 3, 9 and 13 of Article 10 of the Constitution of our International.

We herewith attach the evidence and proof of our charges. These officers have openly allied themselves with individuals and publications who are outstanding enemies of our Union and work to the detriment of the organization.

We further charge the other officers of the Joint Board, namely, B. Soll, chairman, S. Stein, vice-chairman, R. Glassman, H. Zeff, business agents, S. Cohen, Ida Rothstein, J. Sapp, Vera Dubrow, R. Selgel Ph Hauser, Joint Board delegates who are participants in the above mentioned violations and are responsible for all that has been done by Levin and Davidson with their knowledge and approval, which is working to the detriment of the Union.

(Signed)

M. RAPAPORT, Local No. 54, Ledger No. 45

MORRIS BIALIS, Local N. 5, Ledger No 551

I. KANTROWSKY, Local No. 5, Ledger No. 128

J. HOFFMAN, Local No. 18, Ledger No. 116

H. MESSER, Local No. 18 Ledger No. 163

S. KAUFMAN, Local No. 100, Ledger No. 463.

As a result of the receipt of these appeals by the General Executive Board in April, 1927, it was decided that President Sigman was to investigate the Chicago situation as soon as possible. Following a visit there by Vice-President Mollie Friedman, President Sigman visited Chicago in May of 1927. The membership arranged open forums and mass meetings, at which President Sigman explained the criminal mismanagement and betrayal of the New York cloakmakers by their Communist leaders, the demoralization and destruction of all standards, and the cause for the emergency intervention by the General Executive Board. These meetings were well attended and the response of the members was splendid. Nevertheless, President Sigman in his report to the General Executive Board, felt that the time was not ripe for intervention in the Chicago situation and advised instead that a committee of investigation, to be appointed by the General Executive Board, visit Chicago. Such a committee was chosen June 24, 1927, consisting of Vice-Presidents Dubinsky, Kreindler and Ninfo. Vice-President Mollie Friedman, who was in Chicago, gave the committee very valuable assistance.

In July, however, telegrams were received from members of the Chicago locals, telling of physical assaults by Communists on members at meetings and in the streets. When one of our members, A. Rabinowitz, was seriously injured, the committee was ordered by President Sigman to proceed to Chicago in July of 1927. In the meantime, also, slanderous report, in the name of the Chicago Joint Board, issued February 4, 1927, but withheld from general circulation until July, was widely distributed in the local market. This statement called on the Chicago workers to support the deposed officials in New York.

The committee immediately proceeded to Chicago, where it found President Sigman, who had curtailed his vacation, and Vice-President Mollie Friedman.

As a result of the investigation of this committee of the General Executive Board, the following report was issued, in August, 1927:

We, the special sub-committee of the General Executive Board, were charged, according to the decision of the G. E. B. at its quarterly session on June 21, 1927, with the duty of investigating all complaints and charges lodged against members and officers of the Chicago local unions of the I. L. G. W. U.

The committee, together with representatives of the Chicago Federation of Labor and of the United Hebrew Trades of Chicago, have received charges and complaints that the officers of the Chicago Joint Board had utilized their office as well as the funds of the organization to conspire and discriminate against a portion of the membership as well as against some officers who do not share their political views. The charges ranged along the following lines.

1. While performing their official duties they are instigating member against member.

2. They are slandering the general officers of the I. L. G. W. U.

3. They are officially and unofficially supporting elements who are fighting the International.

4. They are soliciting funds for that purpose.

5. They are affiliated and combined with groups, not members of our International, which are undermining our Union, groups that are organized to meddle in the internal affairs of our organization and whose main aim and object is daily to attack and slander the officers of the International as well as of the A. F. of L.

They were further accused that as members of newly formed "committees" they are directly responsible for leaflets distributed publicly in the Chicago cloak and dress market where union and non-union workers congregate, and in which they attack the International to such an extent that all efforts attempted by the International officers to organize non-union workers in the near future would be a waste of effort and energy, considering the light in which our officers are being placed before them in the literature distributed among them.

Slurring Non-Communists

As evidence to substantiate charge No. 1, an extract from a report had been submitted, printed by the Chicago Joint Board, dated February 4, 1927, and signed by J. Levin, its manager.

The report begins with the remark "that the present administration holding office in the Chicago Joint Board with the exception of the Secretary-Treasurer can report of real benefits obtained for the membership." The Joint Board, as well as its manager, who pretends to be guided by decisions of the membership, in this report ignored the fact that the secretary-treasurer was elected by a majority of the membership of the Chicago Union and by the same people who elected him and his associates, for no other reason but because the secretary-treasurer, Brother Goldstein, is not of their party faith.

At the hearing Levin explained this act by the following statement: "We are a progressive administration, and any one that does not belong to the progressives does not belong to our administration."

Attack International in Injunction Fight

The report further contains a paragraph which gives credit to the present administration for its militant fight against injunctions, and states that the G. E. B. which kept up the fight against the injunction cases of 1924 "practiced a method of dickerings with capitalist politicians." That attack is made upon the International, after the gallant and stubborn fight it had conducted, in which the entire force of its organization, its influence as well as its financial resources, solicited from the membership through the efforts of the G. E. B., was given to that strike.

This report further tries to throw suspicion upon the sincerity of the G. E. B. and of President Sigman towards the victims of the Chicago strike, who were imprisoned, in the following remark: "That the weak opinion of President Sigman did not prevail, despite the fact that the G. E. B. had kept control of the case, the Chicago Joint Board had to bear the burden of the expense."

This insinuation against the International officers is made after they had spent tens of thousands of dollars for lawyers, court expenses and fines. Only one week prior to the call of the general cloak strike in New York in 1926, the International borrowed and paid interest on \$20,000 in New York to forward to Chicago on that account. Now these officers have the audacity, because they had sent visitors to the prisoners and had given them a few dollars for expenses, which was their duty as members and officers of the Chicago Union to do, to publish a report to the membership attacking the International, despite all its efforts and work for the Chicago strike victims.

In speaking in the same report of aid to the New York cloakmakers, they find it necessary to make an attack on a member because at a member meeting, where the Joint Board officers recommended a day's pay from each member, "a right winger" introduced a motion of a flat pay of \$5.50 from each member. This they claim, "was a blow to the cloakmakers of New York, since it reduced the amount collected and was not fair to our workers, calling upon workers with smaller pay envelopes to contribute as much as the higher paid officers." And yet, they boast in the same report that under their administration the members have a right to express an opinion at their union meeting! When a member did propose, as a matter of honest opinion, a form of an assessment that was contrary to the views of the leaders of the Joint Board, he is being attacked in an official report issued and paid for by the union for doing so. The excuse is "that it is unfair for those with a higher pay envelope to pay the same amount as those with a smaller envelope," although equal taxation with respect to dues or any other taxes is an old standing principle of our Union.

Say G. E. B. Promoted Scab Work

The G. E. B. is accused in the same report that they covered up the fact that scab work was done in Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore, during the cloak strike of 1926, and they are charged with doing it, because the administrations in those cities were loyal to the International.

In the same report, while speaking of the former administration of the Chicago Joint Board, they attack it not only as a "right wing," but also as "reactionaries who have joined with the reactionary element of the labor movement." While no one may deny any union official or group of officials the privilege to boost themselves up to whatever degree they might desire, it is unfair to slander and malign any group of union people, members of the same organization, as they did in this report.

Side Openly With Traitors

In this same report, they openly declare that in the present fight against the International of New York, they cannot be neutral, because it is a fight against the "reactionary G. E. B." which has been going on for years. They openly declare, way back on February 4, that "there cannot be peace between the membership in Chicago." They charge a part of the membership of Chicago with being "right wing" and slander and make permanent war on them.

In explaining their attack against the International, and why they must be with the defunct New York Joint Board, they denounce the President of the I. L. G. W. U. as "an advocate of unfair cooperation with employers" and as an advocate of "the Governor's Commission." They denounce the general officers as leaders who had given up the idea of working class struggle for better conditions. They slander them as the most reactionary leaders of the needle trade unions, fighting the workers.

They call upon the membership to combine against the leadership of the Union. They openly call for support of the defunct New York Joint Board.

The extracts read from that report prove conclusively that not only did they utilize their office to slander, insinuate and discriminate against some of the members of the Chicago Union, but also against the officers of the International Union.

Fake "Defense" Business

As additional evidence, a special edition of a bulletin called "Freiheit", published in Chicago, dated July 17, was also presented to the committee. From that bulletin we learn that a Unity Committee from New York organized a so-called Self-Defense Committee in Chicago. Levin, Davidson and other of-

officers of the Joint Board participated, and the purpose of that committee, despite denials made by some of the leaders, is obvious to raise funds for the traitor elements against the International in New York City.

If our Union needs any defense committees, it is the Union as such that should organize it. If our unions cannot take care and defend themselves and the interests of the membership, let the officials declare so. But they have no right and no authority to organize any committees ostensibly for union purposes outside the Union.

At the hearings, the accused officers of the Joint Board claimed that the so-called "Defense Conference" considered only the proposition of collecting funds for the imprisoned cloak-makers of New York. But on the next day leaflets were distributed in the market signed by a Unity Committee, the same committee that organized the "Defense Conference" of Chicago, in which President Sigman is called a "progromschik", and which contains the following clause, "that in order to make the 'pogrom' in New York complete, the leaders brought down the McGrady's and the Wolls, the same anti-semitic bunch which for years and years has conducted propaganda hatred against the Jewish workers. These anti-Semites were brought down to save the Jewish honor and the Jewish race."

These leaflets were distributed by the people who are allied with the present officers of the Chicago Joint Board. Not only did the officers attempt to stop the distribution of these leaflets, but, as we are informed, they even encouraged it.

The very same "unity committee," of the so-called "Defense Conference" last week resorted to sending out a letter to the cloakmakers of Chicago, appealing to them for funds, in which the International was attacked and its officers were slandered. They claim that the letter was sent from New York, but it is now known to everybody that this letter was printed in Chicago, as it carries Union label No. 379, indicating that it had been printed by the Chicago Labor Press. The envelope bears the New York Post Office stamp from New York, indicating that although it had been mailed from New York, it was printed and addressed in Chicago, proving again that this same committee with which the leaders of the Chicago Joint Board are affiliated, is resorting to all false methods to extort contributions for the purpose of fighting, slandering and undermining the International.

What is most outstanding in this event, is the fact that the entire membership of the Chicago Union has received this any other constituted body of the Union to give out the address without any authorization from the Joint Board or from dresses of the members. Where did they get these addresses? The Union officials affiliated with the committee deny having stolen the addresses, but it is quite evident that it was not

Secretary Goldstein, under whose supervision the addresses are kept and who is hostile to these committees and their tactics, who had given them these addresses.

The same Chicago publication which reported of the organization of the so-called "Defense Committee" reports the following fact in a recent issue:

"The 'pogrom' upon the many thousands of union men and their unions in New York has stirred up the widest circles in this city. It is felt that this fight is not to be confined to New York only. It spreads all over the cities of this country and an assault has already been made by this 'black mass' upon the furriers and cloakmakers here in Chicago.

"The Chicago office of the 'Unity Committee,' therefore, calls a conference aiming to organize some sort of a union defense with a purpose of sending ammunition and provisions to the heroic furriers and cloakmakers in New York. Monday, July 11, the conference took place at the Roosevelt Hall.

"Comrade Dora Lifshitz opened the conference. Marks from New York reported for the executive of the 'Unity Committee,' and a resolution committee was elected consisting of the following persons: Levin, Davidson, Berson, Millgroim and Goralik.

"The committee introduced a resolution condemning the 'right pogrom makers' and forwarded greetings to the fighters in New York. As resolution was then passed to form this new 'self defense' organization which should include all those who are willing to contribute every week a certain amount for the purpose of providing the New York fighters with ammunition and provisions.

"To this end a committee of one hundred was formed to carry on the work of the new organization. The first contributions were made amounting to about \$150 in cash."

In addition the manager of the Union, in order to lend additional prestige to this fight against the same International, wrote an article in the issue where he too attacked the International officers.

The manager and other officers of the Joint Board have boasted of their affiliation with the "progressive groups." An issue of a bulletin printed in Chicago, while the special committee conducted the investigation, published by the "Progressive Group of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union," was presented to us containing slander, attack and insinuations on the general officers of the Union, on the President of the International, and on the Special Committee of the G. E. B., attacking venomously each and every member who does not share their political views.

The officers of the Chicago Joint Board under charges are directly responsible for writing, publishing and distributing these malicious leaflets.

Another circular was presented to us, which was distributed to members, announcing a Defence Moonlight Picnic, for Saturday, July 30, 1927, explaining that this affair would be held under the auspices of the "International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Defense Committee."

Such a committee has never been legally appointed by any authorized individual or by the authorized body of the Union. It was organized outside of the Union, and no attempt has been made by the officers of the Union to repudiate or to stop the functioning of such committees.

The President of the A. F. of L. issued the following instructions to the membership which the officers claim to be acquainted with:

"Industrial peace prevails in the Ladies' Garment Industry in New York City. The agreements in effect between the manufacturers and organized labor will continue in effect for more than a year at least. These workers who are employed under these contracts are loyal to the American Federation of Labor and are refusing to have anything whatever to do with the dual organizations represented by Ben Gold and Louis Hyman. The American Federation of Labor will assist and help the workers who remain loyal to the organized labor movement in every possible way.

"Please give publicity to this communication. Read it at your next meeting and refuse, in a most definite way, to respond to the appeal of Ben Gold and Louis Hyman. Do not make financial contributions to any of these appeals which are sent you as they do not bear the signature or approval of any representative of the American Federation of Labor. In this way you can avoid making contributions to Communists and to the Communist organization. By refusing to respond to these appeals, you can prevent your funds from being used against you."

This order which came from the highest officer of the American Labor movement, the President of the American Federation of Labor, was ignored by them.

Vice-president Mollie Friedman, forwarded on March 25, 1927, a communication to the Chicago Joint Board on behalf of the G. E. B. with similar instructions, which too was ignored and defied by these officers.

Our attention was also directed to the fact that some of the members preferred charges to the Joint Board against some of the officers that they were violating the orders and decisions of the G. E. B. and were soliciting funds and giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the International Union. But the officers of the Joint Board even refused to take up these charges, which is a violation of our constitution.

Charges have also been preferred by regular members that at a public meeting, namely at the "Freiheit Jubilee," the manager of the Joint Board publicly slandered and attacked the officers of our International.

The General Office instructed this committee to investigate the reasons why the \$250 assessment which was levied upon the membership two years ago to cover the deficit of the Chicago strike, and which the membership paid a long time ago, was not turned over to the International.

Then general office called the attention of the Chicago Locals several times to their indebtedness to the International by regular and registered mail, but these requests were ignored. Only recently, when they were summoned to the committee, one or two of the locals finally decided to forward some of the money that they have collected.

These officers have shown that they have more regard for those that are fighting the International than for those that are helping it. They are ready to discredit the principles and policies of the American labor movement to serve the interests of their political party.

As officers, they have solicited funds from the members for outside committees with whom they have combined to undermine and handicap the Union in its functions. These acts constitute an offense against the laws of our international Union.

They have violated all along the written and unwritten rules of our organization. They have conspired to destroy unity of action within our ranks. We have reached this conclusion not because we may or may not differ politically with the officials under charges. This is not a matter of political affiliation but it involves above all the fundamental question of trade union loyalty and trade union principles.

These officials allied and supported all such as are fighting the International secretly and openly. A situation of this sort within the ranks of our Union cannot and should not be tolerated.

The committee therefore came to the conclusion that these officials of the Chicago Joint Board are guilty of defying and disobeying the orders of the G. E. B., which is the highest institution of our Union from convention to convention. By doing so, they have violated the constitution of our International and their pledge and oath of office.

(Signed) S. NINFO, Chairman

D. DUBINSKY, Secretary

CHARLES KREINDLER,

Members of the G. E. B. Sub-Committee.

As a result of the material on which this report was based several officers were placed under charges, including J. Levine, Manager, I. Davidson, Organizer, B. Soll, Chairman of the Joint Board, Roy Glassman and Zeff, business agents, and several others. They were not suspended or expelled from office. The committee which heard the charges against them included, in addition to the committee of the G. E. B., John Fitzpatrick, Ed. Nockels, President and Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Charles Wills, and two representatives of the United Hebrew Trades of Chicago, N. Bender and N. Corel. These hearings lasted five days, and at the conclusion the findings were reported to a most enthusiastic meeting of the members at Schoenhofen Hall, on August 1, 1927, presided over by President John Fitzpatrick.

Elections were then ordered, nominations being set for August 2, 1927. All candidates for office were required to sign the following pledge:

"I, the undersigned, member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, desiring to serve as an officer, hereby affirm that I recognize the supreme authority of the General Executive Board as the highest institution of our International from convention to convention, and pledge to abide by all its orders, rules and regulations.

"I further pledge myself that I will not recognize, support or affiliate with any organization, body, group or persons acting in opposition to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union or the General Executive Board.

"I do further pledge not to make any contributions, donations or render any assistance in any manner of form to any group or individual who are fighting or slandering the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union or its officers or the American Federation of Labor or its officers.

"To violate this pledge is the same as to violate the rules of our constitution.

(signed)

Since the Communists refused to sign, the line of demarcation was made very clear. In spite of attempts by the Communists to hamper the elections, a large number of votes was cast, under the auspices of a joint committee, consisting of members of the General Executive Board and representatives of the Chicago Hebrew Trades. The new Joint Board was installed at an inspiring meeting on Thursday night, August 11, 1927, in Douglas Park Auditorium which was

addressed by President Sigman and Vice-Presidents Friedman and Ninfo and was presided over by President John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor. President Morris Sigman installed the new Joint Board, and the meeting came to a close after an unanimous vote of confidence.

These elections were entirely for delegates to the Joint Board as the posts of the paid officials had not yet expired.

It is interesting to note that the day before election the vice-chairman of the defunct Joint Board approached Vice-President Ninfo and offered \$25,000 from its treasury to the International "if an adjustment could be made." This ridiculous offer was, of course, rejected.

On Friday night, August 12, 1927, when the new Joint Board came to hold its meeting, it found the office occupied by a group of the Communists whose terms had expired and who had been replaced by the newly elected delegates. These persons had brought with them policemen and civil officers and claimed that they were the rightful Joint Board. President Sigman who was in the city, was called on as the authority to pass on the rightful delegates, and his decision settled the matter.

On Saturday morning, the chairman of the Joint Board, Brother B. Schaeffer, called at the office to arrange the routine affairs for the coming week with the paid officers. They found that Messrs. Levin, Glassman, Zeff and Davidson and others had deserted the office completely and failed to show up for their work. These men subsequently opened up a dual scab union.

After the Committee of the General Executive Board had completed its work, Vice-Presidents Kreindler and Dubinsky returned to their posts. Vice-President Ninfo remained a while longer and helped to organize an Italian branch. Vice-President Mollie Friedman then remained permanently in charge of the situation.

The next step of the Communists in this scab union was to call artificial strikes, particularly in the dress trade, in such large shops as Hyman Brothers, and others. These moves were defeated. Their next effort, the calling of a general strike, also turned out a complete failure, as not a single shop responded to the call.

Subsequently, a restraining order was obtained by the Chicago Joint Board forbidding this scab union and its officials to use the name of the International and of the Joint Board. This was in the form of a temporary writ issued on September 1, 1927 by the Superior Court of Cook County, which was made permanent on November 7, 1927.

In the six-months period since that time, the Chicago organization has made remarkable progress. Its new officers, as a result of the elections of 1927, were as follows: Manager, Morris Blalis, Secretary, M. A. Goldstein, Chairman of the Joint Board, B. Schaffer, Business Agents Rabinowitz and Davids. Delegates from the executive boards of the locals were:

Local 5 (operators), B. Schaffer, M. Blalis, J. Borowitz, W. Friedman, Max Wax. Local 18 (pressers), Philip Davids, A. Levin, A. Sudin, H. Lustig, J. Goldstein; Local 54. (raincoat makers), N. Mintz, J. Summers, J. Glassman, S. Fisher, M. Rappaport; Local 59 (finishers), H. Rufer, A. Sher, M. Trubakov, J. Schultz, Pearl Gold; Local 81 (cutters), Swartzenberg, Daly, Lederman, Lavender, Selvidge; Local 100 (dressmakers), H. Friedman, J. Kauffman, Mr. Terry, Helen Mosicki, Florence Corn.

Local 104 is being represented in the new Joint Board temporarily by Bro. Witz.

These locals have elected the following executive boards:

Local No. 5. Executive Board—H. Blumenfeld, D. Borowitz, J. Coeliss, M. Cohen, H. Freedman, M. Freedman, M. Graffman, I. Green, I. Kanterofsky, S. Levin, J. Lipshtiz, J. Lotterman, M. Novak, A. Rabinowitz, B. Shaffer, S. Smith.

Local No. 18—B. Berkowitz, Ch. Berkowitz, P. Davids, M. Dichter, J. Freedman, L. Freedman, D. Goldstein, J. Hoffman, A. Levin, A. Sudin, Z. Sussman.

Local No. 59—L. Cooper, S. Glazer, P. Gold, J. Jaffe, S. Pocher, H. Ruffer, L. Schwartz, J. Shultz, A. Sher, M. Trubakoff.

Local No. 81—W. P. Daly, S. Lederman, L. Lavender, Selvidge, Swartzenberg, A. Zuley, N. Zuley.

Local No. 100—H. Bloom, E. Bock, F. Corn, Mary Fisher, H. Freedman, M. Frumkin, S. Kaufman, S. Kirshner, E. Kubin, E. Levenson, L. Luznicki, H. Masacki, S. Orlow, L. Rosenthal, E. Spink, R. Sharr, M. Yanowitz.

Local No. 54—Chairman, N. Mintz; Vice-Chairman, J. Summers; Recording Secretary, M. Tavill. Executive Board—L. Edelman, F. Switzer, I. Samuels, A. Samuels, I. Swift, S. Fisher, J. Bernstein, J. Glassman.

Several new shops have been organized, including a number of large dress shops. Renewal agreements in the cloak trade were signed in February, 1928, with independent manufacturers as well as with the associations, at which the Chicago Joint Board was represented by its chairman, secretary and manager and a committee consisting of Brothers M. Terry, A. Rabinowitz and P. Davids.

We feel that the Chicago situation is completely cleared up now. This is all the more remarkable as we consider the acute financial crisis in which the Joint Board found itself. The Communist ex-officials were able to tie up the funds of the Joint Board on the following pretext. According to a provision of Locals 5 and 59, elections were to be held for only half of the executive board members at one time. Subsequently, the Communists claimed that the five delegates from each of these locals to the Joint Board were of those whose terms had not yet expired, according to this provision, and that, therefore, the Joint Board, as constituted, was an illegal body because of the election of a full Board. The contention of the General Executive Board is that this provision of the two locals was in contradiction to a by-law of the constitution of the International, the parent organization, which provides for annual elections of all officers. At the time of the writing of this report, the money is still tied up, and we are conducting legal proceedings for its recovery, which we believe is assured. During that financial crisis, however, the loyalty of the Chicago members and the aid of the United Hebrew Trades had made it possible to carry on the work of the Union.

We cannot refrain from commenting on the whole-hearted cooperation of the entire Chicago labor movement. Our accomplishments would have been impossible were it not for the inspiring faithfulness of President John Fitzpatrick, Secretary Nockels and Vice-President Oscar F. Nelson and Charles Wills, and the affiliated locals of the Chicago Federation of Labor, of Secretary Hanock of the United Hebrew Trades, of representative Abrams of the Dyers and Cleaners' Association, of Brother Green of the Painters' Union, and of many others. The assistance was not only financial and moral but manifested itself in their readiness to help on all occasions.

The main problem of the Chicago situation today remains that of organizing the dressmakers, the large majority of whom are native-born women.

The dressmakers' union started the year 1926 under terrific handicaps, 93 of their 1924 strikers still being out on bail and awaiting a rehearing of their cases. The original sentences imposed money fines amounting to \$17,000 and condemned nearly all the pickets to jail terms. Our attorney, Peter Sissman of the firm of Darrow and Sissman, prepared appeals on these cases, and, while in Chicago, in January, 1926, President Sigman and Vice-President Mollie Friedman canvassed the entire labor movement in Chicago for aid in these cases. Prominent women of the standing of Jane Adams, Miss Mary McDowell and many others, enlisted in behalf of the strikers, but the outlook for the appeal seemed quite hopeless.

The Communists then in office did all they could to spread rumors throughout the city that a more favorable outcome could have been obtained had it not been for the interference of Vice-President Friedman and the Chicago Federation of Labor. Sister Friedman called these officers of the Chicago Joint Board to the Chicago Federation of Labor and asked for a clear statement on the matter but they denied spreading such rumors.

On May 1, 1926, the Supreme Court upheld the drastic Sullivan decision, and on Tuesday, June 8, 1926, all efforts at appeal having failed, 44 pickets began serving jail sentences. These included 38 women and 6 men, as follows:

Meyer Barkan, 50 days; Anna Berenbaum, 10 days; May Bonczynski, 10 days; Marion Brostick, 10 days; Jennie Chanin, 10 days; Victoria Czislakiewicz, 45 days; Ida Dubnow, 10 days; Evaline Dornfield, 30 days; Rose Finesteln, 10 days; Bessie Gettman, 10 days; Rose Goodman, 10 days; John Gottlieb, 50 days; Lillian Greeberg, 10 days; Fannie Goldberg, 10 days; Yetta Hornstein, 20 days; Eva Jacobs, 10 days; Kate Kappa, 10 days; Wanda Koleta, 15 days; Florence Kohn, 30 days; Meyer Kranz, 20 days; Morris Kravitz 50 days; Jennie Lieberman, 10 days; Jennie Miller, 10 days; Lena Movitz, 20 days; Max Novack, 20 days; Bertha Noel 10 days; Bertha Noel, 10 days; Rose Printz, 10 days; Rose Onofrio, 10 days; Frieda Reicher, 30 days; Theresa Rhode, 10 days; Esther Richman, 10 days; Elinore Sadowski, 60 days; Minnie Seldel, 5 days; Mary Siegel, 10 days; Rose Silver, 10 days; Oscar Simon, 30 days; Sara Snider, 10 days; Caroline Wegloski, 10 days; Sophie Young, 25 days.

Several of the women were mothers of families, and one imprisoned picket returned from a tuberculosis sanitarium to serve her sentence. The sentences ranged from ten to sixty days and the fines from \$125 to \$350, in addition to the sentences. These strikers, whose number included women of all nationalities, showed a splendid spirit, marching to the jail in parade. The International sent them a telegram of congratulations on their fine spirit and courage. The officers of the Illinois and Chicago Federation of Labor appealed to Governor Len Small for the release of these prisoners, but in vain.

The International paid practically the entire expense of this proceeding, which included, in addition to \$17,000 in fines, the loss of bonds for persons who did not appear to serve their sentences, legal expenses, etc. Nevertheless, the Communist officers of the Joint Board in their report charged the "General Executive Board with not bearing the brunt of the costs of these cases and with failing to arouse the labor movement to their importance."

At the present time, Vice-President Mollie Friedman, who is assisting the Chicago Joint Board, is paying particular attention to a special organization campaign amongst the dress-makers. The social activities amongst the women members have been helpful in interesting the newer elements in the industry. We feel that the spirit of the Chicago dressmakers in the struggle of 1924, in their braving of jail sentences, and in the struggle with the Communists proves sufficiently the fact that the basic element in the organization is a loyal trade union element which will in time make inroads into the unorganized portions of the industry.

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As we go to press, we learn of a new victory of the Chicago organization. Several cutters of a large corset factory, Nature's Rival Corset Company, voluntarily approached Vice-President Friedman as to the possibility of organizing the cutting room of this firm which employs 40 cutters and over 650 women workers. Conditions in the shop were very poor—a 50-hour-work-week with a maximum of \$40 for the cutters and of \$22 for the operators. With the aid of the Chicago Federation of Labor, an organizing campaign was begun, but the firm, on February 25, locked out all the cutters.

The shop was declared on strike, and after a brief stiff fight, under the personal leadership of Brothers Fitzpatrick and Nockles, conferences were arranged with the firm which resulted in the following concessions:

1. All workers, including such as were discharged due to sickness some time ago to be reinstated.
2. 46½ hours of work; time and half for overtime, restricted to one hour per day.
3. Inspection of firm's books by the Union's accountant, F. Nathan Wolf, and subsequent establishing of minimum scales and increasing of wages.
4. No obstacles in the path of unionization.
5. Settlement of disputes with union representatives; in case of failure, adjustment by an impartial arbitration board, including review of discharges.

The cutters of this firm have since been installed as members of Local 81, and the Chicago organization has proceeded with organization work amongst the women operators.

Philadelphia

The Cloak Industry

The Philadelphia cloak industry, as was reported to the Philadelphia convention, has been steadily on the decline, due in large part to the disappearance of the suit from the market. There are employed now in the Philadelphia cloak market some thousand workers, and it can safely be said that the entire industry is organized. The problem of non-union shops is that of shops in Camden, Hammonton and other New Jersey towns. The Philadelphia cloakmakers have their own joint board, the dressmakers being in a separate organization.

The period since the last convention has, on the whole, been a rather quiet one, with the exception of the developments growing out of the New York cloak strike and the futile efforts of the Communists to capture the Philadelphia organization.

The agreement of 1924, based on the pact in New York, expired in July, 1926. Because of the New York strike, the officers in charge of the Philadelphia cloak locals, Brothers Domsy and Rubin, who had been re-elected in July, were

hesitant about its renewal. During the period of negotiations in July, a vigilant watch was kept in the Philadelphia market to see that no work was being done for New York. After a very well attended massmeeting of the members, and after several conferences with the employers, attended by President Sigman, a general stoppage was declared on July 29, 1926, which lasted less than a week. At the end of the stoppage a new agreement was signed, embodying several new concessions.

These new items in the Philadelphia agreement included:

1. A clause requiring a greater measure of responsibility on the part of jobbers for wages and work conditions in the shops of contractors, including penalties and securities to be deposited by the jobbers in the event of violations.
2. The deposit of new security when the original security had been forfeited by violations, production to cease pending the payment of such new security.
3. The inclusion of all gains and reforms which might be introduced in the New York market on the settlement of the strike.
4. The raising of wages of all individual workers, especially of the above-the-minimum-scale workers, to the level of 1919, when week work was introduced.

This final clause is a very important one, since it provided for the specific affixation of all wage rates on working cards, so that the worker might not be forced to take cuts should he transfer from one shop to the other. This provision eliminated one of the principal evils in the cloak markets all over the country, whereby, due to turnover in shops, union workers are forced to compete against each other. It also acts as a great stabilizing influence in the industry as a whole.

The Philadelphia cloakmakers, having set their own house in order, taxed themselves a day's pay for the New York strikers, contributed \$11,000 to the strike fund, and in every way assisted the representatives of the General Strike Committee in the prevention of scab work being made for the New York market.

Nevertheless, when, in the latter part of October, 1926, the New York Communist officials began to realize that the strike would fail, and that non-union production was at its height, they sought to shift the responsibility by charging that scab work was being done out-of-town, particularly in

Philadelphia. According to statements published by them prior to the meeting of the G. E. B. and prior to the settlement with the Industrial Council, the Philadelphia market had doubled production, and men were working nights and Sundays, etc. Later, evidence, however, proved that the persons in charge of the General Strike Committee investigation were negligent in their work. It was proven, as shown in the report on the New York situation, that the increase in the Philadelphia market did not include more than two hundred workers at the very utmost. It was inevitable that the Philadelphia market should capture a certain amount of work from New York manufacturers, but at its maximum the Philadelphia market was but a mere drop in the bucket as compared with the 85 per cent production of the New York market. The charges of work being done for New York firms on strike were not substantiated, and at its general meeting on November 30, 1926, the General Executive Board completely absolved the Philadelphia cloakmakers of charges falsely made against men and women who had been known to have been on strike themselves as many as 26 weeks for principles of unionism.

In the subsequent reorganization of the New York locals, the firm loyalty of the Philadelphia cloakmakers was a source of moral and financial aid. This was attested to at several well-attended massmeetings, at which resolutions supporting the International were adopted. The Philadelphia cloakmakers have taxed themselves to aid in the reconstruction work of the International.

Since that time, the Philadelphia cloakmakers, on August 1, 1927, renewed, with the approval of the G. E. B., the 1926 agreement.

So far as the industrial problems of the Philadelphia market are concerned, they duplicate, on a smaller scale, the problems of the New York market.

The following is a list of the Joint Board members of the Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union.

Local 40—M. Spivack, A. Golden, Secretary; R. Lubroff, S. Shaffer, Ellick Cutler.

Local 53—H. Dordick, S. Davidson, Max Garr, B. Weinberg.

Local 69—Beckie Stein, Sarah Greenberg, Mary Koretsky, Fannie Spiegel, Beckie Baratz.

Local 71—B. Israel, H. Kaplan, H. Shanker, H. Perlmutter, D. Zalts.

Waist and Dressmakers

The dress and waist industry of Philadelphia, which has always been next in importance to the New York market, is now third, Chicago having taken its place as the second largest dress center in the country.

The history of the Philadelphia waist and dressmakers since the last convention is one of continued effort and sacrifice on the part of union members in the face of overwhelming difficulties which have faced them since the long strike of 1922.

The Philadelphia convention endorsed the calling of a general strike in the industry, to which the General Executive Board was to give full assistance. Immediately after the adjournment of the convention and prior to the expiration of the agreement, a large volunteer organization committee of over 150 members of the local was formed under the direction of Bro. Elias Reisberg, then manager of Local 50. The plan of concentrating on the shops of members of the association which had fought the Union bitterly since the strike of 1921-22 was followed. In the drive of January and February, 1926, the committee members exhibited a spirit and a devotion that never was excelled in any other local. The cutters enlisted many workers in the open shops. The campaign, following the failure of the non-union employers to respond to the invitation of the Union to discuss the situation with them, wound up in a massmeeting, at which the officers of the Union were empowered to proceed with negotiations, or, in the event of failure, to call a general strike.

Shortly thereafter, a number of prominent citizens in the Jewish community of Philadelphia became interested in averting a strike. Through the influence of Mr. Jacob Ginsberg, publisher of the Jewish World and of Mr. Jacob Billikopf, Judge Horace Stern, an outstanding figure in the city, invited employers and the workers to his office, with the intention of averting a possible repetition of the 1921 strike. Both sides accepted the invitation. For six weeks thereafter these conferences continued, the General Executive Board in the meanwhile having asked President Sigman and Mr. Morris Hillquit to assist in the proceedings. Finally, the draft of an agreement was worked out by Judge Stern, which, though it suggested no radical changes and only en-

dorsed collective bargaining on a preferred shop system, was rejected flatly and unexpectedly by the employers. Since these conferences ended in the latter part of March and the dress season had been very poor, it was decided to postpone action on the general strike for the time being.

In the meanwhile, of course, agreements with union shops had been renewed and increases in wages were secured for many workers. Without a doubt, the interest and cooperation of Judge Stern helped in setting the cause of the dressmakers in a favorable light before the general public in Philadelphia.

In the following season, in accordance with a suggestion of the General Executive Board, organization work was continued on a smaller scale and resulted in the addition of a number of shops.

Nevertheless, as 1927 approached, the Philadelphia dressmakers felt again the necessity for making a drive in the hope that it might result in a general strike. In answer to their request, the General Executive Board endorsed a general strike and referred the matter to the judgment of the President. An organizer from the International office, Miss Elsie Gluck, was assigned to work especially amongst the American element in the non-union shops, and the publicity staff of the International also helped materially. The Philadelphia organization also engaged Mrs. Thompson, a colored social worker, to work amongst the 1,000 or more colored workers, many of whom responded to the call of the Union. It also received the assistance of the Women's Trade Union League, whose executive secretary, Miss Edith Christensen, was placed at the service of the local for the period of the campaign.

The 1926 drive was repeated again on a more extended, and if possible, more enthusiastic scale. Almost from the beginning, a citizens' committee, headed by Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, wife of the Governor of Pennsylvania, with Miss Mary Ingham as secretary, including the most prominent women in the civic life of the community, was formed. This committee, in a public appeal, called on the employers to enter into negotiations with the Union, pointing out the fundamental Americanism of collective bargaining. This statement and the subsequent activities of the Women's Citizens' Committee were given wide publicity, but the campaign itself was ignored by the Philadelphia press, with the exception of the Daily Record

and the Daily News. An "American" branch was formed of native women workers as a nucleus for the non-union element: the cutters enrolled many workers in non-union shops, and considerable progress was made in the addition of several hundred members of the local.

At the outset of the campaign, the manufacturers, as on former occasions, revived their association enrolling 52 large shops. They consistently refused to enter into negotiations with the Union. At a great mass meeting on February 5, 1927, addressed by President Sigman, by Mr. Ritchie, Pennsylvania representative of the A. F. of L., Mrs. Gifford Pinchot and others, a resolution endorsing the calling of a strike, in the event of the failure of peaceful efforts, was passed. Later on, a referendum vote confirmed the approval of the workers and plans for the general strike proceeded—the strike call itself and complete hall arrangements having been all prepared.

At the very last moment, George W. Elliott, the Director of Public Safety of the City of Philadelphia, called on both the Union and the employers to meet in his office "in the interest of public welfare." This invitation was accepted and, at the request of the Director, the strike was postponed. After several sessions, a form of contract was signed, not by the Union and the association, but by the attorneys for both sides, calling for a 44 hour week—which meant a reduction of four hours in the open shops—and providing for a system of impartial machinery, including a definite guarantee against discrimination. Subsequently, Judge Horace Stern accepted the post of impartial chairman.

While this arrangement was far from satisfactory, it afforded a recognition of the principle of collective bargaining and broke down the five-year refusal of the manufacturers to deal with the Union. It was regarded as a trial arrangement.

The Union continued its campaign in the shops of the association, but it met with unusual obstacles. In the first place, the season was a very poor one, though it was better in the association and non-union shops than in the Union shops. In the second place, the workers in the shops did not respond as they should, the American workers looking to the Jewish girls, and the latter insisting that they would not be victimized for the sake of a group which could not be relied upon to respond. Besides, the Communists were carrying on a campaign charg-

ing that the leaders had betrayed the strikers and that there was no agreement. They made no inroads on the morale of the organized workers, but a spirit of scepticism prevailed through the unorganized portion of the market. In the large majority of instances, the manufacturers, having become aware of this slow response, opposed every effort of the Union to unionize the trade, and it required a special effort to enforce the 44-hour provision itself. In the discharge cases which occurred, the Union was successful in several instances and unsuccessful in others.

The campaign continued throughout the spring with the help of a colored organizer, the International organizer and of a cutter organizer, Bro. S. Winnick.

As a result of the campaign, the membership of the Union was increased by several hundred. The renewal of the agreement with the Union shops provided for increases in wages. The Union's treasury, however, was materially depleted, and it was through the aid of such organizations as the Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, affiliated with the United Textile Workers, that it was possible to carry on the campaign in the manner in which it was conducted.

In the early summer, Vice-President Reissberg, who had been general manager of the Philadelphia dressmakers since 1921, resigned his office. After persistent refusals by the local to accept his resignation, he finally left in the middle of September. Before he left, the local tendered him a farewell banquet of appreciation attended by members of the General Executive Board and of the Philadelphia labor movement.

Since that time, Brother Morris Pollin, who had been a member of the International for the past eighteen years and was secretary of the Philadelphia cloakmakers' union during the six months' strike of 1913, was elected manager of Local 50 in October, 1927.

It is impossible to emphasize too strongly the splendid spirit of the Philadelphia dressmakers. In spite of the most adverse industrial situation of which the Communists have sought to make capital, Local 50 has shown an enviable spirit of solidarity. During the cloakmakers' strike they contributed \$3,500, of which \$500 went to the British miners' strike. No Communist has ever received sufficient support to win even a single seat on its executive board.

Since the campaign ended, a large number of active workers have formed themselves into a special Social, Recreational and Educational Circle, which has drawn to it new material from both union and non-union shops. Under the energetic guidance of Sister Ada Rosenfelt, secretary of the Local, this Circle has been of great aid in maintaining a live union spirit among the members.

The officers of this local during this period, most of whom were re-elected for office in January, 1928, are M. L. Pollin, Manager, Aaron Einbinder, President, Ada Rosenfelt, Secretary-Treasurer. Delegates from operators' branch: A. Bloomfield, Clara Weiss, Edith Kalish, Minnie Rubinstein, Sara Fredgant, Nathan Tucker, Fanny Shatkin, Ida Aronsky, Anna Solomon, Minnie Rubinstein, Helen Gorin, Eva Tarkoff, Dora Bricker and Lillian Rose. Cutters' branch: Samuel Winnick, B. Feldman, P. Silver, M. Wexler, Charles Simkin and M. Morgan. Pressers' branch: I. Pode'sky, S. Fredgant, S. Rosenthal and M. Epstein.

We believe that so far as a wholesome organization spirit is concerned no local in the International can surpass Local 50 of Philadelphia.

Nevertheless, 1928 finds the Philadelphia dressmakers in much the same situation as in the previous years. The agreement with the dress association, which expired, has not been outstandingly successful, because of the failure of the non-union workers to respond to the union call, and for the other reasons mentioned. The organizing problem in the Philadelphia dress situation is still a tremendous one, and provisions should be made to deal with it.

Boston Cloak and Dressmakers

Boston is listed as the fourth largest center for the manufacture of women's clothing in the country. So far as the cloak industry is concerned, it employs less than a thousand workers, the remaining 2,500 workers working in dress shops. The Boston Joint Board includes both the dress and cloak makers.

It was reported to the Philadelphia convention that, as a result of the general strike of 1924, the 42 hour five-day week and many other concessions were won in the Boston dress

market. Nevertheless, when Vice-President Hochman was sent to Boston in January of 1926 at the request of the Boston Joint Board to aid in the negotiations for the renewal of the cloak and dress agreements which the employers were opposing, he found the market sadly disorganized.

The cloak locals of Boston consist of about six hundred cloakmakers, 250 of whom work in inside shops, and the balance are scattered amongst thirty or more contracting shops, doing work for cloak jobbers and employing on an average from 4 to 10 workers. Obviously this number of shops is far too great for the size of the industry, and it is extremely difficult to control conditions in such small units. The program of the Union has been to concentrate production in fewer shops, but it has been hampered by successively bad seasons.

The dress industry was in somewhat better shape, but Vice-President Hochman found a necessity for organization work in this branch as well. In his organization campaign in 1926, the Union seized on the small unsanitary shop as an issue for a starting point in a city-wide campaign. An investigation was made of the twenty-five worst shops, moving pictures of them were taken, and a report compiled. At a great mass meeting called on February 18, 1926, these photographs were shown on slides and compared with slides of clean work conditions in the New York shops. Many prominent Boston citizens were invited to this meeting and a citizens' committee immediately was organized to fight the sweatshop. Very favorable newspaper publicity was given the situation.

In addition, the work of the Italian Local 80, under the direction of Brother Morabito, was of great help, especially since the great mass of the unorganized dressmakers were Italian and Italian-American. As a result of the campaign, over 500 dressmakers were added to the membership.

Letters were sent to all cloak and dress manufacturers, inviting them to a conference, but the letters were not answered. A general strike of cloak and dressmakers was, therefore, called on February 24, 1926, following meetings held a few days previously on February 18 and 25.

The response to the strike was very remarkable and the contractors immediately began to make applications for settle-

ment. Some settlements were made but not for an immediate return to the shops. The jobbers meanwhile made no response, until they were approached by Miss Anna Weinstock, mediator for the United States Department of Labor. The jobbers in Boston were organized into an Association of Wholesale Garment Manufacturers, which included all sorts of women's apparel. The group representing the cloak and dress jobbers finally agreed to settle for the cloak but not for the dress makers, which the Union refused to consent to. Finally, through the efforts of Miss Weinstock, a meeting was called of all contractors in the industry, and a settlement made with both cloak and dress contractors, and with the dress jobbers.

The strike lasted about a week, with the exception of some dressmakers who stayed out longer, for whose support the returned workers taxed themselves 10 per cent of their earnings. Several arrests were made, but the most severe fine amounted to \$25. Financial aid was furnished by the International.

The agreements made provided for a renewal of all conditions, but a new provision for a joint board of sanitary control was now actually to be enforced. Immediately after the settlement, such a board to enforce sanitation was formed consisting of fifteen members, five representatives each of the employers, the Union and the public. The public representatives included Mrs. L. B. Rantoul of the Women's Trade Union League, Professor W. Z. Ripley of Harvard University, Dr. D. C. Parmenter of the Massachusetts General Hospital, N. J. Frost of Filene's and Daniel Bloomfield, industrial relations counsellor. Dr. Ripley was appointed chairman. The excellent work of this Board in the field of sanitation and safety and in connection with the Prosanis Label is described in the section of our report dealing with that matter.

We feel that the Boston members are to be congratulated upon their accomplishments in the general strike of 1926, during which they gained over 600 new members.

On June 20, 1926, the Pressers' Local 12 had a very fine twentieth-anniversary celebration attended by four hundred members and friends and addressed by members of the General Executive Board.

In the meanwhile, the organization work continued steadily. An outstanding achievement was scored in connection with the

large dress factory of Matthews & Kadetsky. This firm had bitterly and successfully fought the Union in the campaigns of 1923 and 1924. In the 1926 situation, the workers, most of whom were Italian, signed individual "yellow-dog" contracts specially prepared so as to form the basis of an injunction suit by the firm should the Union succeed in enrolling any of the workers. Due to the efforts of the Italian local, when the occasion arose in August of 1926, all the workers of the shop walked out in protest against abuses and joined the Union. The firm at first refused to negotiate with the Union and instead proceeded to obtain an injunction. After two weeks of trial, the attorneys for the Union, Messrs. Roewer and Berack, suggested that both sides negotiate peace. As a result of such conferences, a union agreement providing for a 42-hour week and other union standards was signed.

During the period of the New York cloak strike, Boston was the first city to send aid to the Joint Board, taxing the members one day's pay. Brother Hochman, who remained in charge until after the New York cloak strike, also appeared before the Boston Central Trades and Labor Council for aid to the New York strikers.

In the period of the reorganization in New York, during Vice-President Hochman's absence, after December, 1926, it became evident that the local Communists were making special efforts to gain control of the Boston organization, especially in the view of the dull seasons in the history, while the workers felt dejected and gloomy. For a while they were completely unsuccessful, but when Vice-President Amdur visited Boston, at the request of the Boston Joint Board, in the spring of 1927, he found some members and even officers of the locals spreading slanderous propaganda against the International, selling fake Communist bonds, and arranging meetings for the deposed Communist officials. It was then close to election time in the locals and the Communists apparently had hopes of capturing the Boston organization. Many Communists were nominated for office, and it was learned that the local election and objection committees were ignoring all charges brought against these nominees. The Communist administration of Local 56, the Cloak Operators' Union, had, in carrying out a plan to bankrupt the organization, attempted to withdraw \$1,500 from the

Union treasury, and place it in a separate fund in their own names, presumably as an "Old Age Fund."

Somewhat later, on April 12, 1927, President Sigman visited Boston, together with Vice-President Antonini, to address a mass meeting which was specially arranged by Vice-President Amdur who had remained in Boston. The Communists deliberately sought to wreck this meeting by posting persons near the shops and on the streets at six o'clock, telling the workers that the meeting had been postponed. In spite of their efforts, however, over six hundred persons attended the meeting and listened to an account of the reconstruction work in New York after the disastrous strike of 1926.

At the quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board on June 24, 1927, the report of Vice-President Amdur resulted in the selection of a committee of three to supervise the Boston elections. The committee consisted of Brothers J. Halperin, chairman, Antonini and Reisberg.

On the arrival of the committee in Boston on July 18, 1927, it was found that three of the locals had already held their elections in regular manner. These were the Pressers, Local 12, Cutters, Local 73, and the Italian Local 80. The elections of Local 39, Cloak Skirt and Dress Finishers, of Local 46, Waist and Dressmakers' Union, and of Local 56, Cloak Operators' Union were still pending. Charges against candidates, brought by Vice-President Amdur and by Brother Grossman, Chairman of Local 46, were heard and sustained. In passing judgment on these charges, the letter and spirit of the constitution was fully carried out, so that non-Communists who did not qualify according to the Constitution, were also excluded from the ballot.

As a result of the energetic work of this committee, a true trade union slate was elected by a large majority in one of the largest votes cast in the history of the Boston Joint Board. Several hundred members attended the installation, flowers were sent by many shops, and altogether the situation in the fall of 1927 was a satisfactory one.

Vice-President Godes of Boston requested the G. E. B., in behalf of the Boston Joint Board to appoint another representative of the International, preferably Brother Polakoff, to replace Vice-President Amdur, who was leaving due to illness.

Brother Polakoff was then recalled from Toronto, and sent to take charge of the situation in Boston.

The following were elected to the offices of the Joint Board from the various locals: Chairman Harry Tockman, Local 12; Vice-President S. Spiegel, Local 73; Treasurer, Salvatore Michelli, Local 80; Recording Secretary, Max Linkoff, Local 12; Business Agents, Posen, Kramer and Morabito.

The following were the elected members of the Boston Joint Board for 1928.

	Local No. 12		Local No. 56
No. 143	Joe Weiner	No. 91	A. Finkelstein
92	B. Levine	317	H. Raymond
24	H. Tockman	264	A. Rabinowitz
295	H. Lincoff	235	L. Lederman
173	H. Newman		
	Local No. 39		Local No. 73
No. 5	A. Dressner	No. 94	H. Ginsberg
6	M. Dressner	47	S. Spiegel
410	I. Goldstein	49	S. Rose
2	J. Schneider	74	N. Cooper
258	Louis Sgelnick		
	Local No. 64		Local No. 80
No. 41	Herman Baker	No. 3	A. DiMaggio
90	Morris Linsky	258	A. Dimino
10	Sam Needleman	417	E. DiMita
1a	Max Ossofsky	509	G. Crisof
51	Harry Rosen	121	S. Hicell

The season of 1927 had not been particularly good, and the employers have been making a stubborn fight against the sanitary label and the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

On February 15, 1928, the agreements in the dress industry were renewed after a referendum by the members providing for a 42-hour 5-day-week and the right to ask for increases during the life of the agreement. So far as the cloak industry was concerned, the cloakmakers who had been on a 44-hour week, now demanded a 42-hour week. The employers made several counter-demands of a drastic nature. After a refusal of these demands, the cloakmakers went on a general strike. The cloak manufacturers meanwhile formed a new organization. After a strike of a week, this new association, the New England Ladies' Coat and Suit Manufacturers' Association, as well as the other associations, conceded the 42-hour five-day week. A mass-meeting was held, attended by an overflow gathering of 2,000 workers, addressed by

President Sigman and enthusiastically endorsed the settlement. In the negotiations the assistance of Miss Anna Weinstock of the Federal Labor Bureau was again of great aid.

The following constituted the General Strike Committee of the Boston Joint Board in 1928, together with the local delegates to the Joint Board:

S. Polakoff, Chairman; Max Lincoff, Secretary, General Strike Committee; Phillip Kramer, Chairman Picket Committee; Joseph Morabito, Chairman Organization Committee; Isaac Posen, Chairman Settlement Committee; Joe Weiner, (Local 12, chairman); Jacob Schnider (Local 39, chairman); Morris Miller (Local 46 chairman), Alex Finkelstein (Local 56, chairman); Samuel Splegel (Local 73, chairman); Salvators Micell (Local 80, chairman). Harry Tockman, chairman of Law Committee; Vice-President David Godes, secretary Law Committee; Hyman Baker, Chairman Hall and Entertainment Committee; Conference Committee, Jane Marra, Marrie Niemont, Bessie Hurwitz.

The industrial problems of the Boston organization are two-fold: In the cloak industry there is the problem of stabilization and of concentration already mentioned, made more difficult by the existence of non-union shops out of town, of whom only the Worcester cloakmakers are organized.

So far as the dress industry is concerned; it is the larger and, on the whole, better stabilized industry. Nevertheless, there remain a number of unorganized large dress shops which the Boston organization must make every effort to unionize.

We believe that at this time, in spite of an unfavorable season, the Boston market, under the leadership of Brother S. Polakoff, is again on a sound organizational basis.

Worcester Cloakmakers, Local 75

The entire women's garment industry in Worcester, outside the corset field, numbers only three hundred workers, the majority of whom are unorganized dressmakers. The cloakmakers number about fifty and are organized in Local 75, which is administered from the Boston Joint Board. The Worcester cloakmakers have an agreement providing for a 44-hour week, for week-work, and for a guaranteed period of employment. An organization campaign was begun in January, 1926, in the dress industry, which was not brought to a head, and which should be revived some time in the near future.

Cleveland

Cleveland, in terms of the number of workers, is the fifth largest center, and in terms of value of product, the fourth largest center in the United States in the manufacture of women's clothing. In the cloak industry, Cleveland, like all other centers outside New York City, has declined.

The Cleveland Joint Board, which includes both cloak and dressmakers, is today on the same solid foundation on which it has been for several years in the past, and, compared to our other centers, has had, since the Philadelphia convention, a peaceful economic and organizational career.

The agreement of 1924 in the garment industry was renewed at the end of 1925. For a time, it appeared that the Union would have considerable trouble with the firm of Korach and Company, which had withdrawn from the association and which was one of the largest houses in Cleveland, but by the beginning of 1926, this firm and several other large manufacturers who had threatened to give trouble, also renewed the agreement.

One of the points left open in the renewed agreement was the matter of wage increases, which, according to the provisions of the agreement, were determined after hearings before the Board of Referees of the industry, consisting of Morris L. Cook, Chairman, Dr. Jacob M. Hollander (who is also impartial chairman of the industry) and John R. McLane. Such hearings took place in April, 1926. The Cleveland Joint Board, with the assistance of the Labor Bureau, Inc., of New York City, prepared a careful case for increased wages. The brief pointed out the necessity for an increase to keep pace both with the cost of living, and with the increased production of the workers. It also emphasized the fact that the garment workers of Cleveland had shown their willingness to assist in industrial crises by taking a reduction in 1921, though that had been restored in 1923. After several hearings, the Board of Referees on June 5, 1926, granted an increase of 5 per cent to all cloak and dressmakers, and increases were also granted to beginners in the trade.

During the same period, the Cleveland Joint Board carried on a successful organization campaign amongst several of the larger dress shops.

At the end of 1926, the employers of Cleveland demanded the elimination of the 40-week guarantee which had been part of the agreement for several years. The Joint Board, on the other hand, not only asked for the retention of this guarantee, but asked for an additional payment by the employers of 1 per cent of the weekly payroll to constitute an unemployment insurance fund, which would benefit such workers as were not sufficiently covered by the operation of the guarantee. The final outcome was the renewal of the agreement for the year 1927, with the Association and with all firms, including the large firms of S. Korach Company and Sunshine Cloak Company after some difficulty encountered had been successfully overcome.

The issues of the time guarantee and of the unemployment insurance fund came up again in the negotiations at the end of 1927, and, as this report goes to press, the Union has succeeded in retaining the guarantee and in obtaining besides the unemployment fund. In order to understand the extent and nature of this accomplishment, which we believe to be outstanding, we shall recall to our delegates the nature of the time guarantee clause in the Cleveland market, and also explain the application of the unemployment insurance fund.

The Cleveland time guarantee is no mere promise that the employer would provide a certain number of weeks' work, and failing that would make certain payments of wages. According to the agreement, every manufacturer deposits 10 per cent of his total payroll into a special fund each week. If the workers of a particular shop get a full 40-week work-year, the employer gets back his money. If the workers fail to get it, they draw from that fund half of the minimum scale for the duration of the term, to the extent of forty full weeks of work. This arrangement and existence of the fund has afforded an incentive to the manufacturers to provide more work for their employes. The records show that in the past four or five years, in the inside shops only 1 per cent of the money deposited was paid out to the workers; the remaining 99 per cent, because the full 40 weeks were supplied, was returned to the manufacturers. With the problem of long periods of seasonal unemployment thus disposed of, the workers had been able to concern themselves with the upbuilding of their organization.

This plan has worked excellently so far as the inside workers, who are in the majority, are concerned. But in the

case of the contracting shops, these outside workers were not covered by the fund of the manufacturers, and the amount contributed by the contractors in the 10 per cent weekly deposits, was not sufficient to cover the larger period of seasonal inactivity in the contractors' shops. As the tendency toward the stabilization of the inside shops proceeded, workers in the contractors' shops often found themselves confronted with shorter and shorter seasons.

To cover these workers as well, the Union in 1926 and 1927 demanded, and has recently obtained, an additional provision to assist those suffering from unemployment. In addition to the 10 per cent fund, all employers, inside manufacturers and contractors, are required to deposit 1 per cent of their weekly payrolls in an unemployment insurance fund which should cover all such workers as do not derive the full benefit from the time guarantee. The contractors, however, are absolved from the 10 per cent guarantee deposit. The fund is drawn entirely from the employers' contributions, and all employers participate, since it is recognized that the industry owes an obligation to all its workers. This fund, like the time guarantee fund, is administered by the Union.

This provision not only insures equal benefits to workers in inside and contracting shops, but it also reaffirms the important principle that the local industry owes a duty to all its workers, and creates a spirit of collective responsibility for the maintenance of union standards and conditions in all the shops.

We do not mean to imply that Cleveland has solved all its problems; it has suffered from several bad seasons. But the accomplishment of the leaders of the Cleveland Joint Board is an outstanding one, nevertheless. The officers of the Cleveland Joint Board consist of Vice-President Charles Kreindler, secretary, Brother A. Katovsky, business agent, and Brother L. Friend, chairman of the Joint Board. The delegates to the Joint Board for 1928 are the following:

Local 26

N. Solomon, L. Friend, S. Finkel, S. Reider, L. Ziemann, M. Rubinberg, S. Kauffman.

Local 27

M. Stein, H. Baski, R. Rothstein, D. Sperling, J. Silverstein.

Local 29

Mrs. Gallagher, Esther Schweitzer, Bertha Price, Tillie Schwartz, Nina Lopez, Dora Steinberg, Mollie Simon.

Local 37

S. Turk, Charles Pomeratz, J. Guralnick, N. Ziegan, Sam Glassman, I. Goldberg, M. Feiner.

Local 42

S. Gordon, S. Creske, M. Berkman, F. J. Chaloupka, Leo Klein.

Local 44

Jos Magistro, S. Nigro, Josephine Fanelli.

During all of the period since the last convention, in spite of the presence of a few Communists, the Cleveland Union has been untroubled by such activities as have disturbed other markets. During the New York strike, our Cleveland members contributed over \$13,000 to the relief fund, and the officers of the Board carefully watched lest non-union work for the New York market be produced, in one instance stopping work supposedly done for a retailer, but found to be controlled by a New York jobber.

Cleveland has its problems—in the existence of the non-union cloak and dress shops, both in the city and on its outskirts. The workers in the large unorganized dress shops are mainly Italian-American women, and recently Brother S. Liberti, of Local 89, was engaged by the Cleveland Joint Board, with the assistance of the International, to carry on organizing activity in the local market.

We feel confident, however, in the ability of the Cleveland organization to cope with its problems.

We cannot complete our chapter on the Cleveland market without commenting on the services of the Board of Referees, and on the invaluable work done by the impartial chairman in the Cleveland cloak and dress market, Dr. Jacob H. Hollander. The Board has given careful consideration to the methods of establishing such conditions as would bring about the stabilization of the industry, and Dr. Hollander, through his rare judgment and insight in the application of the decisions of the Board, has won the respect and whole hearted cooperation of all factors in the industry.

Midwest Locals

Throughout the Middle West, the garment industry, particularly in the dress and miscellaneous branches, is springing up in various smaller cities. There are even in some of these cities occasional cloak shops. In the district about Cleveland, there probably are some two thousand workers in the various branches of our industry, the large majority of whom are unorganized. We indicate below the extent of organization in the Middle West.

Toledo

In Toledo the cloak local includes only a hundred or so workers, the majority of the 500 workers in the city being dressmakers and house dressmakers. In the year 1926 the Toledo cloakmakers not only reestablished their local under the direction of Vice-President Kreindler, secretary of Cleveland, Bro. A. Katovsky, Bro. L. Friend, with Bro. L. Stolberg as organizer, but the Toledo Local 67 sent in a contribution of \$700 to the New York strikers. At the time of the New York crisis after the strike, the Toledo local went on record affirming its loyalty to the International.

In the summer of 1927, after a visit from Secretary Baroff, hopes were raised for the signing of a collective agreement. But before the season was over, several of the shops had gone out of existence and the industrial situation was so bad that further organization work could not be done.

But Local 67 is still in existence, and when the opportunity presents itself, should be used as the nucleus for further organization activities.

Cincinnati

It was reported to the last convention that the cloak industry had practically left the city, but that several active members of Local 68 still retained membership while working in dress shops. Since that time there has been somewhat of a revival in the cloak trade, and there are probably today some two hundred cloakmakers in Cincinnati. The dress industry employs perhaps four hundred workers, and there are approximately that many employed in the making of house-dresses and aprons.

As we go to press we are in receipt of a letter from Bro. A. Katovsky who visited Cincinnati. He reports that the members who have retained the charter look forward, within the very near future, to a revival of organization activities in both the cloak and dress shops of the local market. Wages and hour standards in the shops are very low and the time is ripe, we believe, to give Cincinnati some aid.

St. Louis

St. Louis is a considerable market for the manufacture of women's garments and has been steadily increasing in importance. There are only about 200 cloakmakers among the 3,000 garment workers in the city, the great majority being dressmakers. The cloakmakers are organized into two locals—Local 78, Cloak Operators, and Local 16, Cloak Cutters, under the management of Brother B. Gilbert. The standards established several years by agreement, including week work, still prevail in the St. Louis shops. The local made a contribution to the cloak and mine strikes, and is at present conducting fights against two cloak shops.

The problem in St. Louis, as in that other Missouri center, Kansas City, where some 1,500 workers are employed in the dress and miscellaneous trades, is that of organizing women workers. Such an attempt was made several years ago and proved both costly and unsuccessful, but at the first opportunity the cloak and dressmakers of these two cities should be included in the general organization campaign.

The Pacific Coast

While the cities of the Pacific Coast still play a very small part in the women's garment industry, they are nevertheless gaining in importance. Los Angeles was one of the two cities which in the period between 1921 and 1925 made real strides. Cities like Portland, Ore. have also gained, as have San Francisco, Seattle and several smaller towns like Stockton, San Diego, etc. Altogether the Pacific Coast probably has no more than five thousand workers. We will deal with each of these more important centers separately.

In the year 1926, several of the locals on the Pacific Coast gained considerable impetus through the visit of Vice-President

Mollie Friedman, who, at her own expense, had gone to the Coast for a vacation but who made it her business to investigate the conditions of each local thoroughly and to communicate with the city central bodies.

Los Angeles

There are today in Los Angeles probably about three thousand workers, of whom the large majority are dressmakers and unorganized. A few dressmakers belong to the Los Angeles Local 52, whose membership is primarily a cloakmaker one. The large majority of the unorganized dressmakers are Mexican women who are employed at unbelievably low wages and under miserable conditions. There are, however, quite a number of Jewish girls in the industry, who, under the proper circumstances, might form the nucleus for a dressmakers' local. During Vice-President Friedman's visit in June, 1926, she communicated with representatives of the Mexican government, which is friendly to labor, and was promised their aid. President William Green also communicated with these leaders and enlisted the sympathy of prominent civic workers, including Miss Gertrude Barnum who in 1911 and 1912 had been an organizer for our International, in a planned campaign amongst the dressmakers. Funds for such a campaign were not available, however, during that period. Moreover, as is often the case, the cloakmaker element of Local 52 was not as keenly interested in such organization work, as a dressmakers' local might have been. We believe that the question of forming a dressmakers' local in Los Angeles deserves the consideration of our delegates.

So far as the cloakmakers' organization is concerned, Local 52 has had a very hectic career in the past two and a half years. Shortly before the Philadelphia convention, Brother Abraham Plotkin was engaged by the Los Angeles workers, with the approval of the International, to build up the union which for several years had been completely disorganized. He did excellent work, and the beginning of 1926 found Local 52 a well-organized group with several hundred members and a fine treasury. Agreements were concluded with practically all of the shops, renewing the 1919 conditions, and providing for wage increases for all crafts bringing the scales fairly well up to wage standards in other markets. Brother Plotkin was assisted in this work by Brother J. Metrick

as business agent, and by Brother H. Rubinstein as chairman of the local.

In the summer of 1926, Brother Plotkin not only handled the local situation with ability, sending three thousand dollars to the New York strikers before any call for aid had gone out, but, at the request and expense of the International, made a very effective tour of the Pacific Coast collecting funds for the strikers, and simultaneously reporting on the situation in the industry in the various far western cities.

In his absence, he found that Communists, many of whom had come from other cities with unfavorable union records, had created dissention in the local. In spite of this wrangling and of a poor season, however, agreements with the manufacturers were renewed in the spring of 1927. But the continued agitation of the Communists led to the resignation of Brother Plotkin on April 8, 1927. In his place, the local elected Julius Schlomowitz, a former member of Local 10 in New York, who claimed to be an "impartial" but evidently was a Communist sympathizer.

Since that time we are not aware of the exact state of affairs in Local 52, since replies from Los Angeles lack definitiveness and clarity. For instance, when communications were sent to them that several of the local officers were active in the organization of a committee to aid the deposed New York Communists in fighting the International, the replies that came back were evasive and unsatisfactory.

There still remains in Los Angeles a group of loyal trade unionists who are in constant communication with the International office, reporting discrimination against non-Communists in the shops and in the local, the collection of moneys without stamps, the squandering of the local treasury by the Communist officials, etc. The entire situation in Los Angeles merits careful consideration by this convention.

San Francisco

San Francisco today probably employs over three hundred cloakmakers, and as many dressmakers. At the Philadelphia convention, it was reported that the Cloakmakers' Local 8 was out of existence as a result of the open shop fight of the San Francisco Industrial Association, the strongest anti-

labor combination on the Pacific Coast, and of the bitter thirteen-week struggle of 1923.

The visit of Vice-President Mollie Friedman in the spring of 1926 and of Brother Plotkin later in the summer, stirred the members who had kept up some connection with the International, including Brother L. Schwartzberg. As a result, a Los Angeles member, Brother L. Gold, was placed in charge of the San Francisco market, and succeeded in enrolling quite a number of workers in the ranks of the local. While no formal agreement was reached, a verbal arrangement was made with several employers for the establishment of union conditions. After a visit to Los Angeles in the early fall, Brother Gold returned to San Francisco to find that newly arrived Communists had "captured" the organization and destroyed it. The local went out of existence and Brother Gold has since returned to Los Angeles.

It is a pity that the San Francisco workers are blind to their own economic betterment. So far as the International is concerned, it is, and always has been, ready to be of assistance to them.

Seattle

Of the three hundred workers engaged in both the dress and cloak local shops only very few indeed are union members. As reported to the Philadelphia convention, the few cloak shops are organized in Seattle, as in the past years, in Local 28. Week work and a fixed scale of wages, comparing favorably with scales in other cloak markets, are in force. The cloak market is small and its existence comparatively uneventful.

Portland

Judging from reports by Vice-President Friedman and Brother Plotkin, Portland has sprung up as the second most important center on the Pacific Coast. Almost five hundred cloakmakers are employed at the height of the season, and about two hundred dressmakers. Up to 1926 we have never had a local in Portland.

As a result of the visit of Vice-President Friedman, the active interest of the Portland Labor Council was enlisted. In the spring of 1927, the secretary of that body, Gust. Anderson,

sent in an application for a charter, which was granted by the International. In that way, Local 70 was formed and has since functioned under the supervision of the central body. It has no agreements with employers, but its active members, headed by the chairman, J. Fraser, are tackling in earnest the task of organization.

In November, 1927, the Titus Manufacturing Company, one of the largest employers, served notice of a wage cut. Since over half of the workers were organized, they resisted the cut. At the request of the Central body, the International wired Brother Meyer Rosenberg, formerly an active member in New York, who was at the time a member of the Seattle local, to attempt to bring about a satisfactory settlement. Unfortunately, due to the fact that the other plants were not organized, and that we were unable to finance an extended strike, as well as to the continual replacement of union men by women workers, we were unable satisfactorily to adjust the matter.

Nevertheless, we believe there is a splendid element here for organization work, and we believe that special effort should be made at Portland at the first possible opportunity.

Baltimore

For many years up to 1925, the Baltimore market had shown a steady decline. At that time, it represented only 2 per cent of the total number of wage earners in the country, and 1 per cent of the total value of products for all branches of the women's garment industry. Of the 3,000 workers, at the beginning of 1926, there were a scant thousand in the cloak industry, the majority being in the manufacture of middy blouses and underwear. Nevertheless, even to that extent, Baltimore, as the sixth largest city in the manufacture of women's wear, always has presented a considerable problem for our Union. Since the New York cloak strike of 1926, the cloak industry in Baltimore had grown considerably.

It will be remembered that in our report to the Philadelphia convention, we stated that the Baltimore Cloakmakers' Union, Local 4, after a bitterly fought general strike in 1924, had won a victory under an agreement which provided for union control, for unemployment insurance, and for the intro-

duction of a sanitary union label. In March of 1925, a joint board of sanitary control was established, headed by Dr. William B. Howell of Johns Hopkins University and with Dr. Mollie Ray Carroll of Goucher College, as Secretary. In June, 1925, the unemployment insurance fund began to function under the trusteeship of Judge Jacob M. Moses. After the general strike was over, Brother S. Polakoff, then manager of the Baltimore Joint Board, continued activities in the non-union shops in and around Baltimore.

Unfortunately, it was necessary to send Brother Polakoff to Canada, and thereafter the entire gains of the strike became ineffective. The market, just prior to the New York strike, showed signs of sudden growth and threatened to become a source of non-union production. The large majority of the workers were American women, working in large shops, on a sectionalized system.

Early in July, 1926, Vice-President Halperin, of the Eastern Organization Department, inaugurated a campaign in the Baltimore market, and Local 4 was re-established. Subsequently, Vice-President Amudr assisted in the work, and finally Vice-President Friedman took charge of matters. Several hundred cloakmakers were initiated into the Union and every endeavor was made to stop work for the New York market. In connection with this, four Baltimore cloak firms, in which the workers had struck as a protest against production for New York strike firms—the Vassar Manufacturing Company, S. Sachs & Son, Seldin & Neviansky and William Liss, secured injunctions against the Union on October 22, 1926.

Nevertheless, organization work was continued and several individual shops made settlements with the Union. In December, 1926, a group of Polish workers applied for a charter.

Following the crisis which confronted the Union in November, 1926, considerable difficulty was encountered due to antagonism stirred up by New York Communist ex-officials, who found in the secretary of the Baltimore local, one of the appointees of the Communist secretary of the out-of-town committee of the strike, Max Levine, an ally against the International. Thanks to the destructive activities of the Communists, the local dwindled to less than 200 members. Subsequently a poor season set in. The International continued

the services of an organizer, J. Brightstein, until May, 1927, when the office was closed.

The condition of the Baltimore market, at present completely unorganized, is a matter of grave concern to the Union. At the time of the writing of this report, the International is considering the advisability of beginning a new campaign among the workers in this market.

Our Canadian Organizations

As reported to the Philadelphia convention, the Canadian organizations on the whole were at that time on a fairly firm basis in both the Toronto and Montreal markets. As a result of the mandate of the Boston convention of 1924 to carry on organization work on a larger scale in Canada, President Sigman, in June, 1924, appointed Vice-President Julius Hochman as general organizer for Canada. As a result of that organizing effort, Toronto found itself, at the outset of 1925 with a membership of almost a thousand, and with agreements with both the employers' association and individual manufacturers. Montreal had a far more difficult situation which led, of necessity, to a general strike, which was won. As a result Montreal, too, had a membership of almost one thousand including the greater portion of the workers of that city, and it had agreements with about sixty manufacturing establishments in which union standards were established.

Subsequently, Organizer S. Polakoff, who had been of assistance to Vice-President Hochman in the campaign, was stationed in Toronto while Bro. Hochman concentrated on Montreal. During that period the International expended about \$40,000 on organization work, the bulk of which was spent in Montreal. Later on, Brother Hochman, after all matters had been wound up, left for New York, Toronto being under the direction of Brother Polakoff, and Montreal in charge of Brother J. Schubert and Brother H. Chancer, who had been assigned by the International during the strike in Montreal.

Montreal

Immediately thereafter, the Communists in both centers began their destructive propaganda, discouraging the workers on the pretext that the strikes had not brought sufficiently

good results. The cloakmakers of Montreal became discouraged and neglected their obligations to themselves and their Union in the shops as well as in their locals. As a result, the Montreal Joint Board, which included four locals, dwindled down to two or three hundred members in 1925.

In this situation, Vice-President M. Amdur was assigned as general organizer for Canada by the General Executive Board in July of 1925. As a result of his activities, as reported to the Philadelphia convention, the membership rose to six hundred within a few months.

At that time, in the fall of 1925, progress was made extremely difficult because of the adverse industrial situation; the season was bad, there was little work and there was a vast reserve army of the unemployed. Such conditions were, of course, fertile ground for Communist disruptive propaganda. At a meeting of all the executive boards, called by Vice-President Amdur shortly after the Philadelphia convention in December, 1925, to consider plans for the coming spring season, the Communists came in a group and stated openly that so long as Brother Schubert, who for years had served the Union faithfully and well, and Vice-President Amdur were with the organization, the Communists would hamper union activities. Subsequently, on January 18, 1926, President Sigman and Vice-President Hochman visited Montreal and addressed a very well-attended massmeeting. Right there, President Sigman stated very emphatically that unless the Montreal cloakmakers realized the seriousness of their situation and set about the task of defeating disruptionists and rebuilding union standards, it would be necessary to withdraw Vice-President Amdur. A vote of confidence in the administration of the Joint Board was passed by the membership at that meeting.

In the spring season of 1926, Vice-President Amdur and Brother Schubert conducted a vigorous organizing campaign around the shops. In April of 1926, the Montreal workers asked the General Executive Board to endorse a general strike as a means of reorganizing the market. The matter was left in the hands of President Sigman. Subsequently, of course, the entire energies of the International were diverted to the 1926 strike of the New York cloakmakers.

During the summer, Vice-President Amdur was forced by illness to leave for a few weeks. During his absence, due to

the pressure of the Communist leadership of Local 13, the operators' local, which included the majority of the Joint Board membership. Secretary-Treasurer Schubert was forced to resign his office. In his place was elected a Communist by the name of Schreiberman, who lasted in office, however, only a very few weeks. He resigned shortly after Vice-President Amdur's return.

Order was restored in the Montreal Joint Board, but the exigencies of the New York situation forced the General Executive Board to call on Vice-President Amdur to play an important part in the period during which the International took over leadership of the New York situation. Upon his departure in November, the Communists resumed their destructive activities. The Communist leadership of Local 13, in particular, led the offensive against the Union, in arranging meetings addressed by the deposed Communist officials of New York, in initiating a scheme by which locals would purchase their stamps directly instead of through the Joint Board, in a provision for "local control of the finances," in aiding the spread and sale of the fraudulent "bond" issue, and generally in assisting their Communist brethren in New York.

During this time, Brother Eaton of the Cutters' Local, who had been manager of the Joint Board, did all that was in his power to maintain union control. But by their deliberate sabotaging of the payment of dues, and by the unpardonable squandering of the union's treasury, the Communists soon wrecked the Montreal Joint Board. At the present time, the office is closed, and the furniture of the office was seized for non-payment of rent by the landlords. An appeal was made in the summer of 1927 to the International for funds, after a visit there by Secretary Baroff. It was decided that the circumstances did not warrant the expenditure.

At the present time, the only locals still in existence in Montreal are the cutters' and pressers' locals, Locals 61 and 19, in which a number of loyal trade unionists have decided to carry on union work. When the time is ripe and there are signs of a genuine desire to initiate a self-supporting trade union organization in Montreal, the International, needless to say, will be glad to do all it can to revive the standards and the organization which it had rebuilt so well in 1925.

Toronto

We have already stated—as was reported to the Philadelphia convention—that the organizing campaign of the winter of 1924-25 led to the complete unionization of Toronto, with the exception of a few plants, under agreements with both the manufacturers' association and individual employers. These agreements included also provisions for the formation of a joint board of sanitary control. Shortly before the Philadelphia convention, Brother S. Polakoff was placed in charge of the Toronto Joint Board.

The industrial situation in the winter of 1925-26 was so bad in Toronto that several firms went out of business and our workers were faced with unemployment. At the same time, members of the manufacturers' association began a policy of violation of the agreement which required continued vigilance under very trying conditions, aggravated by Communist activities, particularly in the instance of the largest local, Local 14, the operators' local. Several strikes were called for the enforcement of conditions, and the advisability of a general strike was discussed.

In June, 1926, the Canadian Supreme Court, in a case involving the Miners' Union, outlawed peaceful picketing. This decision emboldened the employers. In July of 1926, the Winter Garment Company, one of the largest firms in the city, locked out its employees, and took out an injunction against the Union. The Toronto Joint Board determined to bring suit against this firm individually, as a member of the manufacturers' association, as well as against the association, for the violation of this agreement. This matter was referred to a special meeting of the General Executive Board on July 20, 1926, which approved such action and also assigned Vice-President Hochman to visit Toronto, address massmeetings there and assist Brother Polakoff in the law suit against the firm. This case was heard in December, 1927, before Mr. Justice Raney. The argument of the employers was that the Union was an unincorporated body and as such had no power to bring suit, and that the agreement in itself was illegal as it was in "unreasonable restraint of trade." The decision of the court rendered on February 15, 1928, was unfavorable to the Union, dismissing the action, and declaring that the Union could not bring action in it or in any other civil court in Toronto. The International has recently engaged Mr. J. L.

Cohen as its general counsel in Toronto, and has advised him to confer with President Tom Moore of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, the official trade union movement of the country, as to the advisability of further action in this case.

In spite of all these difficulties encountered by the Toronto membership, and in spite of Communist propaganda, it has remained thoroughly loyal to the Union. Through the efforts of Brother Polakoff, several thousand dollars were raised for the New York strikers by the Toronto Joint Board and by other labor unions. After the International took over the strike in New York, the Toronto cloakmakers, at massmeetings presided over by Vice-President Amdur, passed resolutions of complete loyalty. Such meetings as were called by the Communists were attended almost entirely by scabs in open cloak shops and by non-union workers in other trades.

Since the last convention, one new local has been added to the Toronto Joint Board—the Embroidery Workers' Local 7, which won a general strike in February, 1926, and an agreement providing for a closed union shop, a 44-hour week, additional overtime pay and increases amounting in some cases to \$20 per week. In the year 1927, the members of this small local were faced with an acute industrial depression in their trade, but the local succeeded in resisting all attempts at wage reductions.

In the summer of 1927, due to the pressure of work in Boston, Brother Polakoff was transferred on August 27 from Toronto to Boston, and Brother Ab. Kirzner, who has been with the Joint Board as business agent for some time, was named manager of the Joint Board. At about that time, too, a request was made for the endorsement of a general strike. Before reaching a decision, the General Executive Board received reports from Vice-President Hochman who had been assigned to assist in the suit against the Winter Garment Co., from Secretary Baroff, and from Vice-President Amdur who had also visited the city and addressed meetings of the workers. It was decided that owing to the unfavorable industrial situation, such a general strike was impracticable at the time. If, however, the developments with regard to the next season should warrant it, the incoming General Executive Board would have to consider the advisability of such a general strike.

Auxiliary and Miscellaneous Trades

The Embroidery Industry

There are at present four locals in existence in the embroidery trades, which are auxiliary to the main branches of our industry. These are the two large New York locals, Local 6 and Local 86, the Embroidery Workers' Local 7 of Toronto, Canada, described in the section on the Canadian locals, and the recently organized Embroidery Workers' Local 72 of Passaic, New Jersey, which is under the jurisdiction of the Eastern Organization Department.

The Swiss Embroidery Workers' Union of New York, Local 6, is as completely organized and controls labor conditions in New York City to-day as it has in the past ten years.

In March of 1926, the local entered into a three-year agreement with the Allied Lace and Embroidery Manufacturers' Association, which will expire March 17, 1929. This agreement renewed the pact of 1924, retaining the wage scales and all other standards in the industry.

For the past eighteen months, due to the vagaries of style and fashion, there has been practically no work in this industry. Nevertheless, the membership of this organization, as in the past, has faithfully met its union obligations and, we believe, the local is on a firm foundation. A demand of the manufacturers in February, 1928, for a wage reduction was successfully resisted.

In addition to the problems presented by such acute unemployment, the local still must combat the competition of non-union work in the New Jersey towns in Hudson County. This has been accelerated somewhat by the invention of new machinery which eliminates an important craft in the New Jersey small family-shops. Fortunately, the designing of patterns still requires this important craft, and the most important part of the work is still located in New York City, where union conditions are enforced to such an extent that workers are supplied solely through a labor bureau. In connection with the competition of the New Jersey shops, it would have been of great help to the New York local if the movement for a union label for the auxiliary trades had made the desired headway in the past two years.

Bonnaz Embroidery Workers, Local 66

As reported to the Philadelphia convention, this local while not numerically large, has been an important factor in the New York trade, since up to a recent period it controlled the entire bonnaz trade proper in New York City. At the time of the last convention, practically all of the two thousand workers in the trade were members of the Union, which had under its control 350 shops. It had contractual relations with both the employers' association and with independent manufacturers. Its great problem lay then in the unlonization of the workers in the hand embroidery, Singer machine embroidery and allied lines of work which were unorganized and poorly paid.

Since the last convention, Local 66 has had a very difficult time. In the first place, the bonnaz embroidery industry, due to changes of style, has undergone a great decline and the membership is suffering from unemployment. In the second place, as was the case in many of our locals, immediately following the Philadelphia convention, because of the industrial situation, an almost completely Communist administration was elected in the spring of 1926. The exceptions were Brother Nathan Riesel, who has been associated with the local almost since its inception, who remained in the position of secretary-treasurer, and the president of the local, Z. Friedman.

Almost immediately the usual Communist agitation began to disturb this local, which up that time had had a comparatively peaceful existence. As a result of this, a committee of members of the local appeared before the General Executive Board in April, 1926, to make complaints. They told the Board that the Communists were completely neglecting their duties as union officers, that they were causing scandals at local meetings which alienated the membership, that the Communist administration hired notorious gangsters and permitted them to gain power in union affairs, and, finally, that money was removed from the funds of the union without the authorization of the secretary-treasurer. A special committee, consisting of Board members Ninfo, Hyman, Gingold, Friedman and Antonini were appointed to investigate these charges. The exigencies of the New York cloak situation prevented the committee from making its investigation on these serious charges.

The cloak strike of 1926 had a disastrous effect on this local, and, though in the early part of 1927, an agreement with the Bonnaz Embroidery Manufacturers Association was made, conditions in the trade were far from satisfactory. The agreement called for a 42-hour week with the provision for a 40-hour week after fifteen months, but it conceded two legal holidays which the members had been enjoying for the past twelve years. Moreover, the written agreement in itself was worthless. In the entire period of the Communist administration no complaints were taken up with the association, in spite of the fact that every clause in the agreement was violated. Every strike called by them was a failure.

When in June, 1927, two of the Communist Executive Board members were expelled on charges of corruption, and as another vacancy occurred, a special meeting was held, as a result of which all three vacancies were filled by loyal trade unionists. The paid officers, however, were still Communists.

In the elections of December, 1927, the membership, fully aware by this time of the blessings of Communist leadership, returned an entire trade union slate, with one exception, of all paid and unpaid officers. The following are the officers of the union at the present time:

President, Z. I. Freedman; Vice president, Julius Scharf; Secretary-Treasurer, Nathan Riesel; Manager, Leon Hattab; Recording Secretary, Miss Kate Alloncius; Sergeant-at-Arms, Samuel Fibistein.

Benefit Committee—A. Puchalsky, J. Triestman; Trustees—Morris Dumnick, Susana Fisherman.

Executive Board—William Altman, Rose Auerbach, Herman Block, Harry Blum, Frank Cattobulatto, Irving Fishback, Morris Fishman, Bernard Hattab, Jacob Jaffee, Sol Klein, Meyer Lederman, and Elizabeth Phinney.

This new administration took over an unusually difficult situation, since the membership under Communist administration had dropped considerably as had the control of shops. Moreover, industrial conditions are still very bad, there being very little bonnaz embroidery work in the shops. In spite of these facts, as soon as Brother Hattab came into office, he immediately took up the matter of enforcing the agreement in both the association and independent shops, and has successfully conducted five strikes. In spite of the

fact that January and February are dull months, the response of the membership has been most gratifying.

We feel that Local 66 is again on a sound trade union basis, thanks to the activities of its loyal trade union members. If trade conditions should prove a little more favorable, it will be restored to its former position of power.

Extremely valuable services were rendered by some of the present executive board members of Local 66 during the crisis in the cloak and dressmakers' organization in New York—the period of registration and reconstruction. Many of these men left well-paying jobs in the factory to assist in the organization work for unbelievably low pay, and did splendid work for the cause of our Union.

Tuckers, Pleaters' and Hemstitchers Local 41

When the Philadelphia convention met, Local 41 was carrying on a bitter struggle following the abrogation of the 1925 agreement by the Tuckers and Pleaters Association. A committee of the local, headed by Pauline Morgenstern, then manager, appeared before the General Executive Board in January of 1926, asking for the endorsement of a general strike in the trade to back up demands for a collective pact with the association, adequate security, and a change of the expiration date from the middle of March to the middle of January. This consent was given, and on January 26, 1926, a general walkout of about 1,000 workers was called. After a strike of less than a week, a collective agreement with the Association was signed on February 6, 1926, which included the workers of the Star Pleating Co. and the Kremer Pleating Co., two storm centers. The date of expiration was changed to November, and the matter of security was covered by a provision for the deposit of \$100 for each firm of the Association. In addition, about fifty independent shops settled directly with the union. General Secretary-Treasurer Baroff, who attended all the conferences, helped greatly in obtaining these results. The International also made a considerable contribution to the local's strike fund.

In October, and during the slack season in the fall of 1926, several of these firms attempted to break their contracts. There was also a change in managership, Miss Morgenstern having resigned and Morris Taft having replaced her.

During the early part of the reorganization of the New York Joint Board, it was found that Local 41 was placing an assessment of \$1 on each member, presumably for the International, but actually for the deposed Communist officials. Moreover, the Local in a communication to Secretary Baroff insisted that it was unable to meet its assessment obligations to the International. Under the circumstances, the General Executive Board decided in June of 1927 to order an audit of the books of the local, and a special committee consisting of Brothers Halperin, Greenberg and Baroff was appointed with full power to supervise this audit.

This committee met on July 21, 1927, to consider the charges brought by Secretary Baroff. Incidentally, since he was making the charges, Bro. Baroff was released from duty on this committee and replaced by Vice-President Antonini. The charges were as follows:

1. Violation of Article V, Section 7 of the Constitution—refusal to pay per capita tax and assessment upon demand.
2. Withdrawal of union funds from the International Union Bank and their deposit in another bank in the name of private individuals, instead of the local—these individuals being Molitsky, Langer and Slogel.
3. Violation of Section 10, Article V, through payment of two checks of \$200 each on April 21, 1927, to H. Zirlin and another check for \$100 on April 23, making a total of \$500 paid to deposed Communist officers of Local 9, and acknowledge by them on the stationery of the defunct Local 9.

These charges, after thorough consideration, were found true. The officers of the local who were Communists, made no defense, but asked that they be not found guilty at the time since the agreement with the employers was about to expire. Because of this plea, it was decided that a representative of the International be assigned to supervise the affairs of the local, that the officers remain in power until new elections to be supervised by the International are held, so that none but loyal and good standing members would be permitted on the ballot, and, finally, that a membership meeting be called to inform the members of this decision. Vice-President Greenberg was appointed in such supervisory capacity.

Subsequently, however, the local's Communist officers began acting again in a manner inimical to the International.

and declared war against it at open meetings. At the September, 1927, meeting of the General Executive Board a resolution was therefore adopted upholding the findings of the special committee, removing the officers and the executive committee of Local 41, and naming Brother Greenberg as manager and supervisor. The local officers were called upon to deliver the books and property of the local to him within a specified time. The Association was also notified that further dealings with the local were to be conducted through Vice-President Greenberg.

The response of the removed officers was to call a meeting in October at which they openly defied the International.

On November 1, 1927, a membership meeting of the local was held, which pledged the allegiance of the local to the International and endorsed the report of the General Executive Board. A provisional executive board to cooperate with Brother Greenberg was elected consisting of members Kriegstein, Brown, Krause, Peckofsky, Winitzky, Grackin and Harp. Subsequently Brother Kriegstein, who was elected as chairman of the local, was drafted by Brother Greenberg to enter into the services of the local as its representative.

The local was found in a deplorable condition. Instead of the thousand members it had had after the general strike, the Communist leadership, through their absolute neglect to enforce conditions, had brought it down to three hundred members. There was not a shop in the industry which was enforcing union conditions. The deposed Communist officials illegally retained the \$5,000 which they had withdrawn from the union treasury and, in addition, it appears, dispensed with employers' securities which they had not placed in a separate fund. It is precisely to cover such malpractices that the recommendation of the General Executive Board with regard to securities is being offered.

Nevertheless, on November 14, 1927, agreements with the employers' association and with individual manufacturers were renewed, Brothers Greenberg, Halperin, Reisberg and Baroff, together with a committee of the provisional executive board representing the Union. The agreement included increases in the minimum scales and a \$2 increase for workers above the minimum.

On December 13, 1927, an Executive Board was elected consisting of Max Grackin, Anthony Pacillo, Margarete Altman, Saul Brown, Harry Gissin, Lily Idaspe, Benjamin Karp, Al. Kaufman, Julius Krause, Morris Levine, O. Morris, J. Peckofsky, Morris Rutrick, Louis Sheingold, Bessie Wiener, Frank Mazza and Frank Weinstein. Max Grackin was elected chairman of the executive board and Anthony Pacillo was elected secretary.

The administration of the local then carried on an active campaign for the enforcement of conditions. It also had to protect registered workers who were being attacked by the Communists. In this work, the local had the aid of Brothers Grossman, Maggio and Durante of the International staff.

At the present time, the membership of the local is over a thousand, attractive union offices have been established at the International building, and conditions are being enforced in the shops under contractual relationships. On Washington's Birthday, Local 41 held a celebration in the Rand School, which was attended by almost a thousand members and their friends. We believe that Local 41 is now on a firm footing and will prove to be one of the strongest locals in the auxiliary group.

The Children's Dress, Housedress and Bathrobe Makers, Local 91

Local 91 includes four separate trades within its jurisdiction, with varying problems. These are the children's dress, the house dress branch, the bathrobe makers, and the infants' coat trade. We shall deal with each of these separately.

Children's Dress and Housedress

The workers in the children's dress and in the housedress industry are the largest numerically of the four branches and form also the largest portion of the membership of the local.

The problems of the union were outlined in the report to the Philadelphia convention and are briefly summarized here. They are:

- a. The problem of the unorganized shop. Local 91 represents but a small portion of the total industry in the city of

New York. This problem is acute, first, because the unorganized workers represent a new, young Americanized element to whom a new approach is necessary; and secondly, because in order to obviate unionism, employers in these shops meet union conditions and sometimes better them. The last is especially true in those shops which do only their best work in the city and which have their cheap work done out of town in larger units.

b. The out-of-town problem. Because of the type of work required, sectional work is more possible in this trade than in the adult dress or cloak trade. As a result it is comparatively easy to break in unskilled labor and to conduct large units. Moreover, in the cheaper more standardized lines, the style element which would demand New York factory location is not an important one.

In spite, however, of these problems, the children's dress branch of the industry has more than held its ground within the last few years. The housedress industry has become consolidated with the cheaper line of dresses. The local has no collective agreement with employers in this line, but quite a number of manufacturers are covered by individual agreements. These agreements were renewed twice, in January of 1926 and in January of 1927, the last renewal granting a reduction of hours from 44 to 42, and also a wage increase without a single day's stoppage. Following the signing of these agreements, an organization campaign was carried on in the market, but the conditions named above brought few new shops under the control of the union.

Whereas in past years the children's dress shops were separate units, and the house dress shops were usually united with the kimono, at the present time shops manufacturing these two lines are also making women's dresses. This is indicated by the new grouping of the census figures, which in the past coupled housedresses and wrappers and now combine housedresses with dresses. Some jurisdictional disputes have arisen with Local 22 but these were settled by a decision that shops manufacturing women's or junior dresses mainly, were to be transferred to Local 22 and persons who worked on children's dresses were to be assigned to Local 91.

It will be seen that the problem of organizing the girls in the children's dress shops does not differ substantially from that of organizing in the underwear and dress fields. This will be discussed under the recommendations of the G. E. B.

Bathrobe Makers

This trade, unlike the children's dress trade, has been almost entirely a man's trade. In the last few seasons, Syrian employers who had entered the women's clothing industry in the negligee trade, have become a influential factor in the making of bathrobes, and they are displaying a tendency for the greater employment of women and for a movement of shops out of town.

The agreements in this trade which are entirely with independent manufacturers, expire about August 1st, and have been twice renewed with provisions for 44 hours and for week work. Here, too, the larger portion of the industry remains unorganized.

Infants' Coats

For the first time in its history, Local 91 controls many unionized shops devoted to the manufacture of infants' coats. During the 1926 general cloak strike, two infants' coat shops consisting entirely of young Italian-American girls, were taken down and were transferred to Local 91 by the leadership of the Joint Board. After signing with these two shops, the local began a campaign as a result of which it enrolled many more shops covering over 500 workers. Its 1926 agreement called for a 44-hour week and a \$4 increase in wages. Its 1927 agreement, signed after a walkout in the trade, provided for a 42-hour week, which meant an increase for week workers averaging 10 per cent and a further increase of 5 per cent for piece workers.

Some members of Local 2, formerly members of Local 17, have raised the issue that the jurisdiction of this industry should be with the Joint Board. This is a question which will have to be considered by the delegates to this convention.

It will thus be seen that as a result of organization work in these miscellaneous trades, considerable headway has been made in the establishment of the 42-hour week, in wage increases and in the extension of control.

Further development has been hampered by the lack of adequate finances, and by the difficulties inherent in the situation. Vice-President Harry Grenberg is manager of the local. We believe, of course, that a campaign of unionization is necessary not only for further gains, but for the maintenance of such conditions as have been won.

This local which was troubled considerably by Communist activity at the time of the last convention, reports itself free of it now, the entire executive board being now composed of true trade unionists.

The White Goods Workers of New York, Local 62

The problems of the Whitegoods Workers' Union, Local 62, in the matter of organizing the newer element in the city and in the matter of out-of-town production, are much the same as those of the children's dressmakers. Local 62 is numerically stronger, controls a larger portion of the industry, and has an agreement with the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association as well as with a sizable group of individual manufacturers.

Nevertheless, it is faced with serious industrial difficulties. In addition to the factors named above, the industry has in the last five years undergone very severe changes. Instead of being in reality a "white goods" industry, manufacturing standardized muslin underwear with fairly steady work periods, it has become, due to the influence of style, a silk and rayon industry, with a high degree of seasonality due to the changes in stock. A cheap line is, of course, still manufactured both in muslin and in silk goods, but this line, which used to supplement the better line, is now being made out of town and New York is almost entirely the center for better line silk and rayon underwear. The only census figures available as to the concentration in New York are in terms of value of products, and it shows an unduly high proportion for New York. Because of these changes many of the old union shops have in the past two and a half years gone out of existence, the membership of the manufacturers' association is decreasing, and the problem of control grows increasingly difficult.

In the face of these difficulties Local 62 has, nevertheless, made progress. At its request the International gave the local some assistance in the organization work in the fall of 1926, and prior to the expiration of the agreement, both a general campaign in the industry as a whole and a special campaign in certain shops, especially Association shops which had become lax in control or which were violating the agree-

ment, was carried on. As a result of this campaign, it was possible in February, 1927, to renew the agreement and to gain the 42-hour week in the white goods industry without a single day's stoppage. Furthermore, after the signing of the agreement several shops voluntarily went down on strike and agreements were signed with their owners. Nevertheless, these gains were nullified by the fact that many shops went out of existence during the year.

Local 62 is faced with an especially difficult situation since its membership is practically wholly a young girl membership. There is only a handful of men within the local. Among these girls—especially among the newer element of Italian-American and Jewish-American girls—it is hard to find the necessary leadership for the shop and the local. The older leadership consisting of the original members of the local and of some newcomers, does not typify this new element; moreover, the activities of the executive board are hampered by the presence of several Communist members.

The main difficulty remains that of the unorganized shops. Local 62, for example, aided in a spontaneous strike of 300 girls which broke out in Paterson, N. J. After four weeks the workers returned under an arrangement providing for no discrimination for union activity, past or future. Nevertheless, the fact that this firm had another large plant in Pennsylvania hampered the development of the union here. We believe that the problems of Local 62 come under the heading of the special section on work amongst the native, English-speaking women.

Some effort has been made to draw the membership, especially the newer element, closer through social activities organized by Brother Abraham Snyder, manager of the local and Sister Mary Goff, who is business agent. Nevertheless, we believe that some more radical adjustments are necessary to bring out the interest of this element within the local, as a basis for attracting the similar element in the open shops.

Custom Tailors and Dressmakers' Local 38

At the Philadelphia convention, the merger of Local 38, the Ladies' Tailors and Alteration Workers' Union and Local 90, Private Dressmakers' Union, was reported and approved.

In the spring elections of 1926, an almost complete Communist slate came into office, headed by Don Wishnewsky, as secretary manager. It will be remembered that the delegation of Local 38 at the Philadelphia convention opposed the Miscellaneous Trades Council on the pretense of wishing to affiliate with the Joint Board. This matter came up for a second referendum vote on May 21, 1926, and, despite the support of the Communist administration, affiliation with the Joint Board was again defeated, the rank and file being out of sympathy with the Communist activities of the Joint Board.

In the early autumn of 1926, prior to the expiration of the agreement in this trade, the administration of Local 38 started a "whirlwind campaign" of three weeks to organize the thousands of women dressmakers in the Fifth Avenue shops, who were unorganized and who worked long hours for low pay. The local administration appointed Miss Juliet S. Poyntz, an ardent worker in the Communist Party and for sometime past a violent opponent of the International, as its organizer. A so-called "amalgamated" organization committee, including furriers, etc. was formed, and a campaign carried on outside the shops, at street meetings advertised widely in advance through circulars.

The agreement expired September 25, 1926. The local formulated demands including sweeping reforms for the dressmakers. A conference was arranged with the employers' association, attended by General Secretary Baroff, at which the dressmakers' demands were hardly mentioned by the local leaders. A second conference was held, to which President Sigman was invited. When he arrived he enumerated the demands as they had been outlined to him by the local. The president of the employers' association, whose establishment employs hundreds of unorganized dressmakers, then made a statement that the dressmakers' demands were not included in the agreement sent to the association. It was then discovered that the local leaders had sent out two agreements. One of these, including the dressmakers' demands, had been sent to the independent firms in whose shops the dressmakers were already organized. The other, sent to the association whose members' shops were the largest in the industry employing dressmakers, did not mention the dressmakers. The discovery revealed, a glaring example of "revolutionary" leadership in action.

The conference broke up, a strike was called, but only a handful of dressmakers responded, since the employers had in the meantime granted some concessions to avoid their unionization. Subsequently after a strike of about a week, agreements were signed for the tailors which included the gain of the 40-hour week, with a provision for four additional hours of work in the season at single time. This gain was, however, conceded before the calling of the strike.

The campaign practically depleted the Union treasury of \$10,000. As a result of their mismanagement, the Communist officers were voted out of power in March of 1927. B. Drasin, who had been secretary-manager previously, and an executive composed overwhelmingly of loyal trades unionists were elected. In the outcome of that election the aid of the Italian branch was of material value. Under the new administration there has been a revival of activities, a better enforcement of the agreement, and a rebuilding of the treasury. The seasons in this custom trade have on the whole been good.

The Local 38 agreements expire next September and the local is already carrying on an organization campaign amongst the many thousands of dressmakers who are unorganized. The International has offered the services of Miss Elsie Gluck on a part-time basis to assist in the task of reaching the native-American element in the fashionable custom dress houses, and it is hoped that some favorable results will be accomplished.

As we complete this report, this local has gone through with its spring elections. In accordance with the decision of the G. E. B. of January, 1928, all candidates for election were required to sign the pledge included elsewhere in this report. Practically all of the Communist nominees refused to sign and were therefore taken off the ballot by the election and objection committee, which included, at the request of the local, Vice Presidents Greenberg, Antonini and Halperin, and Brother R. Fasani. A full trade union slate, headed by Brother B. Drasin, was elected by a vote of more than two to one; even two Communist sympathizers who had signed the pledge failed to get the necessary number of votes to be elected to the executive board.

The following is a list of the recently elected officers of The local: B. Drasin, secretary-manager; I. Rea, chairman; R. Fasani, business agent. Executive Board members: Brothers J. L. Banach, L. Benick, L. Bolz, F. Cerri, S. Drezlinsky, S. Edelstein, M. Genovesi, A. Golluscio, I. Jacobs, Vincent Lauria, A. Miller, J. Pavlicek, J. Pichert, L. Rea, Sisters G. Benchman, R. Bronstein, B. Goldberg, S. Koryt, L. Reisberg.

The Waterproof Garment Workers' Locals

The raincoat industry of the country up to about two years ago was subject to drastic and very disturbing fluctuations. During certain seasons "raincoats" were made in separate shops; during others no orders were forthcoming and the shops were converted into men's clothing units. In the last two years, however, the industry appears to have recovered its former stability, especially in New York and Boston.

Nevertheless, uncertainty of employment is still one of the problems of this industry. Another problem is the growth of the non-union shop "out of town," employing largely unskilled woman labor. This problem is particularly acute in the regions near Boston. In this industry, New York is the largest center employing over a thousand workers in the city itself, and almost as many in the adjoining territory. The second largest center is Boston and vicinity.

Local 20, New York

Since the Philadelphia convention, the New York local has twice renewed its agreement with the employers in the New York market, the second time with a newly formed employers' association.

Not only has Local 20 carried on its work so successfully that it controls practically every shop in the city of New York, but during this entire period, when the International was harassed by a bad situation in the various cloak markets, Local 20 has carried on its own out-of-town organization campaigns in Staten Island, Long Branch, Philadelphia, Bridgeport and New Haven. It has also provided the leadership and financial backing for the organization of the Boston raincoat market.

Its progress in the New York market has been most encouraging. Prior to the expiration of the 1925 agreement, Local 20 decided to put forward a demand for a 40-hour week, as well as for increases in wages and for several other concessions. It was understood that a general strike would be necessary for this, and such a strike took place August 2, 1926. The main problem at that time was the stoppage of work in out-of-town centers as far south as Philadelphia and as far north as Boston. This work was carried on by Local 20 with such assistance as Vice President Halperin of the out-of-town department could give.

Within a week agreements covering the entire trade on a 40-hour basis were signed. These included several new shops in Long Island and Mount Vernon. The strike was carried on under the supervision of Vice President Gingold, manager of the local and secretary Abraham Weingart, both of whom were re-elected by the local in the fall of 1926.

During 1926 and 1927 several jurisdictional questions with the Amalgamated arose, but in the majority of instances adjustments were made.

Early in March of 1927, the local declared a strike against the firm of Bick Brothers which had at first locked out its workers in its New York shop and then moved to Bridgeport. The cooperation of the central labor organization of Bridgeport was secured to aid in this lockout-strike. This shop, at the present time, has an injunction against the local.

An interesting development came up during the negotiations for the renewal of the agreement in July 1927. The manufacturers had formed a new association, the Waterproof Garment Manufacturers' Association, the first in the industry since 1921. Although it was generally known that the Union controlled the contractor situation completely, nevertheless it made a very strong effort at this time with regard to the encouragement of the large inside shops. By allowing certain minor concessions, the Union encouraged several large shops which had previously maintained out-of-town branches to build up large inside plants.

Another example of sound economic management on the part of this local was exhibited in connection with the recruiting of additional labor for the overtime seasons. The

raincoat industry is a most unstable one, capable of supporting a limited number of workers steadily but often drawing in large numbers of additional temporary workers. Instead of using this as a means of swelling their local membership list, Local 20 carefully and systematically called on the offices of the cloak locals for additional workers, and cooperated in every way in giving employment to their unemployed members. Since the seasons in the two branches dovetail, the plan has worked out quite well.

A new agreement was signed, practically renewing the 1926 pact on the 40-hour week basis. Several increases were gained, and certain wage cuts permitted by the union in the poor season were cancelled. Since the employers' organization was new, there was provision both for collective and individual responsibility.

We feel that the Waterproof Garment Workers' Union is on a very sound basis, and has proceeded on sound economic lines. It has also undertaken large responsibilities in the organization of its "out-of-town" shops, and has, in addition, contributed liberally to the cloakmakers' strike in 1926. It is, on the whole, free of Communist tendencies.

In the recent elections Vice President Gingold was re-elected manager and Meyer Pollinsky was elected secretary to succeed Abraham Weingart. Brother Samuel Friedman is chairman of the local.

Boston Waterproof Garment Workers' Local 24

At the Philadelphia convention, it was reported that the Boston raincoat trade had, in 1924, become practically extinct. Local 7 had been dissolved, and the membership joined the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union in a group, since most of the firms had gone into the manufacture of topcoats.

In 1926, however, the Boston market revived to such an extent that it is to-day the second largest in this branch of the trade employing in Boston and its vicinity almost 1,500 workers. As a result of this revival, the members who were then with the A. C. W. made an application for the help of the New York Local 20. A committee of Local 20, together with a number of members of the former Local 7, appeared before the General Executive Board, and as a result,

on February 11, 1926, a charter was granted to the Waterproof Garment Workers of Boston, to be known as Local 24,

The task before the new local was quite large, since most of the firms which had renewed the manufacture of raincoats operated as non-union plants. Many of the largest firms had suburban shops and employed women almost entirely. Under the management of Sam Forman, and with the continued financial and moral assistance of Local 20, Local 24 made verbal agreements with thirty firms employing about three hundred workers.

Encouraged by the successful outcome of the strike in the New York waterproof garment market, Vice President Hochman, in August, 1926, who was then in charge of Boston, began a campaign to organize the raincoat shops. A list of demands including the 42-hour, five-day week, sanitary conditions in the shops, and a minimum scale of wages was formulated and presented to the manufacturers who, at the last moment, formed an association. However, after failure of negotiations with this new association, Local 24 decided on a general strike. A massmeeting on August 26, 1926, was attended by a large number of workers and addressed by Vice Presidents Hochman and Godes, by Brothers Morabito and Forman, and also by representatives of the Boston Central Labor Union. In the walkout which followed almost one thousand workers participated, of whom at least one-half were women.

After a strike lasting barely a week, a settlement was made on August 20, 1926, which scored fair gains. Its terms included the 42-hour week, payment for overtime, a minimum rate of prices similar to the New York scale, and provisions for legal holidays. One of the most stubborn firms in this strike was the Cosmopolitan Coat Company, headed by a former union officer, Fred Monosson, who refused to sign at the time of the general settlement, but after persistent picketing, finally did sign for his firm.

In the year that followed the signing of this agreement, this unstable and fluctuating industry again encountered a poor season. Moreover, the firm headed by Monosson abrogated the agreement. Another firm, the Paramount Coat Company, left the city and the local conducted an active strike against it. These strikes and adverse industrial conditions weakened the local considerably.

In the early summer of 1927, prior to the expiration of the agreement, a campaign was again undertaken. Brother Meyer Polinsky, chairman of Local 20, was assigned by the International to take charge of this campaign, and Brother David Gingold, manager of the New York local, also went to Boston to assist in the work.

A general strike in the industry was called on Thursday, August 24, 1927. The victory scored a few days before in the New York market again helped the Boston situation, and the agreement was renewed with many wage increases for the workers and the membership of the local was considerably increased.

One of the most important strikes carried on by the Boston raincoat makers was against the Beacon Garment Company, which recently applied for and obtained an injunction against the local. There was also considerable and continual trouble with the Cosmopolitan Raincoat Company, and with the shop of one Cohen, also a former official of the local.

At present the Boston raincoat makers still have a considerable problem before them in the organization of several of the large non-union shops in Boston and vicinity, particularly those employing women. Nevertheless, we feel that the progress of the local since it was revived is quite encouraging. But their advance would have been impossible without the consistent aid of Local 20.

From September, 1927, to January, 1928, Louis Ostroff acted as manager of this local, under the direction of Brother S. Polakoff. In January, Louis Ostroff resigned, suggesting that the administration of the local be placed in the hands of an organizer from another city. President Sigman then requested Brother S. A. Goldberg, formerly manager of the Montreal Raincoat Makers' Local 102, to act as organizer, and from the last reports, the local under his administration has been making considerable progress.

Chicago Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 84

This local was formerly known as the Chicago Raincoat Makers' Union. The raincoat market in Chicago, Wisconsin, Ohio and the Middle West generally is not comparable in size

with the two Eastern markets, employing at most some five hundred workers. Among the chief problems confronting Local 54 is the necessity of organizing in the towns surrounding Chicago. Local 54 also has lately had unusually poor seasons.

The organized Chicago raincoat industry is somewhat different from that of the other two markets which produce for jobbers and mail order houses. In Chicago the union shops work entirely for the retail trade, and the type of work is of a finer quality, whereas the open shops work for the wholesale trade as well. The union workers are therefore more frequently hit by seasonal changes. We believe there is a possibility for the development of a larger type of shop in Chicago which will produce for the wholesale trade as well. This would require a special effort on the part of the organized workers.

As stated in previous reports, Local 54 has individual agreements only. The local is affiliated with the Chicago Joint Board. On the whole, factionalism or Communist attempts at control have not been factors in the internal administration of this local, which consists of a very loyal group with a strong sense of solidarity.

Russian-Polish Local of New York

In response to the request made by the Russian-Polish Branch of New York at the Philadelphia Convention for a charter, the General Executive Board on January 5, 1926, appointed a committee consisting of Board members Antonini, Greenberg and Portnoy to meet with the locals to which these members belong and to report their findings. On April 26, 1926, this committee reported to the G. E. B. as follows:

"Your committee appointed for the purpose of making an investigation as to the justification of the request of the Russian-Polish Branch for the issuing of a charter to that branch, has given this matter very serious consideration. Your committee has visited the advisory committee of that Branch and has been present at a branch meeting on March 8th where about 350 to 400 members were present. We were desirous of knowing the reason the members have for wanting a local instead of a branch.

"Many of the speakers at the meeting stated that, as they are situated today the Russian-Polish members of our International are being directly or indirectly discriminated against when

the question of employment comes up. Since they do not understand the Jewish language and many of them do not understand the English language, they naturally cannot participate in the discussions that take place at the local meetings of which they are members. They contended that, should a local be granted to them, many of the Russian-Polish workers in the City of New York, and especially those who are working out of town who are not organized, would be organized and it would be of great benefit to the International Union.

"The contentions that they raised at the meetings were so numerous that it would require a great deal of time to report them to you. They stated that it is unfair to place taxation upon members without giving them representation. The representation they have at the present time in the Joint Board is simply a formality as they have no vote. The case being such, it nullifies the meaning of any and all recommendations that they make at their branch meetings. They have also stated that in the years past, Local 35 was generous enough to allot two representatives of the Branch to be delegates to the convention. In later years this has even been refused. They contend that if a charter were granted them, they would prove to be of great benefit to our International Union, and also that our International must be consistent in its policy. Since a charter was granted to the Italian-speaking workers, there is no reason for denying the same right to the Russian-Polish workers. The members and officers stated that, figuring conservatively, there are about 2,500 to 3,000 Russian-Polish speaking Gentile workers members of our International.

"Your committee on March 19, 1926, called upon Locals 2 and 35 to appear before it and give their opinion in regard to the request of the Russian-Polish Branch for the granting of a charter. The representatives of the above locals refused to make any statements or give any opinion regarding the matter.

"Your committee, after giving this matter thorough consideration, listening to the arguments presented by the members of the Russian-Polish Branch, feel that their contention is a justifiable one; that the organization would be benefited greatly if their request is granted. We therefore recommend to you that their request be granted and a charter issued to the Russian-Polish Branch.

(Signed) LUIGI ANTONINI, Chairman,
HARRY GREENBERG, Secretary."
(Julius Portnoy did not sign)

Along with this recommendation, the General Office a few days later received the following letter from the Secretary of that Branch:

"Mr. Abraham Baroff
"Dear Sir:

"I wish to inform you that on April 12, 1926, at a special mass meeting of the Russian-Polish Branch the question of the

request of the Russian-Polish Branch to the convention of the I. L. G. W. U. to grant us a charter was taken up again. After a lengthy discussion on this question, the members present at the meeting by a large majority decided to withdraw the request for a charter for the following reasons:

"In the past, the G. E. B. has refused our requests for a charter on the ground that the G. E. B. was in favor of amalgamating the present locals and not dividing them. The G. E. B. suggested to us that representation in the Joint Board as well as the locals would serve the same purpose as a charter.

"For reasons unknown to us, the General Executive Board did not carry out its promise.

"The present administration of the Joint Board is working along the lines of amalgamating the smaller locals and is also ready to give us full representation on the Joint Board as well as the locals. We therefore find that under these circumstances the reasons for demanding a charter for a local do not exist any more and we ask the G. E. B. to disregard our original demand as well as the resolution that we presented to the Eighteenth Convention held in Philadelphia.

"We also call upon the General Executive Board to grant our Branch the right of being represented with two delegates to the next convention of the I. L. G. W. U. with full rights and privileges.

"Fraternally yours,

A. E. SAULICH, Secretary.

In explanation of this communication, Board members Antonini and Greenberg stated that the letter had been written under intimidation from Communist leaders, after the investigation had been completed. However, since the Branch had withdrawn its request, no further action on the matter could be taken. The Board also objected to certain statements with regard to the promises of the G. E. B. therein contained. As to the request for two delegates to the convention, this was in contradiction to the provisions of the constitution which provide that only local unions can send delegates with full rights to the convention. The constitution can be changed only by the convention itself.

At the present time, and ever since the strike, this Branch is no longer in existence. We believe that its temporary submission to Communist influence was responsible for its dissolution.

The New York Designers' Local 45

It was reported to the last convention that there was a revival of activity amongst the designers in New York. At the meeting of the General Executive Board in January, 1926, a committee from this local appeared and asked for the aid of the Board in a strike which they planned to call for their craft. After some discussion of the changing status of the designers, and the growing simplicity of styles, it was decided that the future of the designers was bound up with that of the New York Joint Board, and the committee was referred to the Joint Board.

It will be remembered that the recognition of the designers' organization was one of the items of our demands before the Governor's Commission, which was denied. Because of this denial, the local at the end of May decided on a general strike in their craft and outlined a series of demands which included the compulsory employment of designers, a minimum wage of \$95, a trial period of a week, etc.

This strike call of the designers, however, was included in the general cloak strike on July 1st. In August, a temporary injunction against the local was issued by Supreme Court Justice Black in favor of "The United Cloak and Suit Designers' Mutual Aid Association." This injunction was revived in September and made permanent on appeal on November 26, 1926. It was a very sweeping injunction prohibiting the local from "interfering in any way at all" with the members of the association.

After the end of the strike, this local, which was completely under Communist domination, died.

Garment Salespeople's Union Local 131, New York City

The small organization of the salespeople employed in cloak and dress retail stores, Local 131, was admitted into the International about eight years ago. Its influence is confined to a limited number of stores in the downtown and Harlem districts.

The organizing field of Local 131 in New York City is really enormous. The number of salesmen and saleswomen employed in the cloak and dress stores of New York no doubt

runs into thousands. To organize this great, widely scattered mass of workers is obviously beyond the individual resources of Local 131. It is a part of the general organizing program of our International Union which it will some day have to tackle. IV

The Corset Industry

The figures of the United States Census show a steady decline in this industry since 1914. Nevertheless, it is an important branch, employing as it does some 15,000 workers. The largest part of these workers are in New York, while the other large centers are Connecticut, Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan and New Jersey.

At various times in our history we have had corset locals in Michigan, in Massachusetts and in Connecticut. It was reported to the last convention that the depression which had overtaken the corset industry since 1919, due to the change in styles, had led to the disappearance of all these locals, except Local 34, Corset Cutters of Bridgeport, Conn. In 1923, due to arbitrary pressure in some of the Bridgeport shops, Local 33, Corset Workers, composed exclusively of women, which had at one time numbered several thousand workers, called on the International to help it in its effort to revive the local organization. For some time this local still had several hundred members, but as the industrial depression in the corset industry of Bridgeport continued unabated, the membership of Local 33 gradually decreased.

At the Philadelphia convention a resolution was adopted to aid the Bridgeport corset workers, and the Eastern Organization Department in the spring of 1926 conducted a lively campaign amongst them. When during the continued depression, several of the cutters were discharged in violation of the rule of equal division of work, a strike was called to which all the cutters and a great many of the women operators responded. Unfortunately, the situation was hardly favorable for the strikers, both because of trade conditions and the strain put upon the Out-of-Town Department by the general cloak strike in New York City.

The workers in this industry are, with the exception of the cutters, all women, and the methods for organizing American women workers discussed elsewhere should apply to the

corset industry as well. An additional difficulty in the case of this branch of the industry is the existence of the large shop of 500-1000 workers as the prevailing unit. Many of the largest shops have so-called welfare schemes, which, for the time being, delude the workers as to their economic interests.

Of the New York workers in this branch, quite a large number of those engaged in the making of brassieres are included in Local 62. In other centers such as Newark and Chicago, many corset and brassiere cutters have joined the cutters' locals. In the Chicago section, we have mentioned the organization of one of the largest corset shops in the country located in that city. When the opportune moment arises, the existence of these nuclei should aid materially in the organization of the corset industry.

District Council of Miscellaneous Trades

The District Council of Miscellaneous Trades in New York City, formed on March 12, 1924, included Locals 6, 38, 41, 62, 66, 90, 91, 131 and 132. A report of the drive carried on by this Council during 1925 among the New York children's dress, white goods and embroidery trades, was rendered at the last convention, as was a statement of the financial and other difficulties encountered by the Council. At the convention resolutions were introduced by three locals, then under Communist leadership, Locals 66, 38 and 41, asking for the dissolution of the Council, and for affiliation with the Joint Board. The matter was left in the hands of the General Executive Board.

While Communists within and outside of our Union have always made a great issue of "amalgamation" they have consistently opposed such amalgamation if they believed it might lead to a possible decrease of their influence, and the Communist administrations of the three mentioned locals have therefore deliberately sabotaged the District Council.

At the first meeting of the G. E. B. in January, 1926, it became evident to the Board that several of the locals were loath to cooperate in any way in the work of the Council. Rather than maintain such a body by compulsion, it was decided that the General Office withdraw its financial support until the affiliated locals showed sufficient earnestness and interest to maintain the Council. The Council soon dissolved.

Eastern Out-of-Town Organization Department

Throughout this report, we have endeavored to show that the women's garment industry as a whole is becoming more and more scattered among the smaller cities of the country. This is particularly true of the dress and miscellaneous branches of the industry, but it is also becoming a danger in the heavier trades—the coat, suit and skirt industries, as well as in the raincoat trade. In 1921, the number of workers scattered outside the eight principal cities in all branches of the industry represented 19.2 of the total number, whereas in 1925, according to the census figures, they represented 22.8 of all the workers in the country. The interesting commentary is that the value of the products manufactured by these smaller cities has decreased in proportion instead of increasing, representing only 8.3 per cent of the total value in 1925 as against 9.2 in 1921.

In the year 1926, there were probably thirty thousand workers in the various branches of our industry, excluding the corset and raincoat trades, scattered through these smaller towns. More than half of these, or over 16,000 were in the New York territory, 4,000 were in the territory near Philadelphia, 2,000 in the suburban territory near Boston, perhaps as many again near Cleveland and Chicago markets, and another four or five thousand scattered in countless towns from San Antonio, Tex. to Denver, Colo., Minneapolis, Minn. and Portland, Oregon.

Our 1922 convention established out-of-town organization departments for both the middle west and the eastern territory.

The Eastern Out-of-Town Department has had a strenuous career since the last convention. This department was organized in 1922 to meet the need for organization in small towns located near New York City, north of Philadelphia and south of Boston.

We have stated elsewhere that the census figures indicate two seemingly contradictory facts: one that there is greater concentration in New York City now than there was ten years ago in terms of value of product, but that, if we take the number and proportion of workers concentrated in New York City, we will find the percentage of workers decreasing. This

would indicate that the out-of-town trend does not represent the better quality and more efficient work in the two main branches, coat and dress—and that it is strongest in the miscellaneous or lighter branches, such as underwear, house-dress, etc. This fact is confirmed by a study made some years ago of the out-of-town branches of our industry. According to our own figures which check up quite accurately on this study, of the 16,000 workers in the out-of-town district near New York, about 1,500 are in the coat, suit and skirt industry, about 5,000 in the dress industry, and the remaining 10,000 in the various miscellaneous branches.

The work of the Eastern Out-of-Town Department has always been unusually difficult. The large majority of the small town shops employ native-born women freshly recruited from less attractive or more poorly paid industries or from home work. The majority of the establishments are in the branches of our industry least strongly organized in the main center, and the task of unionization has, therefore, been well nigh impossible.

In the main, as was to be expected, the large majority of the locals which this department has succeeded in organizing are the cloak and dress shops, although there are some miscellaneous locals, including quite a large embroidery workers' local in Passaic. In addition, the department has aided in the work carried on in the two corset locals of Bridgeport and in a spontaneous strike of unaffiliated underwear workers in Paterson, N. J., in January, 1927.

We believe that considering all obstacles the work of this department has been signally successful. It must be remembered that the territory of this department is very scattered, with often only one or two small shops to a city. This means a tremendous expense as well as a great outlay of energy on the part of the organizers. Local courts and police, particularly in certain states, are unfriendly to organized labor and our organizers run great risks. There is often no central labor body in the community.

It must be remembered, too, that the work of the organizers includes all the tasks of the business agent as well.

In April, 1926, just prior to the cloak strike, the membership of the 25 locals under the supervision of this department, was over three thousand.

During the 1926 cloakmakers' strike, this department was placed at the disposal of the out-of-town committee of the general strike. Vice-President Halperin, manager of the department, was made chairman of this committee and exerted the most strenuous efforts to check non-union production, but, as we have stated elsewhere, was continually obstructed in this work by the sabotage and inefficiency of the Communist-loaded personnel of the committee, especially of its secretary, Max Levine. Vice-President Halperin's work covered 350 cloak shops, which sprang up during that period, within a territory that stretched as far south as Baltimore. Later in the strike, when scabbing was going on unchecked in New York City, most of these shops closed down and are now out of existence.

Since the strike, the locals of the out-of-town department have kept both their membership and their morale. In Long Island, for instance, we have large locals of several hundred members, mostly American-born women, who have shown their steadfastness to the organization. We feel that in these locals there can be developed the type of organizer needed for work amongst the native-born women who compose the vast majority in the unorganized shops in the large centers as well as "out of town."

The general manager of the Department, Vice-President J. Halperin, has, since January, 1927, added the responsibility of this office to his work in the New York/Joint Board. The staff consists of Brothers J. Oretzky, J. Grossman, L. Maggio, A. Rosenberg, B. Cirrincione, M. Durante and G. DiNola, and has from time to time been supplemented by emergency assistance.

We believe that the work of this Department is one of the most important branches of the International's activity.

ORGANIZATION PROBLEMS OF OUR UNION

The Adjustment to Changes Within Various Branches of the Women's Garment Industry

For the past few years, the International has been calling the attention of our membership to the necessity for an adjustment arising out of the growth of one branch and the decline of another. In our report to the Philadelphia conven-

tion, we mentioned the simultaneous growth of the dress industry and the decline of the cloak trade, and indicated the problems which have arisen out of this shift, suggesting that our leadership should study these changes and profit by them. To be specific:

Year in and year out since 1918, as the cloak trade declined and the dress trade grew, cloakmakers instead of facing the possibility of transfer into the growing trade, comforted themselves instead with the hope of the return of the suit to the cloak industry.

As a result, the cloak industry has been overmanned, in spite of a continued decrease in the number of workers, and the maladjustments of the cloak industry accentuated the evils of under-employment and low annual earnings. The dress industry, on the other hand, although it attracted some of the idle cloakmakers on a temporary basis, recruited its new workers from an element which is unfamiliar with union ideals and antagonistic to them. The outcome has been the growing of trouble and difficulties in the cloak trade, with its inevitable accompaniment of internal upheaval, and the weakening of union control in the dress industry. The following figures, illustrate the comparative importance of these two branches of the industry in the past fifteen years. According to the figures of the United States Census Bureau, the number of workers in the cloak industry of the country declined from 66,786 in 1914 to 41,187 in 1921. The cloakmakers who in 1914 formed 39.5 per cent of all the workers in the women's garment industry formed only 28.4 per cent of that number in 1921. These figures are of "average number of workers," and if the full quota of workers depending on the industry for their livelihood were given, the decline would be even more marked.

At the same time, the dress industry grew so that in 1921 the census figures gave 53,468 as the average number of dressmakers in the industry—a third more than the number of cloakmakers. Since 1921 the census has not given separate figures for each branch. However, the following figures, of the proportionate value of product for the United States, illustrate the decline of the cloak industry and the rise of the dress industry:

Proportionate Value of Products in Various Branches of Women's Garment Industry—United States

Year	Total Industry	Dresses, Waists,		
		Cloaks, Suits Skirts	House Dresses	Other Branches
1914	100	48.4	35.3	15.3
1919	100	43.0	37.0	20.0
1921	100	39.2	40.2	20.2
1923	100	36.4	44.7	18.9
1925	100	35.7	49.0	15.3

In New York City, the increasing importance of the dress trade was even more marked. According to the figures of factory inspectors of the states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, compiled in a study of the Clothing and Textile Industries in the "Regional Plan of New York and its Environs," the following were the number of workers employed in this territory, in the two branches during 1900, 1917 and 1922:

	Cloaks, Suits and Skirts			Dresses, Waists, Housedresses		
	1900	1917	1921	1900	1917	1922
New York City ..	23,753	50,488	41,989	17,922	57,195	58,238
Metropolitan Area	20	2,136	1,792	533	2,752	4,324
Total	23,773	52,624	43,781	18,455	59,947	62,562

According to these figures the drop between 1917 and 1922 was 10,000 in the cloak trade, and if the Governor's Commission figure of 35,000 for 1925 is taken, a drop of 15,000 workers in New York City since 1917. At the same time the dress and housedress industry grew by several thousands.

The task of the Union in the face of such a change within our industry should have been:

1. To make a study of the nature and extent of the change.
2. To institute an educational campaign amongst the workers in the declining branch preparing them psychologically for the shift into the growing trade.
3. To institute a systematic transfer into the growing trade, through a special bureau, on a plan which might even include temporary assistance to these men and women until they had become adjusted to the new industry.

Had this been done during the years 1917-1922, when our Union had considerable control over the dress trade, union influence in both branches would have been strengthened, and our membership would have suffered less from unemployment and low annual earnings.

We believe it is still not too late to establish a machinery within our industry which would make such shifts possible. Today, the shift happens to be from the cloak to the dress trade; it may be equally applicable to the miscellaneous branches as well. In other times, the shift may be in the opposite direction from the dress to the cloak trade. This plan should apply to every branch and every center of our industry.

The General Executive Board recommends for the earnest consideration of the delegates the study of this question which, in so fluctuating and unstable an industry as ours, is bound to cause continued hardships for our workers.

Organization Work Amongst Women

From the reports of the various branches in our industry in all centers, as well as in the outlying districts, it is evident that the outstanding problem of unionization is that of organizing the women workers, especially the native-born, who comprise the great majority of all workers in the entire garment industry. With the exception of the cloak industry, every branch is composed predominantly of women workers—the children's dress, housedress, underwear and corset lines being composed of about 95 per cent women, and the dress industry all over the country of about 80 per cent. Within the last few years, the trades in which formerly men were in the majority have witnessed a change. The unorganized branches of the cloak and waterproof garment industry are composed largely of women, even though the organized sections are still in the main employing men. Even as far back as 1919, according to the census, it was found that 31.5 per cent or 15,996 of the total number of workers in the cloak industry were women, and that the proportion in such cities as Cleveland and St. Louis ran as high as sixty per cent.

It is not an exaggeration to say that if the entire women's garment industry were organized, our membership would be 70 per cent women and 30 per cent men, for according to last census figures which showed the distribution of the sexes in the industry, in 1919, there were 112,468 women as against 53,181 men. Our national organization in 1924, when we still controlled a larger portion of the dress industry, was composed of 58 per cent men and 42 per cent women, but the proportion of women in our Union at the present time is

smaller owing to the loss of women members in the various dress lines in all centers. (The census figures show that in every state but New York, the percentage of women workers runs from 70 to 87.9 per cent.)

The problem is further complicated by the fact that these women are in the main native-born or Americanized girls and women, whereas the majority of those women we have succeeded in organizing in the large centers are predominantly Jewish immigrants. Again, if we were to have the entire industry organized, we would find that our membership would be 75 per cent non-Jewish and only about 25 per cent Jewish. In 1924, our membership was 65 per cent Jewish, 20 per cent Italian, less than 5 per cent American-born, and less than 10 per cent of the other languages and racial groups.

The importance of this problem of organizing the native-born women was recognized at the time of our Philadelphia convention, when the suggestion was made that new methods be employed. In our report to the Philadelphia convention, we suggested that the previous method of employing a paid organizer—most often not a woman, most often not of native stock—who would distribute literature outside the shop or try to speak to the girls after they left the shop did not bring the desired results. Even when these organizers represented the dominant national group amongst the workers, they found it barely possible to approach the workers at all, since there was a feeling amongst the unorganized workers that the person is a stranger who comes to them with a disturbing mission.

At the Philadelphia convention, we strongly urged that organizing work be conducted inside the non-union shops proper. Carefully selected persons should be placed in strategic non-union shops, and there, as co-workers and friendly companions, carry on their work, choosing appropriate moments and opportune issues. We emphasized the fact that this method was not an easy one, but considering the effort and money put into the old and ineffective form of organizing work, it was bound to be more effective and would gain for us greater results at less cost.

Since the convention, our International and the Joint Boards of the many centers have been unable to carry on this program along the lines suggested by the General Executive Board, for, in the period since the Philadelphia convention, our Union has been in the throes of a tremendous internal struggle

as a result of the Communist attempt to wreck our organization. We have been under terrific handicaps of every sort, including lack of finances.

Nevertheless, we have made attempts in several markets, on a very small scale, to employ English-speaking native women organizers, to carry out this program. We found an equally great embarrassment in the difficulty in finding the proper persons to be sent into the shops, or to direct the work, over any considerable period of time or on a scale proportionate to the task. We found, especially in large centers like New York, Philadelphia and Chicago in the dress industry and in the other branches, that the limited number of active members of the Union who would be willing and who had the training for such work, consisted chiefly of foreign-born girls, who through no inherent failure of theirs, would be considered as an alien by the type of woman in the unorganized shops.

We believe the absence among our membership of an element able to carry on this work is partly due to our own short-sightedness. In the past ten years, we have had in our Union several thousands of such native-born women, and women who speak Italian, Polish, Hungarian and the other languages of the unorganized women, and who, in a general way, are of the same type. But we have made no consistent, conscious effort to develop leadership and initiative among them. They have come into our ranks usually because they happened to work in organized shops, and up to the present, they have played no part or a very small one in our affairs. The conduct of our shop and local affairs has fallen naturally enough into the hands of the group with quicker initiative; in most instances these were the Jewish women, or else the men in the shops. Thus far we have been able to call on very few of these American women for aid in organization work.

It follows, therefore, that before we can hope to reach this large element outside our Union, we must make special efforts to arouse it to greater activity within the Union. We must provide organizational means and forms to develop and strengthen initiative and keener participation in the organizing work of our Union.

What are these means? We can here only suggest a few, and these few of course bear adaptation to particular branches, localities and groups

1. The formation of language locals and branches, where deemed advisable by the G. E. B.
2. The formation of women's local or branches under the same circumstances.
3. The encouragement of special types of activities which appeal to this element especially outside of New York, along the lines of social and recreational activities.
4. Renewed cooperation in smaller centers with local women's civic and welfare organizations, with leaders of the language associations to which the workers belong.

We have tried all these methods, on a very small scale, indeed, in Philadelphia, New York and Chicago. In some instances and in some branches the response was favorable; in others, due to a variety of reasons, the response was not encouraging; in still others the methods were not given a sufficiently long trial or the proper methods were not employed.

The formation of American or language locals or branches, we believe to be of paramount value, out of which the other activities would grow. We believe the experience of the Union with the Italian workers after the formation of the Italian locals is a vivid example of the effectiveness of this method. We believe it applies to the New York industry, where Jewish and Italian women are still the leaders amongst the unionized workers, as well as to the smaller centers, where the local invariably takes on the form of an English-speaking local because the majority of its members are of a native element.

With regard to the second point, the creation of special women's locals or branches, this too must come as the outgrowth of the needs of each situation. We believe, however, that if the initiative of all our women members is to be developed and used for the upbuilding of our Union, in many instances women's locals would be of great assistance.

We mention the last two points, dealing with recreational activities and cooperation with civic bodies, for obvious reasons. It is a known fact that the so-called welfare work of employers has a special appeal for women workers, especially in the large plants. We can hope to overcome the effects of such temporary superficial sop to the workers as company doctors and nurses, bowling teams, and so on, best, by offering benefits to the workers in as many and varied forms as possible; we must organize activities which appeal to the social impulses of these workers; we must set examples in our campaigns for better work conditions by having more attractive

union offices than we have at present; we must provide a friendly and helpful atmosphere for the workers.

We have made efforts to convey an understanding of the ideals of trade unionism to the newcomers in our industry through the appointment, by request, of a representative of our Union on the Advisory Council of the Continuation Schools in New York City. Miss Fannia M. Cohn, as executive secretary of our Educational Department, in the capacity of such representative, has addressed the graduation class of the Needle Trades' Continuation School.

These methods are not offered as solutions of the tremendous problem of organization, but as steps in developing a more effective approach. We suggest them for the consideration of the delegates, and we specifically recommend that the incoming General Executive Board be given the power to grant charters for formation of locals or branches on the basis of language and sex, as well as crafts, wherever it is deemed advisable in an existing organization, or in order to stimulate the growth of organization in partially or wholly non-union localities or branches.

Our Italian Workers

In the struggle of the past two and a half years, our Italian membership has shown itself loyal to its locals and to the International. The two large New York locals, Local 48, Cloakmakers and Local 89, Dressmakers, have, on the whole, been comparatively free from Communist inroads, as have the Boston, Philadelphia and Cleveland Italian locals.

The importance of the Italian element in the garment trades has been recognized, and has grown during the past few years. Within the last five years, however, the new workers who have come into the industry are, in many instances, of Italian parentage and sympathies, rather than Italian-speaking. This is particularly true of the women workers in the dress industry.

For these new workers in the trade as well as for the older groups in the union, we believe that the language locals have proved eminently satisfactory. We have, in the case of unorganized workers, employed several Italian organizers in the metropolitan district of New York. In Boston and in several other localities.

We have also, as is mentioned elsewhere, helped to the fullest extent in the work of the Italian Chamber of Labor and in the support of the Italian labor press, in addition, of course, to our own organ, "Giustizia."

Organizing Colored Workers

As we reported to the Philadelphia convention, the number of colored workers in our trade,—particularly in the dress and miscellaneous branches—in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Baltimore, continues to increase. Many of these workers, the majority of whom are women, came in originally as pressers and finishers, but today a large number are in the operating craft, and some colored cutters are being employed.

It is a generally known fact that our Union bars no worker on the ground of race, tongue, or religion. On the contrary, we have made special efforts in all the principal dress centers to enroll Negroes into the Union on terms of perfect equality. In the New York, Philadelphia and Chicago campaigns, special Negro organizers on part or full time basis were employed. We are glad to report that in some of our dress locals we have colored workers on the executive boards. We will continue these efforts, and will continue to work with the special groups of colored organizations in the unionization and economic betterment of the colored industrial worker.

Our Organizing Staff

The following is a complete list of persons employed by the I. L. G. W. U. since the last convention as permanent or temporary organizers. Some of them were engaged for special organizing activity for a short time, while several others have been employed as resident managers either on part or full salary.

M. Amdur, A. Brightstein, H. Chancer, C. Cirricione, P. De-
Feo, G. DiNola, M. Durante, Dave Eichen, Bessie Engelman,
Mollie Friedman, Elsie Gluck, F. Griffard, J. Grossman, J. Hal-
pern, J. Hochman, L. Maggio, L. Merolla, T. Morabito, P.
Oretsky, S. Polakoff, E. Reisberg, A. Rosenberg, B. Schub.

The Formation of a Needle Trades Department Within A. F. of L.

The question of closer affiliation with the other needle trades organizations has been a matter of concern to our Union for many years, particularly with reference to problems of organization throughout the country. We have participated in

several attempts to form a Needle Trades Alliance, which have for one reason or another not succeeded.

The General Executive Board at this time recommends that our International initiate a movement for the formation of a Needle Trades Department within the American Federation of Labor.

Injunction Abuses

According to the estimate of the American Federation of Labor, over six hundred injunctions had been granted in the year of 1927 against labor organizations. Small wonder, then, that President William Green characterized the injunction menace as "an instrument with which working men are being reduced to a condition bordering upon servitude." The most outstanding examples of the injunction abuse were in the sweeping orders obtained against striking miners, not only in the injunction-ridden state of West Virginia, but in Pennsylvania and Ohio. According to the recent survey by the Senate of the Pennsylvania coal fields, some of these orders, notably the infamous Schoonmaker injunction, forbade the miners to gather peacefully in a church of which they were members, to sing hymns, or in any way to interfere with non-union production, even seeking to restrain surety companies from furnishing bonds on which appeals might be made. A sweeping temporary injunction was sought in the transit fight in New York City, not only against the Amalgamated Street and Railway Workers, but against the entire American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations to prevent it or any of its affiliated bodies or members from attempting to unionize the subway and elevated workers of New York whom the I. R. T. had enslaved under a company union and a "yellow-dog" contract. This injunction was refused by Justice Isidore Wasservogel, whose decision followed another which refused to hold leaders of the 1926 strike in contempt of the 1926 injunction.

Our own organization, in the cloakmakers' strike in New York and in various other centers, has suffered greatly from the abuse of the injunction power by the courts. In the Chicago section, we described the jail sentences of almost a hundred of our members for peaceful picketing in violation of the infamous Sullivan injunction. In the Boston section, we described the enforced signing of these "yellow dog" contracts, and the injunction granted to enforce them.

So serious has been the growth of the injunction evil within the past few years, that the American Federation of Labor, following its Los Angeles convention, called a special injunction conference, after a meeting of the Executive Council. As a result of that conference, a nation-wide campaign against injunction abuses has been instituted in the daily press, through the radio stations which belong to labor, and at special massmeetings. In New York, the Central Trades and Labor Council, together with the New York State Federation of Labor, called a massmeeting in Cooper Union on Sunday, February 5, 1928. The nation-wide campaign has resulted in the introduction of a bill by Senator Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota, at the instance of the American Federation of Labor, in the Senate by which the abuse of the injunction in labor disputes would be ended. This bill provides an amendment into existing law as follows:

"Equity courts shall have jurisdiction to protect property when there is no remedy at law; for the purpose of determining such jurisdiction, nothing shall be held to be property unless it is tangible and transferable, and all laws and parts of laws inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed."

In other words, this bill would redefine property rights, so that labor could be included as a property right of the employers. It is in line with the clear-cut policy slated by President Green in an article on "The Union and Human Freedom," to the effect:

1. To limit equity jurisdiction and thus categorically deny these courts the right to issue injunctions dealing with industrial relations.

2. To repeal or amend anti-trust laws which contrary to the intent of Congress, have been interpreted to restrict normal union activity.

Our Union should join in every effort of American labor to fight any attempt to curtail the right of labor organizations through the abuse of the injunction power.

• • •
The following injunction suits were begun, continued or brought to an end against our local unions and joint boards in the last twenty-six months.

Injunctions

CLOAK STRIKE 1926—United Cloak and Suit Designers Mutual Aid Assn. of America vs. Sigman et al.
Temporary Injunction, Supreme Court, N. Y. County, July 22, 1926.

Made permanent on appeal, Supreme Court Appellate Division November 22, 1926.

Sweeping injunction forbidding picketing, peaceful persuasion, visiting of homes or in any way "hindering and harassing the free rendition of services by members of the plaintiff association."

Samuel Braverman vs. Morris Sigman, et al.

Supreme Court, N. Y. County, Oct. 1926.

Injunction restraining any interference "with plaintiff or employees"; picketing limited to silent and peaceful picketing by former employees only, and only two pickets at a time.

Calro Dress Company vs. Morris Sigman et al, Supreme Court, New York County, Oct. 4, 1926; forbids any form of picketing or calling of workers on strike.

Kallman & Ehrenreich vs. Morris Sigman et al, Supreme Court, New York, Sept. 14, 1926. Temporary. Forbids picketing as well as falsely publishing or advising persons of strike.

The Tailored Woman vs. Morris Sigman et al, Supreme Court, September 9, 1926.

Edward L. Mayer Company, Inc., vs. Morris Sigman et al. Supreme Court, Kings County, October 13, 1926.

Industrial Council of Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers, Inc. vs. Morris Sigman et al. Supreme Court, New York County, Charles L. Guy, J., Sept 11, 1926.

Temporary injunction forbidding interference and picketing. Supreme Court, New York County, before P. Ingraham, J October 6, 1926. continuation of injunction of Justice Guy above mentioned.

Wilkin & Adler vs. Morris Sigman, et al. Sept. 13, 1926. New York Supreme Court, Dutchess County, forbids interference picketing within the radius of three blocks of establishment of employer in addition to usual prohibitions.

New York Dress Industry—Joseph Brenner et al doing business as Dana-Mor Frocks and Du-Barry Dresses, Inc. vs. Morris Sigman et al.

Supreme Court, N. Y. County, Feb. 16, 1927. preventing interference or picketing in any form.

Association of Dress Manufacturers, Inc. vs Louis Hyman et al.

Supreme Court, N. Y. County, orders of March 22 and April 1927. forbidding defendants to induce workers to break agreement with I. L. G. W. U.

Referee's Order, Dec. 12, 1927. finding defendants guilty of violation of injunction.

Ira Mose & Co. vs. Morris Sigman et al.
Supreme Court, New York County, March 19, 1926. Injunction denied.

Appellate Division Supreme Court, April 20, 1926. Order reversed and injunction upheld.

Lipshitz et al vs. Amurosu et al (Mt. Vernon local).
Supreme Court, Westchester County, April 1927. Order vacating temporary injunction in force since April 1924, for bidding right to picket.

J. Rosenbaum et al (Real Embroidery Co.) vs. Z. L. Friedman et al, Supreme Court, New York County, order Dec. 1926, forbidding picketing or any form of persuasion.

New York Waterproof Garment Industry—Bick Brothers, (Bridgeport, Conn.) vs. Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, Cutters Union, Local 10. Pressers, Local 35, Button-hole Makers Union, Local 64, and Meyer Polinsky, Max Levine, Abraham Katz and Phillip Goldstein.

State of Connecticut, County of Fairfield, Superior Court, April 12, 1927.

Boston—Beacon Coat Manufacturing Company against Waterproof Garment Workers' Local 24, Superior Court, Jan. 18, 1928, banning all picketing or peaceful persuasion.

Insurance Benefits for Our Membership

In connection with one of the points made above, namely, the counteracting of the effects of company unionism and company welfare plans, we wish to say a few words on the matter of trade union benefits and insurance. A great many of our locals carry sickness, death and tuberculosis benefits, and recently Local 10 has inaugurated a system of old age benefits. We suggest that it would be of profit to all locals of our International to form a joint committee for a study of these systems, with a view to recommending a uniform plan to be extended to such locals as do not as yet have such benefits as well as to such locals as already carry benefits at present.

In addition a new type of insurance has now been made available, which might be added to or combined with such benefit features. This is group insurance, provided especially for labor unions, through the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, the cooperative, union-owned and managed company, under the direction of the American Federation of Labor.

INSTITUTIONS OF THE INDUSTRY

We give below a report on three institutions of the industry—the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, the Prosanis Label and the Unemployment Insurance Fund. It will be observed that the reports are far from optimistic. The events of the past few years have shown, with regard to these joint institutions for which employers have often sought credit as a form of philanthropy of their own, that they were founded and are maintained by the foresight and the will of the Union. When the Union has found itself in difficulties, when industrial or economic crises threatened the extent of its control in the market, the employers, who presumably were co-partners in these joint institutions, have done all that they could to disrupt them. A few exceptions to this rule exist, of course, but in the main, these institutions, like the other improvements instituted by the Union owe their existence wholly to the initiative and enterprise of our workers.

Unemployment Insurance Funds

Since the Philadelphia convention, unemployment insurance has been introduced or continued in four markets: the cloak, suit and skirt industry of New York, the dress industry of New York; the cloak, suit and dress industry of Chicago, and the cloak, suit and dress industry of Cleveland.

New York Cloak and Suit Industry

The Unemployment Insurance Fund of the Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Dress Industries was created in the summer of 1924, as a result of the recommendations of the Governor's Commission based on the demands of the Union. Its administration was to be in the hands of a board of trustees, consisting of representatives of the public, of the employers and of the Union. The chairman of the Board was Arthur D. Wolf, one of the public representatives, and a member of the Governor's Commission. The fund was created on the basis of employers' contributions of 2 per cent of their weekly payrolls, and the workers contributing 1 per cent of their weekly earnings. Payments to the Fund began in the spring of 1925, and benefits became operative from February 1, 1925, and were payable June 1, 1925 at the end of the season.

The rules decided upon by the Trustees provided that seventeen full weeks were to constitute each of the two working seasons and that members working that number of weeks should not be entitled to benefits for that season. A recognized dull period of nine weeks between seasons was fixed during which members would not be entitled to unemployment benefits.

Eligibility for benefits was based upon (a) membership in the Union for at least one year; (b) employment in the New York market for at least one year; (c) registration at the office of the Fund and regular reports of unemployment at periods to be agreed upon; (d) registration for full week when the member was unemployed and his name did not appear on the payroll of the firm.

The amount of benefit was fixed at \$10 a week for a maximum of twelve weeks during the year, six weeks in the fall season and six weeks during the spring season, making a maximum of \$120 a year.

In the period up to our Philadelphia convention, 28,934 of the registered 30,000 cloakmakers received unemployment benefits. Total contributions paid in amounted during this time to \$707,763, and total benefits paid \$1,062,360, exclusive of \$80,000 in administrative expenses. It was estimated that overpayments of between \$150,000 and \$200,000 had been made to workers. Nevertheless, considerable dissatisfaction existed amongst the workers because of a lack of understanding of the administration rules of the fund.

At the Philadelphia convention, the General Executive Board recommended a change in the system of payment, from one of payment to individuals to one of payment by shops, in order to make it the more efficient.

The Board also felt at that time, that in spite of the many serious difficulties in the path of its effective operation, the Fund represented a constructive step forward in the amelioration of the dire effects of unemployment in our industry.

As is generally known, the Communist element opposed the Unemployment Insurance Fund as an example of "class collaboration". In order to make their opposition more palatable to the general membership, they placed it on the ground that the entire contribution should come from the employers.

The year 1926 saw an immense improvement in the functioning of the unemployment insurance fund in the cloak industry, due to the change recommended by the convention and put into effect, ordering registration and payment of benefits by shops instead of individually.

Since the Philadelphia convention, one payment was made from the fund for the spring season of 1926. That payment came during the 1926 cloak strike. \$654,740 was paid to 17,637 workers making an average of \$37.12 per worker, bringing the complete total paid to workers in the three seasons since the fund started collections in August, 1924, to almost two million dollars.

The chairman of the Fund, until the time of his death, was Arthur D. Wolf, a member of the Governor's Commission. The assistant to the chairman was James A. Corcoran, and the director of the Unemployment Insurance Fund is Morris A. Kolchin.

We have already told in the story of Communist mismanagement of their complete neglect of this Fund. In the chaos after the settlement in November with the Industrial Council many employers failed to pay their indebtedness to the Fund and there was no enforcement in the individual settlements made during the strike of the payment of back indebtedness or of current indebtedness to the Fund.

One of the first tasks undertaken by the General Executive Board and the Provisional Committees was the protection of the Unemployment Insurance Fund. On February 5, 1927, a letter was sent out to all shop chairmen, warning them that the employers must pay their 2 per cent, and the workers their share. Unfortunately, due to the situation, this warning was not enforced and the employers took advantage of the demoralized situation to openly defy the Fund with regard to the large accumulation of unpaid contributions during the Communist regime.

Subsequently, several conferences were held with all groups of employers, at which the Union officers emphasized the absolute necessity of the continuing of the fund. At that time, in February, 1927, the Unemployment Insurance Fund, after having met all obligations to the workers, had on hand a balance of somewhat less than \$400,000 against

which there were of course, a number of current obligations, including the maintenance of the office force, payments on pending leases, etc.

After several strenuous efforts to make the employers pay their indebtedness to the Fund, and after several conferences, it was decided on March 19, 1927, that the Unemployment Insurance Fund be temporarily suspended until July 1, 1928. The Union representatives made a demand that the remaining fund be placed under the complete control of a Board of Trustees consisting of three representatives of the Union without participation of any representatives of the employers. Under this agreement, the trustees so appointed were

a. Take immediate steps for the collection of premiums due and unpaid as of Dec. 31, 1926.

b. To reduce the staff of the Unemployment Insurance Fund and its expenses to a minimum.

c. To pay out all accrued claims of union members.

d. All Union members who have contributed to the fund and wish to withdraw their contributions to be paid back their contributions, after deducting proportion of share of expenses of administration.

e. The balance now remaining to be preserved by the Board of Trustees, (consisting of three Union representatives) for the time when it will be reopened.

f. To make loans to the I. L. G. W. U. for "the sole and exclusive purpose of aiding it in efforts to organize the entire industry on a more effective basis, to establish greater uniformity of labor standards to the end that the obligation to pay Unemployment Insurance premiums may be more uniformly enforced throughout the Cloak and Suit Industry in the City of New York and the effective operation of the Fund may be resumed as speedily as possible. Such loans shall in all events be repaid to the Unemployment Insurance Fund at or prior to the resumption of its active operations."

This agreement also provided for the revision of rules and regulations of the Fund on its resumption, under the supervision of the Impartial Chairman in the industry.

Subsequently, the Union trustees, consisting of President Sigman, Vice-Presidents Dubinsky and Hochman, set about the task of collecting money due from the jobbers and manufacturers. This was a very difficult task and was placed in the hands of our counsel, Morris Hillquit. As the amounts due are very large, legal action would involve suits before the higher

courts which would mean long drawn out and expensive action. Therefore, the trustees have decided that the best possible adjustments were to be made with debtors. The results thus far have been far from encouraging, but they have been the best that could be made under the circumstances.

Under the provision authorizing loans from the Fund, the General Executive Board has authorized the president at various times to request loans from the Fund, which have been disbursed in the manner provided for in the agreement of March, 1927.

In conclusion, the re-establishment of the Fund which is scheduled to take place July 1, 1928, depends upon the persistent efforts of the workers and their leaders in the industry, and we believe that such efforts should be made in order to retain this highly useful institution.

New York Dress Industry

Shortly after the convention adjourned, the Union was faced with a problem concerning the unemployment fund in the dress industry of New York, from which no payments had as yet been made to the workers. Total contributions to the dress fund, up to April, 1926, were \$234,527 of which the workers contributed \$146,000, and the employers only \$88,000. Of the latter amount only \$28,000 was contributed by jobbers, the balance coming from the manufacturers and contractors. The expenses for the year's operation of the dress fund were \$39,000—an unusually large amount made necessary by the detailed examination of the jobbers' books. The small payments from the jobbers were particularly serious, since it was possible that they had deducted the 2 per cent from the contractors and had not turned it over to the fund. This sabotage of the fund by the employers was made possible by the deliberate Communist neglect of this important provision.

In view of this situation, there was much discussion as to the continuance of the fund in the dress industry. There was a fear of discontinuing it on the ground of possible injury to the cloak fund. But the Board of Directors of the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board, in April, 1926, dominated by the Communist officialdom, voted a temporary suspension of the workers' payments into the fund. At a later meeting in July, 1926, the Dressmakers' Local 22 adopted a decision to return

to all members the money paid in by them on the basis of an equal sum to all participants. Subsequently, announcements were issued by J. A. Corcoran, Assistant to the Chairman of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, allotting the repayment of \$11 apiece to all eligible workers registered with the Fund. We have indicated elsewhere that not all workers were so refunded.

When the new administration of the dress locals came into office, after the reorganization of the New York Joint Board, in the spring of 1927, the following were named trustees of the Unemployment Insurance Fund as representation of the Union: Julius Hochman, J. Spielman and Max Moskowitz.

The problem of the revival of the unemployment insurance fund in the dress industry is one which should be seriously considered.

Chicago

One of the important gains in the new agreement signed February 25, 1925, in the Chicago market was the provision for the establishment of an unemployment insurance fund. Manufacturers were to contribute 1½ per cent and the workers ¾ per cent. A board of trustees, representing the Union, the employers and the public, patterned on the New York fund was to be formed, and its administration was placed under this board with an impartial person as chairman. Such a chairman was chosen in the person of Judge Henry H. Horner.

The deliberate sabotage of this fund by the Communist administration described in the Chicago section led to total contributions of only \$25,000 to this fund by April, 1926. The employers' contributions were not enforced, and under the pretext of ruling that the workers do not contribute at all, and the employers contribute three-quarters per cent, the Communist Joint Board actually countenanced the deduction of this amount from the workers' pay envelopes by the employers without its being turned in to the fund.

Since they were defeated for office, several attempts have been made to revive the fund, concerning which information at present is very indefinite. This is one of the tasks which confronts our Chicago membership.

Cleveland

In the last few months, a new market has been added to the above three markets where unemployment insurance has been attempted. After negotiations in February, 1928, the Cleveland Joint Board was successful in obtaining a provision for the establishment of an unemployment insurance fund in addition to the time guarantee of employment. As we explained in our Cleveland section, the time guarantee provision which provides for the payment of 1 per cent of the weekly payrolls into a fund of which workers who were not employed forty full weeks were to be paid half of their wages, worked very satisfactorily in the large inside shops. It did not, however, cover the workers in the contracting shops, as the payments of their employers were not sufficiently large, nor the period of employment sufficiently long, to create a fund adequate for the payment of this guarantee. It was therefore decided that all employers, inside and contracting, should pay 1 per cent into a fund to be administered by the Union and paid in unemployment insurance to the workers in these contracting shops. The contracting shops were absolved of the time guarantee deposit, and the inside manufacturers thus made directly responsible for conditions in the contracting shops. The details of this fund are yet to be worked out, but we believe the indications are very favorable for its successful administration and effect.

The importance of the Unemployment Insurance Fund as a means of dealing with one of the vexing problems of our industry, cannot be overestimated. In the first section of this report, we have mentioned the resolution passed at the Philadelphia convention which expressed our Union's attitude towards the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Our International Union has never stood in the way of the full technical development of the industry. What we have insisted on with regard to the introduction of felling, pressing machines, and of machinery in the auxiliary trades, has been that this introduction should be effected in such a manner and at such a rate that the workers should not be made to bear the burden of resulting unemployment, but that they should, on the contrary, share in the benefits of increased production. Some unemployment, as a result of the introduction of improved machinery, has undoubtedly resulted, and the Unemployment Insurance Fund is, beyond doubt, a very effective counterbalance to these and other industrial changes which are bound to occur in the industry.

Joint Board of Sanitary Control

New York

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Dress Industry of New York is another of the institutions that have been nearly wrecked as a result of the disastrous Communist-led strike of 1926.

In 1926 the New York Board and its locals were in debt to this institution, as were the various employing groups for field and clinical work done in the previous year. The Joint Board had to reduce its staff considerably, although its task had greatly increased, because of the growth of sub-standard shops during and after the strike, many of which were housed in basements, stores and in the rear of houses.

There is no doubt of the absolute necessity of maintaining and rebuilding this institution which has accomplished much good in the sixteen years of its existence in the work of shop inspection and sanitation.

It will be remembered that the new agreements with the employers' associations since the Philadelphia convention provided for the first time for the representation and equal responsibility of the sub-manufacturers' association on the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, and, in more normal times, this provision would have given added power to the attempt to enforce standards.

The work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is also connected with the continued existence of the Prosanis Label. The Prosanis Label, to mean anything at all, must be based on the result of such inspections as are made by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. The connection between these two institutions should be far closer, since if the inspections of the Joint Board are to have any effect at all, the approval of the inspectors as to conditions and sanitation, health and union standards should have the tangible mark which the Prosanis Label gives. We believe the closer relation of the work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and of the Prosanis Label Division would be mutually beneficial and would lead to the greater effectiveness of both institutions in regulating all labor conditions in the shops.

The Joint Board during this period has continued under the able direction of Dr. George M. Price.

Baltimore and Toronto

We have already mentioned in our sections on these cities that joint boards of sanitary control were established in 1925 in both Baltimore and Toronto, which, due to the breaking of agreements by the employers, had been unable to function effectively.

Boston

The one encouraging report on institutions of this type comes from Boston. In February, 1926, as a result of the strike in the Boston market, and due to the efforts of Vice-President Hochman then in charge, a Joint Board of Sanitary Control was established, which has since turned out to be quite a successful and substantial achievement. As in New York, men and women of the very highest standing in the community accepted office on the board. Professor W. Z. Ripley of Harvard University is chairman, Mrs. Lois B. Rantoul of the Women's Trade Union League, secretary, and the other public representatives are Dr. D. C. Parmenter of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Mr. Edward J. Frost of Filene's, and Mr. Daniel Bloomfield, industrial counsellor. Five employers' associations, as well as the Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit and Dressmakers' Union, are represented on this Board.

At this time, provision was also made for the introduction of a Prosanis Label to be administered through this Board.

From the very beginning of its establishment, the Board has had a remarkably salutary effect on the Boston industry. At its formal launching on May 7, 1926, the wife of the Governor of Massachusetts participated in the ceremony and sewed a Prosanis Label on a garment. The Mayor of Boston, representatives of the New York Joint Board of Sanitary Control, and of local civic bodies were present. The first director of the Bureau was Miss Miriam Steve, and on her resignation Miss Florence H. Luscomb assumed the position.

In the year that has elapsed, the Board has carried on, with the aid of Miss Pauline Newman of the New York Board, inspections of the shops and fire drills, and has corrected many of the health and fire hazards. The Prosanis Label is dealt with in the section following.

The Prosanis Label

One of the outstanding accomplishments of the 1924 agreement in New York, resulting from the recommendations of the Governor's Commission, was the introduction of a "Prosanis Label," to be controlled by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control through a special label division. While, as we pointed out in our report to the last convention, the Prosanis label was not designated as a strictly union label, the rules and methods of its application were such, that, in addition to its services to the consuming public, it was an effective means of protecting the working conditions of our members, and was actually a union label, since it could be attached only to the product of such shops as had the approval of the Union.

Under the direction of Dr. Henry Moskowitz, the Prosanis Label Division during its first year, operated with considerable success considering the fact that it was an innovation. The leadership of the Union was sincere in its effort to make this institution effective, and the New York Joint Board organized a label office under the supervision of Brother Charles Jacobson.

As we pointed out previously, the administration of such institutions depends mainly upon the Union. The Communist administration of the Joint Board in 1926, even prior to the strike, completely sabotaged the Prosanis Label as "an instrument of class collaboration," and the strike itself with its complete breakdown of standards, hampered, in fact almost destroyed, the work of the label division. Dr. Moskowitz has made most strenuous efforts to get the cooperation of all the various factors, addressing meetings of shop chairmen, and canvassing the employers' groups. So far as the public is concerned, he has secured the endorsement of the Label from many public bodies, has arranged Prosanis booths at many civic expositions, etc.

In spite of all this effort and notwithstanding the fact that it is agreed by everyone that the label could become one of the most effective weapons for the elimination of the non-union sweat shop, the label division has been going back rather than forward in its work. The Communist sabotage of this provision, the fact that 16,000 workers were sent back during the strike and were permitted to produce work without this label, all had a demoralizing effect.

Recently some impetus has been given to the sale of Prosanis Labels as the result of the work of the New England Joint Board of Sanitary Control in Boston. The two leading Boston stores, William Filene's Sons and Company and the Gilchrist Company, notified the manufacturers that they desired to purchase only merchandise bearing the Prosanis Label. Subsequently the Industrial Council in New York sent a letter to its members notifying them of this fact. We believe further work with department stores along this line should be done by the Label Division in New York.

The greatest responsibility for the effective enforcement of this provision lies, in the last analysis, with our members who are working in the shops, and who can insist on its use as a protection of their standards.

We strongly urge upon our members and their officers the re-establishment of this provision in the near future. We consider the Prosanis Label to have been one of the great gains in the past few years, and we trust our membership will not, through lack of understanding and negligence, nullify the undoubtedly beneficial effects which its enforcement might bring about.

Union Label for Auxillary Trades

Needless to say, with the failure to enforce the Prosanis Label, has come an even greater failure to make the necessary progress with regard to a union label for auxillary trades. Such a label was endorsed by the Boston convention of 1924 for the embroidery and other ornamental and novelty trades, on the ground that it would not only tend to strengthen the Union as a whole, but would place the non-union shops in these auxillary trades which produce for the main branches under stricter union control. It was pointed out at the last convention that, in order to make such an auxillary label effective, it was necessary to embody label clauses in all agreements with employers in these trades and in the cloak and dress trades, as well as to educate the workers of all branches to the necessity of demanding such a label.

Such clauses were included in the agreements in the New York cloak and dress market, as well as with the employers in the bonnaz embroidery, button makers, tuckers, hem-stitchers and pleaters branches. Prior to the cloakmakers'

strike some progress had also been made for its use in the shops of the Swiss embroidery trade. Since the Philadelphia convention, however, the use of this label had practically gone out of existence.

This convention will have to pass upon the future of these auxiliary labels, the importance of which is growing with the increasing tendency for these auxiliary lines of work to be taken out of the cloak and dress shops and to be manufactured in separate establishments. It is a matter of importance not only for the workers in these trades but for the large majority of the workers who are employed in the cloak and dress shops.

**Collective Agreements With Employers' Associations
New York**

Cloak:

Industrial Council of Cloak, Suit and Skirt Mfrs. Protective Association.

Merchant Ladies' Garment Association.

American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association.

Dress:

Association of Dress Manufacturers, Inc.

Wholesale Dress Manufacturers' Association.

Underwear:

Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association.

Embroidery:

Bonnaz Manufacturers' Association.

Allied Lace and Embroidery Manufacturers' Assn.

Waterproof Garment:

Associated Raincoat Manufacturers of New York.

Tucking, etc.:

Tuckers' Hemstitchers, Pleaters and Novelty Manufacturers Association.

Custom Tailors:

Contouriers' Association of New York.

Chicago

Chicago Cloak and Suit Manufacturers Association.

Northwest Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association.

Cleveland

Garment Manufacturers' Association.

Boston

The Boston Cloak Manufacturers' Association (contractors).
The Wholesale Garment Assn. (jobbers).
The Massachusetts Dress Manufacturers Assn. (contractors).
New England and Women's Wear Mfrs. Assn. (dress mfrs.)
Boston Wholesale Dress Assn. (dress jobbers).
New England Coat and Suit Manufacturers' Association.

Philadelphia

Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association.
Cloak Jobbers' Association.
Waist and Dress Manufacturers' Association.

Toronto

Toronto Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association.
Embroidery Manufacturers' Association of Toronto

DEPARTMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS OF OUR UNION

Union Health Center

The Union Health Center, owned and directed by locals of the I. L. G. W. U. of New York City, has also gone through an up-hill fight for existence since the last convention.

Immediately after the Philadelphia convention, the Health Center showed every indication of continuing the remarkable headway made ever since May, 1924. Early in January of 1926, Brother Harry Wander, former chairman of the Center, was elected business manager, at which time also David Dubinsky was elected chairman of the board of directors and Julius Portnoy, secretary. Dr. George M. Price, who has been the director of the Center since its establishment, continued in that capacity; Dr. Max Price has headed the Dental Clinic.

In the year of 1926, the Health Center, through funds made available for that purpose by the American Fund for Public Service, started a special health education campaign through leaflets in English, Yiddish and Italian.

New special clinics were opened up, such as the Children's Clinic, the Chemical Laboratory, Clinic for Diabetes and High Blood Pressure. The reports of the Union Health Center Medical Department show that never before had it been of such great service to so many of our members in so many ways. The Union Health Center Medical Department had ten

special clinics during the year, operated its own drug, x-ray, physio-therapeutic and optical departments, and conducted examinations for life extension, for new members, for tuberculosis and sick benefits.

Generally speaking there was an increase of 25-33 per cent in all the work of the Union Health Center Medical Department for the year 1926, from the point of view of examinations, persons examined, departments and income. The figures of examinations according to locals show that Local 22, which joined the Health Center in 1924, after introducing a sick benefit feature, heads the list of examinations with 9,466 out of a total of 29,389 examinations.

Under the direction of Dr. George M. Price the high standards, which had always prevailed in the selection of physicians who rendered their services at such unusually low cost to the clinic, were maintained.

In spite of this splendid work for the year 1926, the Union Health Center found itself at the beginning of 1927 in a most critical position. Locals 2, 3, 9, 22 and 35 owed the Department over \$7,500 which had already been paid out for examinations of applicants and which the Communist officials had failed to pay. By the fall of 1927, the crisis became so acute that \$25,000 was needed to save the Union Health Center from shutting down. A campaign was begun in September, 1927, for the sale of "health certificates" in denominations of one, two and five dollars entitling purchasers to dental, general medical and life extension examinations respectively. Owing to the poor season and the state of disorganization, this campaign was not successful and was to be revived in the spring season. Since then, a campaign has been inaugurated by the Center to extend the use of its clinics to the entire labor movement of New York, to which, as a matter of fact, its services has been of great importance in the past as well.

Perhaps, because it did not have this direct indebtedness from the locals, as well as for other obvious reasons, the Dental Department of the Union Health Center flourished not only in point of service to a far greater number of patients but as to financial income. As was reported before, the work of the Dental Department had become so extensive that in 1925 it was necessary to move it to separate quarters, at 222 Fourth Avenue, where it occupies a complete floor on

which are located twenty-five dental chairs. On May 7, 1927, a celebration on the occasion of the tenth anniversary, of the Dental Department of the Union Health Center was given at the Park Palace, 110th Street and 5th Avenue, which drew many distinguished visitors and a large number of our members. The story of its growth from a one-room affair with two chairs to the present clinic—the only clinic of its kind in the United States—was reviewed by the speakers and in a special anniversary report issued on the occasion. The following figures will give a graphic picture of the growth of the Union Health Center:

Figures for the Union Health Center

	Medical Department		Dental Dept.		Inc.
	No. of exam.	Income	Patients.	Treatm.	
1912	800				
1913	4,628				
1914	4,628				
1915	5,228				
1916	7,226				
1917*	3,416		958	3,920	4,266
1918	5,024		11,103	7,465	12,576
1919	14,329		1,278	3,279	12,542
1920	6,6631	6,771.09	1,555	12,383	23,022
1921	15,767	21,323.21	1,997	15,873	38,270
1922	15,767	21,490.32	2,802	20,279	48,625
1923	17,806	27,270.42	4,502	26,788	59,117
1924	22,943	376.25	4,586	23,939	64,079
1925	23,362	37,261.50	4,611	25,202	64,389
1926	29,280	47,517.38	5,588	30,039	80,527

The figures of hours worked by the twenty-four dentists in charge show that the cost of treatment per hour to our membership was about \$1.65, demonstrating in a succinct way the great savings of such expert services on a cooperative basis. Such service has replaced the "charity" clinics to which many of our workers had to resort to in the past.

Of both these branches of the Union Health Center, we, in the Union, must be especially proud. They are still unique in the American labor movement and serve to fill a need in the City of New York for other unions besides our Union. We must spare no effort to see that they are preserved for our membership.

Unity House

Our Unity House at Forest Park, Pennsylvania, as you know, is owned and operated on a non-profit basis by our International Union since December 1924, when, at the request of Local 22 and the direction of our Boston convention, the summer home of the Dressmakers' Union was taken over.

Since our last convention at Philadelphia, Unity House has had two seasons, in the summer of 1926 and 1927 under the management of George Oliver. Last season Mr. Oliver was also ably assisted by Morris Novik. These two summers have been very successful, especially that of 1927; not only from the standpoint of income but also because of the fine spirit and atmosphere that prevailed at Unity House.

The management of the Unity House has very much improved. Last year many improvements were made. New plumbing was installed. The exterior as well as the interior of the buildings were made still more attractive than they used to be. All the cottages were painted and renovated, and the grounds were kept in perfect condition. The work was under the supervision of Mr. Oliver, with the tireless assistance of the Unity House Committee consisting of Vice-Presidents Jacob Halperin, chairman; Harry Greenberg, secretary, Elias Relsberg, Luigi Antonini, David Dubinsky and Mollie Friedman.

The last two seasons Unity was opened in the middle of June and lasted 13 weeks each. These openings were celebrated by large gatherings. Our local unions participated in the festivities through their committees. Friendly organizations were represented not only from New York and vicinity but came even from Boston and Philadelphia. Prominent persons in the labor movement were also our guests.

Since our Educational Department undertook the city management of Unity House we have succeeded in having members of 22 international and national unions come to Unity House. There were members of the Teachers' Union and Carpenters' Union, Street Cleaning Department, and Technical Workers, Milliners and Upholsterers, Boot and Shoe Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers, white-collar workers of the Bookkeepers' Union, Neckwear Workers, Hebrew Teachers' Union, and the Painters' Union, the Walters' Union and the "Big Six" Typographical Union, the Furriers' Union and the Cleaners' and Dyers' Union, Cap Makers and Yiddish Writers'

Union, Pocket Book Workers and the Hebrew Actors' Union, the Grocery Clerks' Union and the Sheet Metal Workers.

Here, in the free and easy-going atmosphere of Unity, the skilled workers who used to consider themselves aristocrats in the trades, spend their vacation with the unskilled workers and with professional men and women who identify themselves with the labor movement. At Unity they all sing and play and rest together.

From this you may realize that our Unity House is becoming the vacation home of the labor movement in New York and vicinity as a whole.

A delightful development last year was the increasing attendance of the grown-up children of our members at Unity. Scores of them came, most of them native-born, many of them professionals, or office workers; but none of them engaged in the same industries as their fathers and mothers. They were amazed by the size of our estate, charmed by its beauty and attracted by the activities. They, too, have become enthusiastic about Unity House. They have come to appreciate the achievements of the International Union to which their parents belong and the contribution it was making to their well-being.

The social and recreational activities at Unity are many and varied. Their swimming, boating and every other sort of water sports go on under the direction of a swimming instructor and a life saver. Nor does the fun stop at the water front. During the day there is opportunity to play tennis, baseball and basketball, to enjoy vigorous physical exercises, and to learn social dancing, all under the leadership of an expert physical training director.

The evenings at Unity are very happy. A competent social director plans dramatics, campfires, costume parties and dances, group singing and frequent concerts, at which prominent artists appear to sing or play. And every evening ends happily in social dancing to the tune of a lively orchestra.

The beautiful country around is always explored by Unity guests. Hikes are arranged to delightful places nearby, and bus and automobile rides to spots further off, among them Delaware Water Gap, one of the scenic wonders of the country.

Education in the out-of-doors is a particularly interesting feature of our summer home. In the pine grove overlooking

the lake stands our open air theatre—Greek style. Several mornings each week, persons prominent in the fields of economics, psychology, sociology, in literature, art, drama and the affairs of the day, come here to give interesting lectures on these subjects. We also arrange special art exhibits where the artist discusses the pictures on view. The talks usually end in informal discussions in which the entire audience takes part. In this open air theatre, our dramatic performances are also given. Professional artists appear with our guests in a number of plays during the season.

Our guests can spend many pleasant hours in the library and reading room with its files of leading dailies, stacks of current magazines and thousands of books on social, economic and labor questions and fiction. The library with its wicker chairs and oak reading tables is a very comfortable place, and the librarian in charge does all she can to assist in the selection of books.

Since the Spring of 1927, our Educational Department has assumed the New York City management of Unity House publicity and registration. This change was made so that the work could be done more efficiently. We realized that stimulating interest in Unity House is a big job and cannot be handled by one person engaged just for the summer months. It must have the attention of more than one person and over a longer period than the summer season. Therefore, the Educational Department was asked to do this work. The Educational Department also arranges the weekly entertainments and the educational program. This is done with a view to enlightening our members as to the significance of Unity House to them and to our organization. As part of the publicity we prepared an attractive, illustrated booklet describing Unity.

At the request of many of our members and friends, this year we opened one cottage at Unity for the winter season, and it is now an all-year-round vacation place. We did not need special management to do this, as Mr. Oliver is engaged by the year. Although a limited number of guests was admitted, we did cover our running expenses for the winter season.

We found that it is impossible to conduct Unity efficiently, with the excellent food and other services we offer our members at the low rate of \$17. Therefore, the last two seasons

we charged \$18 per week for our members. The rate for the winter season was \$20.

In conclusion, we wish to say again that the last two seasons at Unity have been most successful. Especially noteworthy is the fine spirit that prevailed. This absolute harmony offered our guests an opportunity for rest, recreation and education in a friendly and comradely atmosphere. Unity House is more and more becoming an integral part of our organization, appreciated by all our members, men and women, young and old.

Unity House Reunions

Hundreds of persons filled the beautiful ballroom of the Manhattan Opera House on February 12 and December 10, 1927 to take part in our annual Unity reunions and to recall the pleasant hours spent together at the beautiful vacation house in Forest Park, Pa.

The gatherings were composed of International and local union officials, executive board members, rank and file workers; the actors, singers and lecturers who stimulated the life of Unity during the summer, the Unity staff whose interest and cooperation contributed so much to its success, the management which directed affairs at Unity, and the representatives of the press who so willingly helped to make Unity popular.

There were representatives of the labor movement in general, through whose friendly cooperation members of many organizations were interested to spend their vacations at Unity House. There were the office staffs of the International and of the Joint Board and local unions, who also helped loyally in making these affairs a success.

The Song of Unity, specially written for our Reunion by Samuel H. Friedman was led from the platform by a group of friends and members and the entire audience joined in the singing.

The arrangements committees and guests combined to make these affairs a moral and social success. No effort was spared in attending to each detail that would assure the pleasure and comfort of the guests.

We were delighted to see that so many people were glad to pay the \$1.00 admission in order to participate in our Unity

celebration. Of course, these affairs were not arranged for profit, and the box office receipts just covered expenses.

Philadelphia Unity Reunion

On Friday, March 9, 1928, hundreds of our members in Philadelphia assembled in the ballroom of the Labor Institute to attend a Unity House Reunion. In spite of the fact that this took place during the dull season in the industry, our members were willing to pay 75 cents admission to join in this celebration.

The enthusiasm and excellent spirit demonstrated the appreciation and affection with which our summer home is regarded. An attractive booklet describing Unity House was distributed.

We appreciate the tireless efforts of Sisters Ada Rosenfelt and Sarah Fredgant who headed the arrangements committee and of the other 20 members who were in charge of this affair. They spared neither time nor energy to make this a moral and social success.

Our Educational Department

We are now entering the twelfth year of the activities of our Educational Department. Evaluating our achievements, we are encouraged by the fact that our plan of Worker's Education is being adopted by the Labor movement. Workers' Education, of course, is changing and developing in accordance with the needs of the times. Summer schools and week-end institutes and conferences on various questions of interest to the labor movement are rapidly growing. We are among those who sponsored this new activity when it was started by the Brookwood Labor College. We were especially enthusiastic about its further development when this took the direction of week and week-end institutes, conducted under the auspices of the Labor movement.

Workers' Education

There were some important basic considerations which influenced the initiation of Workers' Education. These are still important for they are the chief influential factors in its

further development. As such they deserve the serious attention of the Labor movement.

The union is becoming an increasingly complex institution. Its functions are multiplying; its responsibilities to its members, to the Labor movement, and to society as a whole are growing. It is becoming increasingly more difficult for the individual to function in the union effectively, since to do so he must be well acquainted with its mechanism and its various activities.

That increasing complexity and the growing social importance of the union makes union members more and more expect their organization to meet their needs as human beings. The trade union consequently, no longer confines itself to purely trade union problems. It is entering the fields of banking, insurance, health work, research, building, etc.

A union is a democratic institution. Each member is a full-fledged citizen, having a voice and a vote in its councils. Like other social institutions, however, the union has only a small active citizenry; most people do not take advantage of the democratic machinery which has been established. It is therefore, of the utmost importance that the union keep its members informed of its affairs, since even the passive group, by its power of suffrage, can, if it be left uninformed, destroy all the constructive plans of the organization.

The union has an additional problem: As the organization through which the workers function in our modern society, it has an aim and a responsibility to keep the workers informed, not only as to the affairs of their organization, but in regard to society as a whole. More and more we are realizing that it is urgently important that the workers should be acquainted with the problems of the industry in which they are engaged and of the world in which they live. These considerations influenced the institution of workers' education, and are still further influencing its development.

Our Educational Plan

It has always been our belief that the trade union itself is the school in which the worker gets his real training and education, if he takes an active part in the affairs of his organizations. It is there, whether at the local meeting, shop meeting, convention or in the councils of the executive com-

mittees, that his development begins. It is there that he assumes a great many functions; those of the voter, the legislator, the judge, the administrator. There he comes to realize that he must make his decisions discriminatingly and carry them through carefully, for upon him rests the success or failure of his organization's policy. He learns to take responsibility and thus develops his character and personality. He learns also how to defend his position before the employer, the public and his own fellow workers, when he must explain to them the aims, tactics and policies of the union.

But as the functions of our International grew and its position became better defined we began to realize that these active members who had acquired experience in our union's affairs could be made even more effective if they could add to their experience the special training offered by our Educational Department.

We still believe that the function of Workers' Education is to assist in the all-important task of making our world a better place for all. The truth is clear that it is the mission of the workers themselves to abolish the inequalities and injustices which they suffer, and that they can accomplish this only through organization. But it is equally clear that economic strength is much more effective if directed by intelligent, well informed, clear thinking men and women.

Therefore, we arranged activities designed to give the members of the Union those facts of the social science which may serve as a basis for sound conclusions, may help create true social and spiritual values, and may train them for active and successful participation in the labor movement, as leaders and workers. With this in view, our International organized an Educational Department in 1917, and the 1925 convention authorized an annual appropriation of \$17,500 for the following two years.

Not only to members who have acquired experience, however, does our Educational Department offer activities. Its program is so arranged as to satisfy the various groups composing our International Union. All its activities are, of course, open to our entire membership; but quite naturally each individual is appealed to most by those that are best suited to his needs.

Thus, members of executive boards, paid and unpaid officers of the Union, shop chairmen, are more likely than any others to be interested in studying the economics of our industry, its influence upon the policies and tactics of the American Labor movement in general and our union in particular, the labor situation in basic industries, the history of our International and shop economics. Active members of the rank and file of our union, on the other hand, will be interested also in knowing the place of the workers in history and in keeping abreast of current events in the industrial and labor world, and in making a social study of literature. Trade union women will be particularly interested in a discussion of the organizability of women and their places in the labor movement. The wives of our members may be interested in studying the power of women as consumers, how to acquaint children with the labor movement, the contribution of trade unionism to the welfare of the family, the part the trade unionist's wife can play in the labor movement. Every group will be interested in social psychology, a social interpretation of American literature and social tendencies in modern literature, but the instructor will vary the handling of his material from group to group, taking into consideration the knowledge of the persons in them.

The Educational Department of our International provides a program of activities for the less active as well as the more active members, for small groups as well as for larger ones and even includes in this program the families of our members. We have adopted the plan of having lecturers speak at local meetings on some labor, social or economic problems of interest to the audience. These talks usually last from 30 to 40 minutes, and are followed by a short period of questions. The discussions are conducted in the language best understood by the group, whether English, Yiddish, Italian or Russian. Of course, to carry through this program we must enlist the cooperation of our local managers, and executive boards and must hold periodic meetings of the Joint Educational Committee consisting of representatives of our various locals in New York and vicinity. We are getting the cooperation of our local unions in this now as always.

We still continue to believe that facts, not opinions, should be the basis of our work; that workers' education should concern itself only with what has been proven to be

Indisputably true. Unproved theories have a value in all human activity, but effectiveness and success are more probable if action is based on what is known to be true. We are especially interested, of course, in such information as will be of benefit to the Labor Movement. But we try to give our students material and facts from which they may draw sound and accurate conclusions, and to develop in them mental habits and skill which will enable them to reach such conclusions.

We have continued to give much attention to the arrangement of sociables and have been particularly pleased with the success achieved. These entertainments usually consist of a dance and group singing followed by refreshments, and have served the excellent purpose of bringing the various union groups into closer contact and of stimulating sociability and good comradeship. These sociables held Saturday nights and Sunday afternoons in New York City and vicinity are arranged under the auspices of our Educational Department and chiefly in cooperation with some of our local unions.

Entertainments

Entertainment, social and recreational activities make a special appeal to the younger people in our Union. We need not emphasize the importance of providing such activities for young members. No organization can succeed unless the allegiance, enthusiasm and energy of the young people is placed at its disposal.

The entertainment prepared to celebrate our eleventh anniversary was typical of our large productions as well as of smaller ones of similar kind given in various parts of the city and attended by our members and their families.

An extraordinary program was prepared for this occasion. The festival began with a beautiful musical program performed by fine artists. The most important feature of the evening was the dramatization of Walt Whitman's poem "The Mystic Trumpeter" arranged and staged by James E. Phillips, and performed for the first time.

Humanity's Future Visioned

"The Mystic Trumpeter" is Walt Whitman's great vision of humanity's future in which he voices his hopes and

aspirations for the race. It gives a complete picture of the struggles of man through ages of oppression and suffering. The pageant was staged in 20 tableaux-vivants and required 150 characters including dancers and chorus.

Joyful voices were heard everywhere and congratulations were extended on the fact that Whitman's great poem which conveys a social message to suffering humanity, had been dramatized and staged for the first time by our International. In addition to our members in the cast there were also members of the Electrical Workers, Lithographers, Pullman Poters, Bookkeepers' Union and Brookwood students and Workmen's Circle members. The entertainment which was attended by 2,500 people, ended with a dance. Some make the mistake of judging workers' education by class and lecture room attendance. But we believe that workers' education expresses itself in many ways. We believe the introduction of dramatics and pageants into the labor movement is very important. This is the most effective medium of dramatizing the labor movement and at the same time it offers young trade unionists an opportunity for self-expression. Naturally, it will stimulate in them a greater interest in the movement. Such performances will surely attract older people also, to whom it will be a reflection of their own past experiences.

Unfortunately, most people nowadays hardly ever express themselves through the creative arts, music, vocal and instrumental, dancing and dramatics. The urban population, and most workers are city dwellers—are willing to pay much to see others perform no matter how uninspiring it may be. This is true even of most of our national games—baseball, football, where thousands express themselves vicariously.

The Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. has given much time and effort to stimulate the interest of its members in self expression through the creative arts. We believe it is the function of the labor movement, through workers' education, to provide the members and their families with the activities which will meet their social, cultural and artistic needs. This influenced us to stage such an elaborate pageant. Our members took pride in the fact that it was our International that did it, and members of other unions were delighted that it had been done by a trade union.

We believe that nothing helps more to develop a spirit of

sociability, of fellowship and good will than sociables, dramatics, pageants, group singing and other kinds of entertainment. Workers who sing, play and dance together will fight together for their common cause.

Educational Activities for Workers' Wives

As part of its activities, our Educational Department prepared a series of articles dealing with the problem of the wives of trade unionists. These appeared in "Justice" and in "Labor Age," and the attention of our members' wives was called to them.

We realize that a better future for humanity cannot be achieved without the assistance of women. Our hopes in the great task we have undertaken will be much greater if the mothers are intelligently enough informed to carry it on.

As workers we want our children to understand the problems, purposes and aims of the labor movement for which their parents endured so many hardships, and for which some even made the supreme sacrifice. Who can bring these things to the child's consciousness like the mother?

But if the labor movement is to win the full-hearted support and cooperation of the wives of its members, they must be taken into the confidence of the organization and inspired to realize their own importance as a social force. In order that their husbands may frankly share their experiences with them, they must be fully informed about the affairs of the organization. So informed they will be willing to place at the disposal of the labor movement their will-power, practical common sense and influence, to aid their husbands in their daily struggles.

The Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. has long realized the need of meeting this situation, and therefore, inaugurated a series of educational activities for the wives of our members. We arranged lectures and discussions and invited the women to attend. At that time a special appeal was made to the husbands that where there were young children to be taken care of, they should stay at home and relieve their wives for that evening.

Not wishing to confine ourselves to the wives of our own members only, the articles which we prepared dealt with the

problems of workers' wives in general rather than with those of our members. These articles were reproduced in 30 per cent of the labor press. For next year we are planning to increase our efforts in this direction.

Our Educational Methods

We regard it as one of the most important functions of our Educational Department to emphasize to both officers and members the significance of participating in the union's activities and also to assist in interpreting our union and the labor movement to them,—workers and citizens of an industrial democracy.

Since teaching methods are influenced by the instructor's knowledge of the groups to whom he is presenting his material, our department makes every effort to acquaint the instructors with the character, social and racial background, and experience of the group, to give him some idea of their social aims, aspirations and hopes for the future. This knowledge virtually makes the teacher a member of the group and puts the class on a more informal footing.

This knowledge of the group also helps the instructor to realize that although some members of the group lack conventional systematic education, their experience accumulated in trade union activity, where they were held responsible for making decisions, for solving problems, and where they had to fight for every inch of ground gained on the economic field, more than makes up for that lack, so that the subject matter he presents must be prepared with a full recognition of their experience as well as their lack of a systematic academic education.

Most of our instructors have found it advisable, therefore, to begin by giving a body of information and then opening the subject for discussion, the students using both this information and that gained from experience in discussion.

Our instructors also have to remember that their students will use scarcely any texts, for several reasons. First of all, most of them have little time for reading. They come to our activities after work; in large cities they spend a good deal of time travelling. As human beings they have many other interests—friends, the theatre, music, amusements in general, and particularly union affairs. Besides this, the old texts

available at present make small appeal to adults, and especially to worker students, who know life from experience before turning to books. Very few of the texts that have a place in workers' classes have as yet been written.

We are fortunate in having among our instructors and lecturers men and women of high character and ideals, who are in sympathy with the social aims toward the achievement of which our members are striving. In addition, they are highly qualified in their particular fields.

Activities

Our Educational Department conducts various activities for members in parts of the city where they reside. An attempt is made to make these accessible to all and adapted to all interests.

Workers' University

The Workers' University consists of classes which meet in Washington Irving High School and in our own I. L. G. W. U. Building and include advanced instruction in labor, social sciences and cultural subjects. Those who attend these classes have had preliminary training elsewhere.

Extension Division

During the past few years we have been extending our activities to such of our members as cannot attend regular classes, by offering courses and individual lectures at local meetings, in local offices and wherever we could find them in organized groups. We are planning to spend a great deal of effort developing these so-called extension activities, all the while, of course, continuing our regular classes, since we find we can reach many more workers through them, and help these workers to become better informed and more active unionists.

a. Courses for groups of members are given in offices of local unions, where members meet for organization purposes.

b. Talks and discussions are given at business meetings of local unions, members attend these meetings, and listen to the lectures before beginning the business of the evening.

Both are given in the language best understood by the group—English, Yiddish, Russian or Italian.

The English Language

The Educational Department assists in every possible way, members who wish to study the English language.

Classes are either arranged for them in the public schools where teachers are assigned by the Board of Education, or smaller groups outside the schools are assisted in engaging competent teachers. We believe that a knowledge of the language of the country in which workers make their home is most essential to their cultural as well as to their economic advancement.

Education During Strikes

During the strikes conducted by our International Union, our Educational Department cooperates with the speakers' and entertainment committees in providing recreational and educational activities for the strikers. These include concerts, lectures, exhibitions of moving pictures. An attempt is made to call the attention of the strikers to the opportunities offered by our Educational Department.

During our last strike, the department arranged entertainments for the wives and children of the strikers near their homes. At these meetings, women speakers explained the significance of the strike and inspired them to support their husbands in their struggle for a better life.

Out of Town Activities

Our Educational Department conducts activities for our members in other cities. Wherever such exist, special arrangements are made with the local labor college for our members. Excellent activities of a recreational and educational character are being carried on by our Philadelphia Dressmakers' Union, Local 50. The committee, headed by Sisters Ada Rosenfelt and Sarah Fredgant, are tireless in their efforts to be of service to their members. Their program includes trips to Washington, New York and other places of interest.

Physical Training

From the inception of our Educational Department we have always emphasized the importance of recreation and physical training. To carry out this aim, we have city classes in physical training, folk and social dancing and swimming classes in the pools of many public school buildings. The last activity is carried on with the cooperation of the Board of Education. All the classes are under the leadership of competent instructors. In our recreational plan we include hikes and trips. During the summer we carry on these activities in Unity House.

Music and Drama

The Educational Department makes special arrangements by which tickets for theatres and concerts are sold to members of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union at reduced prices. Through our department scores of our members subscribed to the Theatre Guild and were enabled to see the six excellent production for \$6.00.

Books and Teaching

Our Educational Department continues to render its members a great service by recommending books and purchasing them at reduced cost. Lately, our members have also been consulting us regarding their children's education or talent, whether instrumental, vocal or dancing. In each case we are glad to bring them in touch with teachers and artists who interview these children without charge and assist them in their development. We feel it is most appropriate that our Educational Department should be helpful to our members in every way.

Members of Other Unions

We keep up our tradition of admitting members of other unions to our classes, lectures and various entertainments. We feel that this stimulates interest in the problems of the labor movement and brings the workers of various trades closer together.

Our Educational Page

The Educational Department continues to conduct an educational page in our weekly publication "Justice." Through it we inform members of our various activities and stimulate their interest in them. There, too, our readers can find a brief description of the weekly lessons given in our various classes. We also keep our readers informed of the latest developments in workers' education.

Management

The Educational Committee of the General Executive Board plans our educational activities. The work is administered by the Educational Department which calls upon Educational Committees of local unions for advice and co-operation. The Educational Committee consists of Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff, chairman, and Vice-Presidents Luigi Antonini, Mollie Friedman, David Gingold, Julius Hoch-

man, Elias Reisberg; and Fannia M. Cohn, executive secretary of the Educational Department.

Students' Council

Each class elects two members to serve on a Students' Council. This Council helps the Educational Department to keep in touch with activities and consults with the members of the Faculty. They express the wishes and sentiments of their fellow students in the choice of subjects, and the arrangement of the program, etc. In this way, they enable us to discover and satisfy the educational needs of our members.

General Time Schedule

Our school year at the Workers' University consists of about 24 weeks, from November 12 to April 16.

The activities of the Extension Division are continued over a longer period.

Classes meet evenings, Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings.

We are constantly making an effort to interest our members in Dr. Louis Levine's admirable history of our International Union, as it presents in a vivid fashion both a picture of industrial development in our industry and a comprehensive survey of the growth of unionism in it; its culmination in our Union, and our plans for the future. Perhaps even more valuable is its human quality, its reflection of the lives and social aspirations of the tens of thousands of our members who built our International. We are gratified to know, too, that our history is being used constantly in universities, colleges and workers' classes, in the study of the labor movement. Because of this wide reference use of it in various college and public libraries, the importance of the book far outreaches its sale. We provide our members with this book at half price from our Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.

Courses Given

Course No. 1. The Workers in Modern Civilization.

In this course typical events and problems in the world of labor and industry are studied in the attempt to find answers to the problems of the worker of today.

Course No. 2. History of the I. L. G. W. U.

Outstanding features of the History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union based on Dr. Levine's "Women's Garment Workers".

Course No. 3. Current Labor Problems.

This course treats of recent developments in Labor Control, Shop Economics, Unemployment Insurance, Union Cooperative Life Insurance, Women in Industry, Labor Banks, the Cooperative Movement, Company Unions, Government Intervention in Industrial Disputes, Labor Press, Workers' Education, Labor and the Law, the Union Label, Compensation, Waste in Industry, Scientific Management, Labor and publicity, Giant Power Methods of Trade Union Organization and other subjects of equal interest and importance to the labor movement. Special attention is given to the development and problems of the Women's Garment Industry. These are discussed by specialists in each particular field.

Course No. 4. Trade Union Policies and Tactics.

Current developments in thought and practice in trade union policies and tactics.

Course No. 5. Economic Problems of Working Women.

The position of women in industry and in trade unions, her permanence as an industrial factor, her organizability.

Course No. 6. Economics of the Women's Garment Industry.

A survey of present day conditions in the women's garment industry. It includes a study of the rise to prominence of sub-contracting and outside shops; the attempts of employers to move their manufacturing plants to the country to escape union control over conditions; the extent to which the industry is mechanized; the size of the units in finance, equipment and working forces; the history of the shorter work-week; the higher wage rate, and unemployment insurance in the industry.

Course No. 7. Psychology and the Labor Movement.

An analysis of fundamental laws of the human mind and common mistakes in thinking. Special attention is given to the problems of labor aims, organization tactics, leadership, etc. Illustrations are drawn from the experience of the workers.

Course No. 8. Contemporary American Literature.

A study of the principal tendencies in contemporary American literature. Special stress is laid on the social forces underlying the changes in the current American novel and drama.

Course No. 9. Shop Economics.

The shops in which the members of the I. L. G. W. U. work are used as the basis for the study of economic America, its classes, its methods of production and distribution, as well as waste in industry, financial control, interlocking and absentee ownership.

Course No. 10. Economic Basis of Modern Civilization.

A study of the natural resources of the great production areas of the world, the methods of production employed,

their offset on the social, political and economic life of the people and their relations to the Labor Movement.

Course No. 11. Public Discussion.

To give the student training in effective studying, writing and speaking; to familiarize him with parliamentary procedure.

Course No. 12. Civilization in America.

A study of the economic, political and cultural development of American life, and the influence upon it of immigration.

Course No. 13. Lectures on Labor and Social Problems.

Given at business meetings of local unions.

Educational Activities in Which the I. L. Q. W. U. Participates

Our efforts are no longer confined to the activities of our Educational Department alone. We have come to realize how important to the labor movement many of the expressions of workers' education are. Hence, our International actively participates in a number of them through our Educational Department.

Workers' Education Bureau

As one of the founders of the Workers' Education Bureau we have been affiliated with it since its inception. The Workers' Education Bureau is the national agency within the trade union movement for the development of workers' education. It serves the labor movement by helping to form labor colleges, workers' classes and by publishing books and pamphlets. Our International has always felt the importance of its work and has from the beginning actively shared in it, through our Educational Department.

Brookwood Labor College

We have always realized the importance of the only resident labor college in the United States, Brookwood, at Katonah, N. Y., where the labor movement sends its young men and young women who give promise of ability to serve it. They expect these young people to receive a training there that will make them more effective and more useful to the movement. Our International has always actively participated in the work, maintaining a scholarship at Brookwood.

Brookwood is making an important contribution to the Labor movement through its summer institutes and week-end conferences. Especially significant was the First Woman's Auxiliary Institute held there last summer.

Pioneer Youth of America

Only too often our children are brought up in an atmosphere hostile to the trade union movement. Their attention is seldom called to the achievements of the labor movement to which their parents dedicated their lives. In addition, the school and the playground often develop a standardized type of behavior and an outlook which may be unsympathetic to our own. Questioning is not often enough encouraged, and we are sometimes shocked to find our children indifferent to the ideals for which the Labor Movement stands.

Realizing the importance of environment, even during the hours of play and of an atmosphere where initiative is encouraged, we actively participated in the formation of Pioneer Youth of America with a group of representatives of the labor movement, educators and parents who realize the importance of an environment in which children can develop initiative and can become acquainted with the social forces at work in our civilization, and be stimulated to develop a better understanding of the organized trade union movement and the place it occupies in our modern society.

To achieve our ends, Pioneer Youth of America organizes clubs for children from nine to eighteen and as one of its most important activities conducts a summer camp, established in 1924. This year it equipped its own camp in Rifton, N. Y. The camp is experimental in attitude and has won the commendation of prominent educators and leaders in the camp movement. We assisted with money and with time in fitting up and managing this camp.

Manumit School

We have long realized the great part that the labor movement of our country has played in the establishment of a free public school system. We realize, too, that it must make findings as to the best teaching methods. Many groups in society are experimenting in this field and we feel that the labor movement, too, should be studying and placing its results at the disposal of all its members so that they may be inspired to work for the necessary changes in our public school system. To that end we aided in the foundation of Manumit School, located at Pawling, N. Y., a resident school for children from nine to fourteen, with special rates for the children of trade unionists. The school is supported by an asso-

ciation of men and women active in the labor movement and of educators and parents and there an experiment in modern educational methods is being carried on. We have actively participated in its development.

Labor Age

Labor Age is a monthly publication devoted to the interests of organized labor. Issued by a group of men and women active in the Labor Movement, it devotes its columns to every phase and interest of the American Labor movement. It is especially distinctive for its articles which have exposed the new American "invention" of company unions. It devotes much attention to that other American evil—the injunction as used in labor disputes. Our International in general and the Educational Department in particular is helping the development of this publication.

Art Education for Workers

The problem of workers and workers' children gifted with artistic talent and capable of expressing themselves through art, and thus contributing to the labor movement has long occupied our thoughts. We were concerned in assisting them in securing the training they needed, but even more, that the labor movement as such should participate in the development of art. To that end, our International actively participated in the establishment of the Workers' Art Scholarship Committee, composed of representatives of a number of trade unions, our own among them, and contributed to its funds. This committee has established a scholarship for study and travel abroad, and has already made one award.

Publications of Our Educational Department

For our tenth anniversary, Dr. H. J. Carman of Columbia University, Department of History, and member of our faculty, wrote an article entitled "The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and Workers Education." This appeared in Workers' Education Quarterly, issue of February, 1926—the official publication of the Workers' Education Bureau of America. Afterwards a reprint appeared in a pamphlet of 15 pages.

In this article Dr. Carman gives a historical appreciation of the achievements of our Educational Department. He discusses the great moral contribution which our International

made to the labor movement and to society in general. He believes that to the student of human progress one of the most interesting, and at the same time, significant movements in America today, is workers education. The credit, he says, for blazing the trail in this field of labor endeavor, belongs primarily to the I. L. G. W. U. He makes an interesting analysis of the aims and principles of our Educational Department. To quote:

"In the first place, they believe that Workers' Education ought to afford every worker an opportunity for self-development and for self-expression. Consequently, it has always been a matter of prime concern to them that the movement enable the members of the Union to enjoy the advantage of coming in contact with some of the finer intellectual things of life, missed in childhood or denied them under the present industrial order. In fact, they have repeatedly insisted that no scheme for Workers Education was worthy of the name unless it afforded the kind of education which would strengthen and broaden character, develop discrimination and create ability to form sound judgments. Or, to put it differently, the right type of workers' education should give the toiler opportunity to develop his personality, obtain a new moral and spiritual outlook and elevate his dignity, self-confidence and self-respect.

"In the second place, the Educational Committee, has from the outset, emphasized the part which Workers' Education ought to play in developing intelligent, well-informed leaders within the union. In their opinion the members of any union have a right to expect that their officers be fully acquainted not only with the problems of their own organization but with social, industrial and labor problems in general. Indeed, they have always insisted that the workers' classroom should be a kind of clearing house where the worker could bring his problems for discussion, where he might learn more about the aims and policies of his own industry, and where he might familiarize himself with some of the more outstanding aspects of modern civilization. To this end they have consistently maintained that Workers' Education should not be only controlled by the unions but that it should instill in the workers a strong sense of loyalty for his or her organization and a desire for constructive leadership.

"They have, furthermore, never lost sight of the fact that our social order is not something fixed, static and unchanging, but rather something which is constantly being reshaped and transformed. Moreover, they have seen that in this process of change and readjustment—in the attempt which enlightened peoples the world over were making to evolve a better social order—organized labor, if properly prepared morally and intellectually, was destined to play an increasingly important part. In other words, they have seen clearly that labor must be trained if it is to grasp the opportunity awaiting it and do its full share in helping to create a world order in which society will be organized on a more cooperative basis, where love and fellowship will replace selfishness and hate, where economic and social justice will prevail, and where the welfare of all mankind rather than that of the few will be the aim of all human activity. In this connection it is important to note that they realized that the mere accumulation of facts was not enough and that workers' education, if it were really to fulfill its purpose, should develop on the part of the worker a social conscience and a sense of responsibility to the labor movement.

"Finally, the Educational Department has from the first insisted that workers education should not be confined to the classroom, that it should be administered on a democratic basis and that it should be financed by the workers themselves, either through their local or international. They have taken this three-fold stand largely because they believe that the educational work should reach as many as possible and that every worker should feel some sense of responsibility for its conduct and support."

This pamphlet is distributed free at our Educational Department.

Articles on Workers' Wives and Organization of Women

A series of ten articles has been prepared by our Educational Department dealing with various phases of the organization of women and the problems of women in the Labor Movement. As mentioned elsewhere in this report, a series of articles was also prepared for workers' wives. These deal with the problems that confront them as wives of trade unionists, as mothers and as members of the community. These articles appeared in "Labor Age" and "Justice" and were repro-

duced in 30 per cent of the labor press. They are being extensively used as reference material in labor colleges, workers' classes and courses on labor problems in the conventional colleges and universities. The articles were prepared by Fannia M. Cohn, Executive Secretary of the Educational Department.

Outline on the Economics of the Women's Garment Industry

The necessity of having a detailed outline prepared on the economics of the women's garment industry was realized. The preparation of this outline requires much research work as very little has been published on the subject. Brookwood Labor College too, has felt the need of such an outline for its students. Therefore, the Educational Department gratefully accepted Brookwood's assistance on this research and Brookwood entrusted the work to Dr. A. A. Freidrich, then member of its faculty. This outline will soon be published in booklet form.

Primer on the I. L. G. W. U.

To be helpful to our members in understanding their roles in the union and in the labor movement as a whole, the Educational Department has prepared a primer on our International Union. The necessity of such a primer was also felt because of the realization that activities of an international trade union nowadays are so complicated and vast that the average member is hardly acquainted with them. He has, therefore, little idea how manifold and strenuous are the functions of an International Union officer. In addition very few members are well-versed on the relations between the International and the local unions. The local union's relationship to the Joint Board or the relationship of the International to the A. F. of L. is likely to be vague in his mind. Most important of all, of course, is his own relationship toward the local and international unions, his obligations and privileges. The primer, for free distribution among members aims to expound these relationships. It will be useful not only to our old members who are better acquainted with the structure and function of our organization. It will be even more useful to those new members who constantly join our union.

Dr. Sylvia Kopald, a member of our faculty for many years, was entrusted with this work. The primer, now ready for

distribution, is in the form of questions and answers and does not exceed 5,000 words.

The Bulletin of the Educational Department of 1927-1928

Our bulletin for 1927-1928 is most attractive. The front page cut done by a prominent artist, depicts a man and woman in a dark factory background looking toward the sun, and pointing to an inscription "Knowledge is Power." The bulletin contains 24 pages. Several of them are devoted to a description of the aims of our department. The remainder describes our methods of management and the various activities we offer. This bulletin is for free distribution among our members, and request for it come from divers organizations and individuals.

Outline on "Social and Political History of the United States"

Dr. Carman's outline on the "Social and Political History of the United States" is based on a course of 17 lessons given for us at our Workers' University. The outlines were first mimeographed and distributed in the classroom. Afterwards they were revised and printed in "Justice," our weekly publication, and then appeared in booklet form.

This outline is a conscientious attempt to interpret America to those whose familiarity with our history is vague and without sequence. It seeks to point out some of the most important events in our growth from a land settlement to a world power.

But the true significance of this outline rests in the process by which it came into being. It began as a syllabus for the class in Social and Political History of the U. S., conducted by the author in the Workers' University of our I. L. G. W. U. Over a period of several years, the Outline was subjected to those changes and revisions in the classroom which result when scholarship is linked with experience, when theory is tested by practice, when, in a word, labor and learning join hands in the high adventure of a workers' education. Because of all that has gone to make up this Outline, we can recommend it to all workers, as well as to others in our citizenship, who are seeking a better understanding of the nature of American institutions and of our national life.

We are glad to know that this outline is being used in many labor colleges and workers' classes as well as in many

conventional educational institutions, and is also being reprinted in many labor publications.

Trade Union Policies and Tactics

Dr. David J. Saposs of Brookwood faculty, gave a course on "Trade Union Policies and Tactics" in our classes over a period of several years. The outline which he prepared for our members was found very useful. Afterwards, just as in the case of Dr. Carman's outline, this outline was subjected to the changes and revisions which result when scholarship and theory is linked with experience and practice. This outline is used in many workers' classes and conventional educational institutions. At the request of many of our members and labor colleges we have made a reprint of this outline in booklet form, as this originally appeared in "Justice," our weekly publication.

Conclusions

The Workers Education Movement to which we have made a notable contribution, has been successful in bringing together the men of theory and the men of action—the economists, historians and men of letters with the active trade unionists. This association will bring important results as it will lead to a better understanding among the various groups and will also develop a more sympathetic approach to the labor movement.

The influence of the International, through the work of our Educational Department, is continually growing. It has grown to be a center of information for the labor movement as well as for the higher educational institutions. The labor movement is looking to our Educational Department for inspiration in social and educational activities. We are being consulted by college and university students for information on labor problems, workers' education and on kindred subjects. Our activity in this direction is not confined to the United States alone. Inquiries are continually coming to our department from various parts of the world. Our members, old and young, take pride in the knowledge that their International functions intellectually and spiritually through our Educational Department.

International Union Bank

The International Union Bank was organized by our Union late in 1923, as a result of a movement begun toward the end of 1922, with the cooperation of the International Fur Workers' Union, the International Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers Union, the International Pocketbook Workers' Union, and the Forward Association. Officers of these organizations were represented on its Board of Directors. It was opened for business on January 5, 1924, and is, therefore, now more than four years old.

It was reported to the Philadelphia convention that the bank, in the first two years of its existence had grown from a capital and surplus of \$500,000 to one of nearly four and a half millions. We mentioned then that in spite of the fact that it had been predicted that the bank would suffer during a strike period through withdrawal of funds by both workers and firms, the International Union Bank withstood well the struggle of 1924. It has also successfully withstood the numerous attempts of the Communists to discredit it.

In the period since the Philadelphia convention, the bank has continued its record of service and usefulness to our workers and to the members of other labor bodies. Even more, during the strike of 1926, and in the financial crisis which followed, it proved to be of great aid to our organization in the advancing of loans to tide us over the crisis.

Due to our very large indebtedness to the International Union Bank and to other banks left us as a result of Communist misrule, we were obliged to part with some of the stock owned by our Union. We no longer have the majority control of the bank. The Bank, nevertheless, is still managed and controlled in the same spirit of service to the various labor organizations and their members, and we believe fully deserves the support of our membership and of the labor movement.

The President of the Board of Directors of the Bank is Mr. S. Fillin, who succeeded Brother Baroff and President Sigman in this capacity, and its cashier is Brother Philip Kaplowitz, who has been with the bank since its establishment.

Our Publications

The three weekly journals, issued by the I. L. G. W. U.—Justice, Gerechtigkeit and Giustizia—have undergone the following changes since the period of the last convention.

S. Yanofsky, who had been editor of our publications for several years, resigned at the Philadelphia convention. The G. E. B. in January, 1925, appointed Brother Max D. Danish, who had been managing editor of Justice since 1920, as chief editor of our publications. Subsequently, Brothers Phillip Kurinsky and Paul Dembitzer have been added to the staff. Bro. R. Ronde is managing our Italian publication—Giustizia—as in former years.

The editorial policy of our publications reflects the opinion and policy of the General Executive Board on all matters affecting problems of the organization and of the industry. Our journals, during the period of Communist misrule, like the G. E. B., had been confronted with the problem of setting forth all issues fairly and squarely before our membership, while the Communist leadership of the Joint Board carried on its work of disruption and treachery. In the struggle of the Union to rebuild control throughout the industry, after the disastrous 1926 cloak strike, our publications have aided greatly in placing the situation at all times clearly before our membership.

Nevertheless, in spite of their great service, we recommend that the incoming General Executive Board be given the power to deal with the matter of reducing the tremendous expense which these publications entail of almost \$70,000 a year.

We desire to lay emphasis here that within the last three or four years the "Jewish Daily Forward" has given a thorough and fair account of our activities from day to day in its labor and general news columns from the point of view of the best interests of our organization and has met the needs of our members who read the Jewish press. So far as our Italian members are concerned, we have given support to the Italian labor daily, "Il Nuovo Mundo," which similarly covers in a fair trade union manner occurrences in our Union.

There is, of course, a paramount need for an official publication of the Union.

We, therefore, recommend that the incoming General Executive Board be given authority to meet this problem in a manner that would yield best results to the International organization.

Auditing Department

The Auditing Department of the I. L. G. W. U. continued in the period since the last convention under the supervision of our General Auditor, F. Nathan Wolf, until the time he was appointed to head the staff of accountants in the office of Impartial Chairman Raymond V. Ingersoll in February, 1927. Since that time an accounting firm has supervised our auditing.

As in former years, the work of our auditors covered not only the New York territory, but our organizations in the Middle West, the East and in Canada. In addition, it has been called upon to make investigations for our joint boards and locals when violations of agreements were suspected or reported. In the instance of a newly organized corset factory in Chicago, the services of our auditors were engaged as the basis for the raising of wages. As in former years, this department is efficiently conducted and meets the needs of the General Office.

Research and Record Departments

It was reported to the Philadelphia convention that this department had instituted an extensive program of economy by reducing its staff to less than half its former size, without impairing its usefulness to the General Office.

This department, in addition to its task of keeping the records of our office and mailing out our publications, also maintains a complete newspaper clipping file, covering current events in our Union, and in the labor movement.

We reported to the last convention that we had engaged a research worker but were unable to maintain a research bureau at full cost, and had therefore discontinued this service. Since then, Miss Elsie Gluck, who has been of assistance in connection with our organization work amongst women, has, in addition, done research work for us on a limited scale.

Propaganda and Publicity Bureaus

One of the tasks of reconstruction within our Union was the need of informing our membership, and the labor movement all over the country, of the true state of our affairs. Our International, therefore, engaged Bro. Paul Dembitzer, formerly a lecturer for the Workmen's Circle and connected with the Jewish Socialist Verband in this country, who had extensive experience in the European labor movement as well, to direct the ~~work~~ of a propaganda department. Brother Dembitzer made in this capacity several tours of the country, and arranged forums in New York City as well, on matters of interest to our membership, including the proportional representation issue. Brother Dembitzer also contributes to "Gerechtigkeit" on matters of interest to our readers.

Publicity in the English-speaking press was carried on extensively, and the International engaged Mr. Richard Rohman, who has been connected with the labor press and who handled publicity for the general strike, to cover the press during the critical period of our organization. Mr. Rohman was also assigned to aid in the Philadelphia dress campaign, in the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign, and worked generally in connection with all phases of publicity within our organization.

CHANGES IN OUR CONSTITUTION

It is our belief that the reframing of our constitution as a whole is a task which requires the thorough consideration of the Law Committee in order, first, to clarify many ambiguous wordings, which have caused considerable doubt as to interpretation, and, secondly, in order, if possible, to eliminate repetitious clauses and thus make briefer and more compact the body of our by-laws.

For example, many vexatious questions have arisen with regard to the interpretation of Section 19, of Article VIII of our constitution, particularly of the phrase therein "which involves business dealings with a manufacturer in the women's wear industry, such as salesmen." We believe, therefore, that a clear interpretation of this section is necessary and we suggest this matter for discussion by the delegates.

We also believe the following amendments to our constitution, providing for checks on the finances of our affiliated

locals and joint boards, fixing one election period for all locals affiliated with joint boards, safeguarding against election frauds, and protecting our Union against failure by members and locals to observe the laws, rules and policies of our Union, should be incorporated into the constitution. We, therefore, recommend them to the convention for consideration:

Finances: Employers' Securities

In the past two years, both in the instance of the New York Joint Board of the Cloak and Dress Industry and of Local 41, the Tuckers', Hemstitchers' and Pleaters' Local, we have had examples of the misappropriation and expenditure of employers' securities by these bodies. We suggest an amendment to the constitution, providing:

1. All securities deposited by employers for the faithful performance of their agreements shall be deposited in a trust fund under the control of the International, or jointly by the locals, Joint Board and the International. No funds shall be withdrawn without the signature of the General Secretary-Treasurer of the International.

2. Only such securities as have been definitely declared forfeited in accordance with the agreement shall be withdrawn from the trust fund.

3. The withdrawal or use of funds in a manner other than provided for in the above provisions shall be considered an offense against the constitution of our International as well as against the existing laws of the State.

Finances: Local and Joint Board Funds

The events of the past four or five years have shown that in many instances the treasuries of locals and joint boards were despoiled by false and unfaithful administrations without any adequate accounting and that our constitution contains no provision for calling such offenders to account. We can mention such outstanding abuses as the large misappropriations by the New York locals under Communist administration; the destruction of special benefit funds by similarly conducted locals; the theft of local treasuries after the order of the General Executive Board in December, 1926.

We, therefore, strongly urge that this convention adopt such amendments to our Constitution as will prevent the recurrence of such misappropriation of union funds.

Observance of Our Constitution by Union Officers

The events of the past few years have similarly proven that our constitution in its present form does not adequately provide for definite powers to call to account members and union officers who have failed in the observance of the pledge of loyalty and honest conduct. To meet this emergency, which arose in the last elections in several of our locals, the General Executive Board ordered that a pledge which appears on page 152 of this report, be signed by all candidates for local and Joint Board offices, as a test of their eligibility and it is hereby recommended to the convention for inclusion in our Constitution.

Simultaneous Elections for Locals of Joint Board

During all the years of our existence, we have found a very unsatisfactory condition prevailing in our joint boards due to the fact that the various locals constituting the joint boards hold their elections at varying times. This has kept the membership in the unions continually agitated with election and political issues, has tended toward great instability of representation on the joint boards and has diverted attention from economic and industrial matters.

The General Executive Board, therefore, strongly recommends that elections within all locals affiliated with joint boards be held during one month in the year, the naming of such month to be left in the hands of the joint board in each city. It also recommends that the elections of general managers of the joint boards by the membership be held during the same period, and that amendments to this effect be included in our constitution.

Safeguards Against Election Frauds

We herewith reaffirm the recommendation made to the last convention, quoted below. We believe that this change should go into effect thirty days after the adjournment of the convention and should be fully enforced six months after the convention. That recommendation reads:

"The General Executive Board would recommend the adoption of a change in the constitution which would make it obligatory upon all applicants for membership and for all members already holding cards in the I. L. G. W. U. to furnish the office of the local which they wish to enter or the local they

already belong to with two photographs of a small size, one of which is to be pasted on the union book of each member and another on the ledger card to be kept on file in the local office.

We do not wish to close our eyes to the fact that member books have been substituted in the past in some locals in order to enable their illegal holders to vote for union officers; that some strikebreakers have in the past, with or without the connivance of some dishonest local officials, been able to procure or buy member books of deceased or retired members and thus avoid being disciplined by the Union; that suspicions have been aroused during the past year that many persons who were not entitled to it received unemployment benefit by fraud through presenting books which were not theirs; that even in the Unity House, persons, not members of our Union, have made use of other people's books in order to gain admission at much lower rates than what they would otherwise have had to pay.

A photographic likeness of the owner of the book appearing on it, and another one that would be kept on file in the office for identification in case of loss of a book, would do away with these misuses of union books in our organization. We know that some people might raise objections to it on the ground of some old-fashioned sentiment, but we believe that the advantages the Union as a whole would derive from it would outweigh decidedly every objection that might be raised against it."

Proportional Representation

For the last fourteen or fifteen years, on many occasions, whenever political aspirants in our Union wished to develop an "issue", the question of proportional representation would be raised and made the pet football issue. It was brought up time and again in Local 1 and in the other large New York locals. When the Communists came into power, they took this issue over and made it one of their main points of disturbance at the Philadelphia convention.

After much discussion and debate, it was decided at Phila. to submit the issue to a referendum of the membership. The referendum was to be upon an amendment to the Constitution providing for a plan proposed by the Committee on Law, which included a choice between a modified proportional plan, or strict proportional representation. The decision of the convention was that this matter was to be submitted to the membership not later than one year after the convention nor earlier than six months.

In April of 1926, the question of proportional representation was raised at the meeting of the General Executive Board. Because of the emergency of the coming general strike, it was decided, on motion of one of the Communist members of the Board, to postpone the matter for a time.

In November, 1926, immediately after the settlement with the Industrial Council, and at the regular session of the General Executive Board, this matter was again brought up. Because of the crisis then-existing in the New York situation, the matter was not discussed further.

At the first opportunity, when the situation in our Union had been sufficiently cleared, on June 2, 1927, the General Executive Board authorized the appointment of a committee on proportional representation which was to prepare plans for a referendum in October, 1927.

This committee consisted of Vice-Presidents Greenberg, secretary, Dublinsky, chairman, Ninfo, Antonin and Hochman. This committee brought in recommendations to a meeting of the G. E. B. in September, 1927, proposing a plan for discussion and vote on this matter as follows:

1. Articles based on the plan for proportional representation shall be published in our official publications.

2. Every member of the Board should be considered part of the committee to carry through the referendum vote in his respective locality.

3. Locals are to be advised of the plan and asked to appoint three members of their executive boards, to work in conjunction with the committee.

4. Membership meetings shall be called for discussions, the referendum vote to be taken at such meetings by secret ballot.

5. Local unions shall inform committee of time and place of such meetings, to be attended by one member of the committee.

6. At such membership meetings, a committee of the rank and file shall be appointed to act as tellers, who shall count the votes. Members should be advised of the result of the vote before the adjournment of the meeting.

7. A uniform ballot should be printed for the entire membership.

8. These votes shall be taken in the month of October, preferably, and not later than Nov. 15th.

Subsequently, our publications carried a thorough discussion of the existing forms, of the modified plan of proportional representation suggested by the Philadelphia convention, and the strict proportional representation plan. A few open forums were arranged in October by the propaganda bureau in the auditorium of the International building. The subcommittee of the General Executive Board also met with committees of three appointed by each local executive board and addressed the membership meetings of the locals called to discuss the question.

The following was the form of representation approved by the Philadelphia convention. The alternative was, of course, the strict proportional representation plan.

"Local unions with a membership of 300 or less to be represented at conventions by two (2) delegates; local unions with a membership up to one thousand (1000) to be represented by three (3) delegates; local unions with a membership of more than 1000 to be entitled to one (1) delegate for every thousand members or portion thereof."

The result of the vote held during October and November was:

5651 votes cast in favor of the plan approved by the Philadelphia convention.

412 votes cast for the strict proportional representation plan.

It will thus be seen that notwithstanding the propaganda stirred up for years by various groups, the question, when actually submitted to the members, did not even arouse a popular appeal. It confirms our belief that the workers are more concerned with economic and industrial welfare than with issues created for political purposes. We believe, too, that the large majority of those who did vote were unwilling to see three or four large locals, all located in New York City, completely dominate the entire International, so that other branches of the industry and other markets would have little or no opportunity for a consideration of their problems.

OUR UNION AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Conventions of the American Federation of Labor

Our six delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for 1926 and 1927 were: President Morris Sigman, Basilio Desti, Isidore Nagler, Phillip Oretzky, Louis Pinkofsky and Abraham Snyder. All of these delegates, except President Sigman, attended the 46th convention in Detroit, Michigan, October 4-14, 1926, and Brother Nagler represented our International at the 47th convention in Los Angeles, October 3-14, 1927.

The 1926 convention was held while the cloakmakers' general strike was still going on, and our delegates introduced resolution No. 14 which was taken up for immediate consideration by the convention. It read:

WHEREAS, practically 40,000 organized cloakmakers in the city of New York, under the jurisdiction of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have been on strike for the past fourteen weeks to prevent a lowering of the standards of life and work, secured through many years of organized effort and sacrifice, and to save the industry itself from becoming demoralized and leading workers back to sweat shop conditions such as existed before the firm establishment of the Cloakmakers' Union; and

WHEREAS the employers in the cloakmaking industry have and are resorting to every available and conceivable method of warfare, including the injunction process, in their attempt to resist the rightful and justified demands of the organized cloakmakers; and

WHEREAS, the striking cloakmakers have been and are conducting their just struggle of self-defense loyally and courageously in the face of great suffering and privation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED that the American Federation of Labor extends its full support to the striking cloakmakers of New York City, authorizes the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to call immediately on all affiliated unions for financial assistance, urging them to respond speedily and generously so as to assure complete victory to the striking cloakmakers in their present struggle and contest.

President Green recommended the resolution to the delegates and Vice-President Woll, in commenting on the need of aid, said of our Union:

"The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union since its organization has been firmly established, whenever an affiliated organization found itself in distress and needed support, moral or financial, has never failed to respond. It has likewise demonstrated its loyalty and devotion, its anxiety and readiness to assist the labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor, and your committee feels that because of the great principles involved, because of the future welfare of the organized cloakmakers involved in this matter, because of the ready response and loyal and devoted support they have given other workers, that we in convention should not only come to their support morally, but we should likewise express our gratitude and thanks for assistance given in the past by coming to their aid and making the victory of their cause certain."

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote, and immediately after the adjournment of the convention, the following appeal was sent out:

"October 18, 1926.

To the Officers and Members of Organized Labor:

The intense struggle of the striking Cloakmakers' Union was brought to the attention of the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Detroit, Michigan, beginning October 4th. The officers and representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union informed the delegates attending the convention that more than 20,000 striking cloakmakers are fighting to maintain a decent standard of living. They are resisting the imposition of conditions of employment which would ultimately lead to the restoration of the sweatshop and the destruction of their organization.

No group of organized working people had fought more valiantly for the maintenance of union standards, union conditions, and union recognition than these striking cloakmakers, members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The long weeks of struggle and conflict have taxed their financial resources to the utmost. They need financial help so that the men and women who are engaged in this strike may be helped and their families may be provided with the bare necessities of life.

Understanding their needs and the issues involved in the strike, the convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the officers of the American Federation of Labor to issue an appeal to organized labor to rally to the support of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. We therefore appeal to the membership of organized labor to contribute financially and to help in every possible way in bringing this strike of the cloakmakers of New York to a successful termination. No International or National Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has responded more promptly or generously to the appeal of sister organizations, when they were in need of financial assistance, than has the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Therefore, because of the urgent need of the situation and because of the heroic way in which this International Union is fighting for the preservation of Union standards, we urge you to contribute promptly and liberally. The situation is very serious. The striking cloakmakers and those dependent upon them need your help and they need it now. Do not delay action. Act quickly. Send as large an amount of money as is possible for you to contribute. These brave cloakmakers will strive until success crowns their efforts if organized labor will assist them financially and supply them with funds so that they can be supplied with money with which to assist their needy members.

Send all contributions to Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

By order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

WILLIAM GREEN, President,

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary."

Our delegates also introduced the following resolution on organization, which was concurred in and recommended to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.:

Resolution 44. "WHEREAS a considerable portion of the workers in the large and small industrial centers of the United States remain unorganized and thus constitute a menace to the standards won for themselves by the organized workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED that the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor encourage joint organizing efforts on the part of various unions in a given district, with the aid of the central labor body in that district to reach the large body of unorganized workers through joint campaigns."

The following resolutions, introduced by our delegates, were rejected by the convention:

Resolution No. 46. "WHEREAS, the workers of most countries of Europe are in dire straits as a result of the world war and subsequent economic derangement; and

WHEREAS, the workers of the world must help each other in their struggles for human standards of existence; and

WHEREAS, the doors of America have been closed to our suffering European fellow workers through the passage of harsh restrictive laws; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor express itself in favor of the lifting or modification of this ban on immigration, and demand that the doors of America be opened to the oppressed and persecuted workers of Europe."

Resolution No. 47. "WHEREAS, the Citizens' Military Training Camps are an institution supported by open shop employers and wealthy capitalists seeking to impose military training on young workers with the use of the false slogan 'One month's vacation with pay'. be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor inaugurate a campaign against the propaganda of the Citizens' Military Training Camps, and substitute for their slogan, 'Down with war', and be it further

RESOLVED, that the convention of the American Federation of Labor express its stand against the militarization of our youth in the colleges of the country, and its full sympathy with the present movement among the college students of the country against military discipline and training."

• • •

Because of the situation existing in our organization in October, 1927, and because of the distance of the convention city from New York, the G. E. B. decided that Brother Isidore Nagler represent the International at the Los Angeles convention. President Sigman, in the name of our Union, sent a special report to the convention outlining the events which led to the final defeat through their own criminal errors of the Communists and thanking the Federation for its aid both during the strike and in the trying period of reorganization. This was embodied in two resolutions introduced by Brother Nagler at the Los Angeles convention:

"WHEREAS, as a result of a number of specific conditions of industry and employment, it has been the misfortune of the workers in the women's garment industry, organized under International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, to have become the special target of a sinister attack by the Communist element in this country, strongly financed and directed by the Communist Internationale at Moscow, and

"WHEREAS, this onslaught upon the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has resulted in the virtual destruction by the Communist union-wrecking element of several big divisions of said organization of which they gained control for a time, and in destitute conditions for forty thousand cloak-makers in New York City whom they had plunged into a futile and losing strike for over twenty weeks, and

"WHEREAS, in the counter-offensive undertaken by the loyal forces of this International, which resulted in the eliminating of this treacherous and disloyal element from office and influence, it has received the undivided, wholehearted and generous support from President William Green and from the whole Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, be it therefore

"RESOLVED, that this 47th Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., act favorably upon the request of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, to convey officially, on the floor of the convention by means of this resolution, the undying gratitude of the tens of thousands of its members, loyal trade unionists and adherents of the principles and traditions for which the American Labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor stands for, for the unselfish, sincere and highly effective assistance and cooperation given them by President Green and the entire Executive Council in the fight to save their Union from the attack of the union-disruptive Moscow agents, and be it further

"RESOLVED, that now, since the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, after cleaning its house of the Communist pestilence, has undertaken a great drive to repair the damage done by the Communist pilferers, to reestablish union control in the trades under its jurisdiction, and to do other equally constructive trade union work, that it is the sense of this convention to give the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union the same measure of invaluable aid and cooperation which it has given it in the past and which has been so greatly instrumental in checking the spread of Communist disruptive propaganda throughout the American Labor movement."

Resolution of Gratitude for Timely Assistance

"WHEREAS, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has encountered during the past year a tremendously difficult financial situation owing to the fact that its sources of revenue had been for a time nearly destroyed by the Communist disruptive element which made this Union the principal object for its attack in this country, and

"WHEREAS, during that critical period in the life of this International Union, several of the large organizations in the American Federation of Labor, notably the United Mine Workers of America, the International Association of Machinists, the Federation of Hosiery Workers, and many others, have come to its assistance through generous loans, and have thus made possible for this International Union to weather the treacherous storm and to embark later on a reconstruction campaign to rebuild and revitalize the forces of the ladies' garment workers, be it therefore

"Resolved, that the 47th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., act favorably upon the request of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to convey officially, on the floor of this convention by means of this resolution, the heartfelt thanks of its membership to the above-mentioned international unions for their timely, effective, and generous assistance to the ladies' garment workers in the hours of their most critical struggle

to save their union, their only bulwark of defense against sweat shop conditions, and against misery and exploitation, from complete destruction by Communist political adventurers."

President Green's comment on these resolutions was heartening:

"A large percentage of the needle workers in New York are made up of foreign-speaking people, and the Communists, thought that, because of their emotional and temperamental nature, it was a fertile soil in which to work, so they conducted their well-known Moscow dictatorship tactics, and they sought to rule or ruin that great organization. They introduced misery, suffering, violence and murder among these people.

"But I am happy to report that there were many women's garment workers in New York, hundreds and thousands of loyal trade unionists, and it is a great compliment to these workers that when they were the objects of attack they stood like a stonewall in defense of trade unionism. . . . They were put to the test, they were tried in the fiery furnace. Many of them were brutally beaten because they were loyal to us.

"Now I want to say, in behalf of the Executive Council, that these workers can count upon our continued support. We shall be helpful in every way possible; we shall support them in their fight for trade unionism and organized labor."

International Clothing Workers' Federation

The International Clothing Workers' Federation, reorganized with the aid of our International in 1921, held its ninth congress in the Bourse de Travail at Paris, France, in the summer of 1926. Much to our regret, the I. L. G. W. U. was not represented at this convention, as it had not been at the 1925 convention. President Morris Sigman, who was a member of the Executive Bureau, was unable to leave the United States at the time it was held due to the strike situation here, but cabled his greetings to the congress.

The International Clothing Workers' Federation has today affiliated with it practically every needle trade union in Europe but Russia, and practically every union in this country but the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Its membership consists of 29 unions with a total membership of over 315,000 workers, several new organizations having been added to its list since its 1925 convention. Although no request had been sent to this Federation, the Bureau decided to send a con-

tribution of \$400 to our general strike in 1926, and the German clothing workers contributed \$1,200. The International Clothing Workers' Federation publishes a monthly bulletin in several European languages, including English, recording every event of importance in this branch of the labor movement the world over, and keeping in close contact with its affiliated organizations.

One of the important questions discussed at the Paris conference was that of the affiliation of the Russian clothing workers. Following the 1925 congress of the Federation, several conferences were held and many communications exchanged on this matter. The Russian Union made its affiliation dependent on compliance with conditions which included the calling of a conference of all "revolutionary" unions in the clothing industry, including those not affiliated with the International and (2) the affiliation of all unions, including several dual unions in England, France, Germany and Roumania, with the International Federation. This was not acceptable to the congress, which suggested instead as a proper ground for negotiations: (1) unconditional affiliation of the Russian Union and, (2) the affiliation of all bona fide trades unions in the clothing industry.

A very interesting point in this discussion was the destructive work of the Communists in the American unions, and the refusal of our General Executive Board to attend the convention of the Needle Trades Workers' Union in Moscow in April, 1927. This refusal of the I. L. G. W. U. to participate in the conference was not based on any ill will for the needle workers of Russia. In fact the letter of refusal contained an offer of aid to these workers in their struggle for economic freedom and betterment. It read as follows:

"January 4, 1927.

Central Executive Committee, Needle Trades Workers' Union,
M. Sokolinsky, Chairman, J. Khramov, Secretary,
Solianka, 12, Moscow, Russia.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Replying to your invitation extended to the General Executive Board of our Union to attend the 8th congress of your union in Moscow on the 7th of April, 1927, we wish to state the following:

1. Our organization has nothing but good feelings for the needle workers of Russia. It is our sincere hope that their

Union may grow continually in power and acquire full freedom for trade union activity for the protection of their economic interests in both State and private factories.

2. Our members, and our International Union, will always be found ready, whenever called upon, to help the garment and clothing workers of Russia materially and morally, in every struggle for the betterment of their economic lot and their work conditions.

3. Our International Union will not take part in your congress for the reason that your union is affiliated with and is a close part of the Red Trade Union International, which in turn is affiliated with the Communist Internationale, a political organization that has, for several years past, been waging a campaign of malice, calumny and destruction against our International Union, through its American subsidiary organizations, and has nearly succeeded in destroying some of our strongest unions in New York City.

4. Right at this hour, we are engaged in a struggle to eliminate disastrous Communist domination from the New York cloak and dress unions, which has resulted in their recent loss of a general strike after 25 weeks of striking and in the loss of \$30,000,000 in wages to our members. This disaster is the immediate work of the local Communist organization approved and directed by the Moscow central body with which you are affiliated. The damage caused by this Communist political invasion of our trade union will take years to repair, and to this task our International Union is now devoting itself with all its energy and resources, aided by the entire organized workers' movement of our country.

Very earnestly yours,

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
MORRIS SIGMAN, President."

We have mentioned earlier in this section the fact that we received a contribution of \$1,200 from the German Clothing Workers for the general cloak strike of 1926. Somewhat later, in the course of our struggle to put our organization on a sound trade union footing, we received warm greetings from our German brothers who congratulated us on our efforts and told of their similar experiences a few years before, which resulted in the complete defeat of Communist destructive efforts in the German unions.

* * *

Through our affiliation with the Federation, the I. L. G. W. U. was also invited to send delegates to a World Migration Congress in London, May 18 to 21, 1926. This Congress was con-

vened by the International Federation of Trades Unions and the Labor Socialist International. It was impossible for us to participate in the work of this congress which dealt with such problems as the fixing of international regulations that would insure the prompt and smooth transfer of immigrant workers from their unions in the old countries to unions in the U. S., with the development of special organization work and the granting of equal rights to immigrant workers in the trades. We did, however, send a message of greeting to that congress.

Participation in the General Labor Movement

In accordance with the general policy and traditions of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, we have participated in many activities in the general labor movement, both in this country and abroad, without committing our Union to permanent affiliations with any political group or party, but in conformity with our concept of the broad aims of an economic working-class organization.

Relief to Striking American Miners

Probably no cause has so stirred American labor as that of the striking coal miners, members of the United Mine Workers' organization. When the first quarterly meeting of the G. E. B. was held in January, 1926, the anthracite coal miners had been on strike for four long months. A decision was made at that meeting to aid the miners in every way possible, and a conference was called on January 28, 1926, which unanimously decided that each member of the International donate an hour's earnings to the relief fund of the miners. It was hoped in this way to raise a fund of approximately \$100,000. An appeal was sent out by the G. E. B. throughout the country. In New York, the appeal was sent out on February 9, for an hour's work. On the eve of the day on which this hour was to be donated, February 18, L. Hyman, then general manager of the Joint Board, and a puppet of the Communist Party which was fighting the miners, rescinded the appeal on the ground that the strike had been settled. This repudiation had a disastrous effect on the relief movement. The miners were still in great need and would not be collecting their wages if they returned until the 15th of March, and their misery was deeply felt.

In the fall of 1927, a special national conference composed of the heads of International unions and of all the most important state and central bodies of the country was summoned by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to organize aid for 150,000 striking bituminous miners who had been on strike in Pennsylvania, Ohio and sections of Illinois for periods of from seven months to over a year. President Sigman represented the International at this conference, which subsequently sent out a nation-wide appeal.

Immediately thereafter, on December 1, 1927, a city-wide conference of our locals and Joint Boards was held at Webster Hall, to devise means of aiding the coal miners. As a result, stations to receive clothing, food and money donations were opened by every local and by the Joint Board and the International. Our organizations in Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland and Chicago and in the smaller centers also responded to the call. As a result, hundreds of cases of clothing were sent to the miners, much of it being practically new articles of children's and women's clothing. In addition, the International has sent \$5,000. We regret that our Union was not in a position at this time to send a larger amount of money to this organization which has for years been the greatest labor union in the country in one of the most stragetic of industries, and which has always during our own hard times been of aid to us. At the time of the writing of this report, the New York Joint Board has decided to donate one hour's pay, to be worked on March 1, for the miners' relief fund.

Aid to the British Miners

On the very eve of the general strike of the cloakmakers in New York in 1926, the historic and unfortunate English general strike of May, 1926, was declared as a move of sympathy with the miners' struggle. The miners' struggle itself lasted on for several months. At its very outset our International cabled a message of solidarity to the British coal miners, and thereafter, in June, 1926, at a special meeting of the New York members of the General Executive Board, it was voted to donate \$10,000 for the strikers. Half of this amount was sent immediately, \$3,000, from the New York Joint Board and \$2,000 from the general office. A general appeal was also sent out to all of our members, in the very midst of our own general strike.

In August, 1926, Ben Tillett, one of the oldest and best known English labor leaders, visited the United States on a mission to raise funds for the million strikers and their families. He addressed our strikers in their halls and there was a hearty response to his eloquent appeal. Miss Fannia M. Cohn, Executive Secretary of our Educational Department, was assigned to assist the committee from Great Britain in their work here. Mr. Tillett and Miss Ellen Wilkinson, chairman of the Women's Committee of the British Miners' Relief organization, addressed Unity House gatherings. The sum total of contributions is listed in the appropriate schedule.

Efforts in Behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti

There is probably no sadder incident of injustice to labor men in the history of the American labor movement than the death of Nicola Sacco and Bartholomeo Vanzetti in the electric chair, after seven long years of imprisonment and futile effort by the labor world in behalf of these two men, whom we believe to have been innocent of the crime for which they were doomed to death.

It will be recalled that our delegates were the first to introduce a resolution at the American Federation of Labor convention in 1922, which was adopted by the convention at that time, demanding a new trial for these two defenseless victims of race prejudice and class hatred. Subsequently, our own Philadelphia convention reaffirmed its previous resolutions in favor of a new trial, copies of both resolutions being sent to the Governor of Massachusetts and to the President of the United States.

In the early spring of 1927, the Appellate Court of Massachusetts denied the appeal for a new trial. Immediately thereafter, our Union and its various locals held mass-meetings calling on Governor Fuller to intervene in the case. Resolutions calling for a new trial to review the case, or for the freeing of the two men by unconditional pardon were sent by the International, by its locals and by its joint boards. On July 7, a one-hour strike in their behalf was called by the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dress Industry in New York.

The outcome of the tragic case is now a matter of history. Governor Fuller and the commission appointed by him to review the case, refused, in the face of what we believe to be

overwhelming evidence of the unfairness of the trial, to reopen the case. On hearing of this decision, the General Executive Board of the International sent out on August 9 a call for the participation of our members in a nation-wide protest strike. An appeal was wired to President Coolidge.

On August 19, 1927, a special committee of representatives of trade unions, including Vice-Presidents Hochman and Antonini, and members and officers of our Boston Joint Board, called on Governor Fuller in a last minute attempt to save these men. On August 22, these men were put to death in spite of the protest of millions of workers all over the world.

Even in this tragic affair the Communists could not desist from their activities. Their disruptive tactics in connection with a demonstration in Union Square, their collection of funds which never reached the defense committee which had for seven long years toiled in behalf of these men, their abuse of the defense committee, their creation of unfavorable public opinion, hindered the struggle to aid these two imprisoned workers. After their death, the Communists attempted to use the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti as a means of filling their coffers. It is impossible to denounce too strongly shameless charlatanism of this sort.

The martyrdom of these two men emphasizes the great need for changes in our legal and economic system. It is in itself an eloquent argument for the abolition of capital punishment.

The Union Labor Life Insurance Company

In 1926, the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, which had been formed as a result of the recommendations of the 1924 convention of the American Federation of Labor, began operations. Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, is President of the Company. The organizational structure of the company vested its control permanently in the hands of the organized workers represented by the A. F. of L. Its charter stipulates that the stock of the company is to be owned by trades unions and trade unionists only; three fourths or more of its directors must be representatives of trade unions affiliated with the Federation. President Morris Sigman is a member of its Board of Directors.

In April, 1926, Matthew Woll, President of the Company, met with the managers of all the locals of our International in behalf of this project for a cooperative, union-owned, operated and managed life insurance company. By this time the company had opened its main office in Washington, D. C. Our International and several of our locals subscribed to stock in the company.

Since that time, branch offices have been established in all the large cities of the country, and insurance in excess of \$40,000,000 covering 49,000 lives, had been written by it. The large bulk of this insurance has been in the form of group insurance, and elsewhere in this report we recommend a possible extension of such insurance to our membership.

The field of opportunity for this project, formed solely for service to the workers, is very great. The company has the opportunity because of its cooperative nature, and because it does not, like private companies, carry the usual burdens of high salaried officials and of large profits to capitalists, to provide the necessary form of protection to workers at a lower cost and in a far more satisfactory way. We urge our locals and our membership to participate in its work and in its benefits.

Workers' Education Bureau

Elsewhere in this report there is given a detailed account of the educational activities of our Union. Our International and its Educational Department have been active as well in the general movement for labor education, which has now become a branch of the American Federation of Labor, administered through the central agency of the Workers' Education Bureau. Our delegates to the convention in April, 1927, held in Boston, included Miss Fannia M. Cohn, Executive Secretary of the Educational Department of the International, who is also Vice-President of the W. E. B., and Vice-Presidents Amdur and Godes. Many of our locals and joint boards also participated in the work of this convention.

The growth of the workers' education movement in America within the past few years has been most gratifying to our organization which was the pioneer in this field. We urge upon our locals and our membership greater interest in and affiliation with the Workers' Education Bureau in its praiseworthy efforts to extend the workers' educational movement to all branches of American labor.

Organization Campaign of A. F. of L. Amongst Women Workers

In the spring of 1926, the American Federation of Labor in cooperation with all local unions, city central labor bodies and the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, began a special campaign for the organization of women workers, concentrating for the time being on New Jersey. Vice President Halperin attended several of the conferences and participated actively in the work. The general cloak strike of 1926 in New York and the close of the special campaign cut short our participation in this necessary and interesting experiment of the A. F. of L.

Women's Trade Union League

The Women's Trade Union League held its National Biennial Convention in Kansas City on June 28, 1926. Our International was represented by Mrs. Anna Bock of our Chicago Local 100, who had given devoted service to the women of her union, and who has since died. Both the International and the New York locals have sent delegates to the autumn conferences of the New York organization held at Brookwood College, at which the particular problems of organizing women were discussed in detail and with great benefit to our delegates. The Women's Trade Union League, all over the country, and especially in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, has always cooperated whole-heartedly and effectively in our special organizing efforts amongst women, and we feel indebted to this organization which from the outset of our existence has always been ready to answer our call for assistance.

Industrial Conference of Women's Bureau U. S. Department of Labor

Upon the invitation of Miss Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, Vice-President Mollie Friedman attended the special conference called in the spring of 1926, on problems of women in industry. This conference was held for the discussion of these matters, with a view to planning the work for the Women's Bureau and other organizations to meet the needs of the situation.

Pioneer Youth Movement

The Pioneer Youth of America is an organization formed several years ago, as the result of a number of conferences

of labor men and women, educators and parents, who realized the great need of acquainting the children of workers with the social and economic problems of the day and preparing them for intelligent participation in the labor movement. General Secretary Abraham Baroff, who represents our Union on its board of directors, has been very active in the capacity of treasurer ever since it was organized. Miss Fannia M. Cohn, Executive Secretary of our Educational Department, has also been very active in this organization and is a member of its board of directors. We believe this organization, through its summer camp which accomodates almost a hundred children, and its winter clubs at which social problems are discussed, provides splendid opportunities for the children of organized workers and fulfills this purpose, for which it was formed. Both Brother Baroff and Miss Cohn, as well as Vice-President Harry Greenberg, have attended the conventions of Pioneer Youth and aided in its program.

The International also participated in a number of other educational projects of special interest to the labor movement. Miss Cohn is a member of the following other groups and has participated in their work and projects:

The Workers' Art Scholarship Committee, consisting of representatives of many trade unions, selects talented and deserving workers' children, who have had preliminary training, and offers them the opportunity for pursuing their studies abroad on a scholarship basis.

The Manumit School at Pawling, New York, was founded by the Manumit Associates, consisting of representatives of trade unions and other labor and social organizations. It provides a resident school for children of workers, conducted along the lines of sound educational policies with special emphasis on social problems, at a low cost or on a scholarship basis. Miss Cohn is a member of its executive committee and participates actively in its program.

Miss Cohn has acted on the labor committee for the conference on Intellectual Freedom in the Public Schools. She is also a member of the executive board and has attended the conferences of the Naturalization Aid League.

Conferences of the Philadelphia Labor College

The Philadelphia Labor College, which is affiliated with the central labor body of that city, and with the Workers'

Education Bureau, has within the past two years held a number of interesting and important discussion conferences. In the summer of 1927, at its Conference on Waste and Unemployment, Vice-President Reissberg delivered an address on these problems in our industry and an explanation of our own industrial program. At the spring conference in 1928 on Organizing the Unorganized, Sister Cohn addressed the conference on organization work amongst women, and many of our active Philadelphia members participated in the conference.

Labor Radio Stations

Since our last conventions, the labor movement has been successful in establishing two radio stations, to carry the message of labor through this most important medium. These stations deserve the support of our organization and the interest of our members.

Station WCFL, of Chicago, established by the Chicago Federation of Labor, has been most successful in reaching a wide audience through its broadcasting program, which includes discussions on matters of vital interest to labor. Our International was represented in these talks by a set of addresses prepared by Miss Cohn.

Station WEVD, "The Voice of Debs," in New York, was opened one year after the death of Eugene V. Debs, on October 20, 1927. It was established as the result of a committee formed shortly after the death of Debs, the Debs Memorial Radio Station Fund, headed by Norman Thomas as chairman, Morris Hillquit as treasurer. Brother Abraham Baroff represented our organization on the Board of Directors of the Fund, which included representatives of trade unions, Socialist and liberal organizations. Our International donated to the Fund the use of the entire sixth floor of our building for a broadcasting station. We also participated in several conferences to bring about widespread patronage of this station by the workers of the country. Our union has also broadcasted a series of ten talks devoted to the accomplishments and the problems of our Union. We believe this radio station is a fitting memorial to the great leader for whom it was named. Together with Station WCFL it should be of a great service to the labor movement.

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We have also participated in the activities of several organizations whose aims and functions we believe are worthy of support by our Union. Miss Fannia M. Cohn, of our Educational Department, has represented the International at conferences of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Conductors, one of the outstanding accomplishments of the colored people along the lines of trade union organization; she has joined and became active, as a representative of the International Office, in the Urban League, an organization which has been of help in solving problems of the colored workers. Miss Cohn attended the annual conferences of the National Council on Prison Labor, of the Citizens' Committee on Teachers' Salaries, of the Conference against Militarism called by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, of the Labor Conference on "Old Age Security," of the League for Industrial Democracy, and of "Liber Age," a monthly labor publication.

* * *

Our International and the New York locals also joined in the general labor appeal for the re-election of Judge Jacob Panken for Municipal Court Judge in the fall of 1927. The General Executive Board went on record in favor of his candidacy on the basis of his devotion and service to the workers.

* * *

Another occasion on which our International, as well as our New York locals, were happy to be represented, was the banquet tendered by the New York labor movement, in January 1928, to A. I. Shiplacoff, General Manager of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday.

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Needless to say, representatives of the General Office and of all our locals were present at the banquets tendered to the veteran leader of the Jewish labor and Socialist movement—Abraham Cahan—both on his departure for Europe, and on his return.

* * *

The seventh convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was held in Montreal, May 10, 1926. On behalf of our International, Brother Max Amdur, then in Montreal, greeted the delegates, and Brother Joseph Schubert,

Socialist-Labor Alderman and for many years secretary of the Montreal Cloakmakers' Union, extended the greetings of our Canadian organization. Our General office sent greetings to the convention, expressing its hope that within the near future the Amalgamated would find itself within the great body of organized labor.

* * *

Greetings from our International were also sent to the Sixteenth Convention of the Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, held in May of 1927. Somewhat later in the year, this organization carried on a successful fight against a lockout by the employers against the enforcement of the forty-hour week, which they had won during a general strike in 1926. It is worthy of record that the Capmakers contributed substantially to our strikers during the cloak strike of 1926, despite their own very recent general strike.

* * *

President Sigman, on behalf of our International, addressed the conventions of the International Fur Workers' Union held in Washington in June, 1926, and in Montreal in March, 1927. This organization has gone through a tremendous internal crisis as a result of the destructive activities of the Communists, aggravated besides by continued unemployment in the industry.

Other trade union organizations to which our International sent fraternal greetings, or conventions which members of our General Executive Board addressed, were the 30th Anniversary of the United Hatters held in New York City, March, 1926, and the Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union convention in August of 1926.

* * *

An event of great interest to the labor and cooperative movement was the official opening of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Cooperative Homes on December 25, 1927. To the celebration attended by representatives of the labor, Socialist and liberal movements, the following message was sent by President Sigman:

"Together with the tens of thousands who belong to our International Union, I hail the opening of your huge cooperative housing enterprise as a signal achievement, with unlimited promise for future development. Your successfully completed experiment is all the more outstanding, first, because it is a genuine cooperative undertaking; second, it was carried out without the aid of private capitalistic financing or direction, and therefore with great saving and economy, and third, because it is not sectional or limited to one trade union only, but is supported by the entire trade union movement, as attested by the large number of ladies' garment workers and workers engaged in other occupations among your cooperators."

• • •

The Workmen's Circle, with its labor membership of 80,000 represents one of the most remarkable institutions in the labor movement. We have already attested elsewhere to its very substantial aid to our membership both during the strike and in the period of reconstruction. When this organization held its 27th annual convention in Cleveland, May 1, 1927, our Cleveland Union acted as their hosts, and President Sigman, who was in Cleveland at the time, addressed the convention and pointed out the many acts of cooperation and mutual support given by the Workmen's Circle and the I. L. G. W. U. to each other during the long span of their existence.

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President Sigman, on behalf of the International, also addressed in January of 1928 the National Labor Committee for the Organized Workers of Palestine, a movement endorsed by the United Hebrew Trades of New York. Brothers Hochman and Gingold were delegates to this convention as well, and we pledged the support of our Union to the efforts of our fellow-workers in Palestine.

President Sigman and Vice-President Hochman addressed the convention of the Jewish Socialist Verband held in Newark, N. J., in January, 1928, and thanked that organization for its wholehearted support to the labor movement.

We have mentioned elsewhere our support of "Il Nuovo Mondo", the Italian labor weekly. In addition our International participated in the Anti-Fascist convention held in September, 1927, and in the annual convention of the Italian Chamber of Labor, both of which organizations have done commendable work among our Italian fellow-workers in all locals.

IN MEMORIAM

Since our last convention in Philadelphia, the labor movement has lost many of its outstanding champions.

The first of these losses was that of Meyer London, who was killed in an accident Sunday, June 6, 1926. His death was a great loss to the whole community and to the Socialist movement; but to our workers, cloakmakers, dressmakers and other garment workers, the death of Meyer London meant a special, personal irreparable loss.

At his funeral services, representatives of the entire labor and Socialist world were present. Our International forwarded telegrams of condolence, and representatives of the International and of every local in the city as well as of the Joint Board were present at his funeral. A year later, the International took part in the impressive memorial ceremony to him.

Meyer London was not merely the attorney for the cloakmakers, not only its legal adviser for twenty years. He was one of its first builders, an indefatigable worker all his life for our organization. His services in the 1910 cloakmaker strike, in the years that followed in connection with the first collective agreement in the cloak trade, the unceasing loyal counsel given us on many matters, make his role in the history of our organization unique and outstanding. He lived, worked, preached—and practiced the idealism he taught—amongst our people; he met his death in one of the crowded streets of New York City. He was a courageous legislator, a brilliant orator, a great leader, and he used these talents for the working class.

As long as the International or any of its members live, the memory of Meyer London will remain revered.

Less than six months later another great leader of the Socialist and labor movement, Eugene V. Debs, met death after a lingering illness, on October 20, 1926, at Elmhurst, Ill. Eugene V. Debs, for a quarter of a century, had by his warm, lovable personality, his idealism and his broad humanity been the personification of the hopes and ideals of all movements for the disinherited and oppressed. He was the product of the working-class, the child of poor immigrant settlers, a trade-union leader during the trying period of American labor in the

nineties, the leader of the Pullman strike of 1894. He had, in his sufferings in jail, as a result of the injunction in the Pullman Strike, and as a result of his anti-war activities in 1917, shown the calibre of his courage and the extent to which he was willing to suffer for his ideals. In his death, too, the labor movement suffered an irreparable loss. A fitting memorial to him has been erected in the Debs Radio Station, "The Voice of Debs," described elsewhere in this report.

The period since the last convention has witnessed the passing of two women who are warmly remembered by the trade union world. Leonora O'Reilly, who died on April 3, 1927, was among the first women who joined the Knights of Labor, back in the pre-A. F. of L. days. She was one of the organizers of the National Women's Trade Union League, and in that capacity, is well remembered by our waist, dress and undergarment workers for her fine services in the dramatic strikes of 1909 and 1913.

In January, 1928, Sara Conboy, General Secretary of the United Textile Workers of America, died after a brief illness. For twelve years she had been secretary of that Union and had served it throughout trying strikes in an industry beset with unusual difficulties for the labor organizer. She entered the mill herself at the age of eleven, and in the many years between that time and the period of her death, she had devoted herself to the textile workers and to the American labor movement. We have had many occasions to come into close contact with her, and we mourn the loss of her sterling leadership.

In our own ranks, we have suffered many losses in the past two years. Brother Benjamin Sachs, business agent for the Joint Board and member of Local 10 since 1910, died after several weeks of illness. His death came tragically enough on the eve of the 25th Anniversary Jubilee of the local to which, for years, he had given his services as a member in the ranks, long before he held office.

In October of 1927, our Chicago dressmakers' organization lost one of its most valuable members in Sister Anna Bock. She had represented the Union as delegate at the Woman's Trade Union League Conference in 1925, had been one of the active workers in the dressmakers' strike of 1924, and in 1926 had served thirty days in jail with other strikers, as a result of the drastic Sullivan injunction. In the successful effort of the Chicago dressmakers to defeat the destructive Communist groups, Sister Bock had rendered valuable services to her local and to the International.

Within the last few months, two more devoted union members died. One of these was Brother David Backer, former executive board member of Local 22, delegate to the Boston convention and loyal worker within the local.

The other death was that of Harry Bornstein, a pioneer member of Pressers' Local 35, who died on Tuesday, February 21. Although he was but 36 years old, he had devoted twenty years to the service of our organization, was very active in the cloak strike of 1910, and ever since. Only three weeks before his death he volunteered his services in connection with the Saturday patrol work in New York City.

As this report goes to press, the labor movement has lost Max Pine, founder and leader for many years of the United Hebrew Trades of New York, who on March 2, 1928, died of pneumonia. Max Pine has been an outstanding figure in the Jewish labor movement of the country, and his services to our organization at various times in its history have been of great aid. At the time of his death he was very active in the Palestine Workers' Aid Committee. At his funeral were representatives from every known Greater New York labor organization. His death marks the passing of one of the veterans of the Jewish labor movement.

THE AID OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT TO OUR UNION

One of the inspiring aspects of the great struggle which our Union has undergone since the last convention has been the active moral and financial aid of the labor movement. Not only did it rally to the support of the strikers in the long cloak strike of 1926 in New York. In the great task of reconstruction after that disastrous strike, the aid of the labor movement, ~~more~~ perhaps than any other factor, has made our work and our accomplishments possible.

Never before in the history of our Union have contributions from the trade union and labor movement been so large. In addition to the \$100,000 supplied by the locals outside of the New York Joint Board, the \$2,000,000 by the locals and workers of the New York Joint Board, and the \$50,000 contributed by the Workmen's Circle and the Jewish Daily Forward, over \$150,000 was received for the strike from other unions. Chief amongst the trade unions which so contributed were the needle trades, the miners' union, the typographical unions and the Chicago Federation of Labor. We cannot give an itemized accounting since none was given by the General Strike Committee but to the best of our information, the following international unions and their locals contributed in addition to amounts sent directly to the American Federation of Labor:

- Amalgamated Clothing Workers
- Atlanta Federation of Trades
- Bakery & Confectionery Workers
- Barbers (Journeymen's International Union)
- Beller Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America
- Boot & Shoe Workers' Union
- Brewery, Flour, Cereal & Soft Drink Workers of America
- Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers International Union of America
- Bridge & Structural Iron Workers
- Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
- Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America
- Carpenters and Joiners of America
- Cigarmakers' International Union of America
- Clerks, National Federation of Post Office
- Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway
- Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers' International Union
- Chicago Federation of Labor
- Cleveland Federation of Labor
- Draftsmen's Unions
- Electrical Workers of America

Firemen and Oilers International Brotherhood
 Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada
 Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the U. S. and Canada
 Granite Cutters' International Association
 Hatters of North America
 Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance
 Jewelry Workers' Union
 Laundry Workers' International Union
 Machinists International Association
 Maintenance of Way Employees
 Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America
 Metal Engravers' Union
 Molders' Union of North America
 Musicians, American Federation of
 Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America
 Photo Engravers' Union of North America
 Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America
 Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Canada
 Polishers, Metal, International Union of
 Potters National Brotherhood of Operative
 Seattle Central Labor Union
 Stone cutters' Association of North America
 Tacoma Central Labor Union
 Tailors' Union of America (Journeymen's)
 Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America
 Textile Workers of America
 Typographical Union, International
 Upholsterers' International Union of North America
 United Neckwear Union, Local No. 11016
 Umbrella Workers, No. 17905.

The American Federation of Labor

In the section on our participation in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, we cited the resolutions passed in support of our strike in 1926 and the appeal issued by the Federation throughout the entire country.

In the period of our reconstruction, the moral and financial aid of the American Federation and its affiliated organizations was equally great. Immediately after the issuance of the order of the General Executive Board in December, 1926, President Green of the American Federation of Labor sent us following letter, in support of its action.

Morris Sigman, President,
 I. L. G. W. U., 3 West 16th St., City.

The principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor must be accepted by those who become members of trade unions affiliated with it. The American Federation of Labor can make no compromise with Communism or the representa-

tives of Communist organizations. I congratulate you and the loyal trade unionists, members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, upon your action in ridding your movement of these destructive forces. You have courageously accepted the challenge of the Communists and you are making a most successful fight in behalf of trade unionism.

The American Federation of Labor will support you loyally and devotedly. We will stand with you firm and immovable until the work which you have undertaken has been successfully carried out. There is no room in the American labor movement for Communism or Communists. We will aggressively carry on the work of purging every international union chartered by the American Federation of Labor of those evil influences which seek to tear down the organizations which have been built up through years of sacrifice and effort.

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,
President, A. F. of L.

Matthew Woll, Hugh Frayne, Edward F. McGrady of the A. F. of L.; Joseph P. Ryan, President of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, and John Sullivan, President of the N. Y. State Federation of Labor, were appointed by President Green as a committee to cooperate with us.

Subsequently, when the Joint Board was installed in April of 1927, Pres. Green sent a message, greeting the new Board, through Hugh Frayne, the New York Representative of the A. F. of L. Similarly, through Brother Frayne in January, 1928, he sent a message assuring the incoming Joint Board that the American Federation of Labor "will always be ready to offer aid to our organization." We have outlined the endorsement of our course of action by the Los Angeles convention of the American Federation of Labor in the section devoted to that convention.

Aid of Trade Unions During Reconstruction Period

In addition to the assistance rendered our cloak strikers by labor organizations of many crafts all over the country, many of these organizations came to our aid in the form of donations and loans during the period of reconstruction. We are particularly indebted to the United Mine Workers, who in spite of their own great financial burdens, came forward generously; to District 9 of the United Mine Workers' organization; to the International Machinists' Union; to the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' International Union and their Millinery Workers' Joint Board; to the International Pocketbook Work-

ers' Union; to the Neckwear Workers' Union. The Women's Trade Union League assisted in assigning to our service Miss Sadie Reich, formerly on the staff of our Union. Many of these organizations were also active in the Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unions formed during the critical winter of 1926-1927. During the entire period under consideration the United Hebrew Trades, under the leadership of M. Feinstone, aided in every possible way.

The Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unions

Early in December, 1926, a call was issued for a conference to consider the complete elimination of Communist interference within the unions. This call was signed by Abraham Beckerman, Manager of the New York Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Louis D. Berger, Manager United Neckwear Workers' Union, Samuel A. Beardsley, President Jewelry Workers' District Council, Samuel Hershkowitz, Manager Joint Council Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, Morris Feinstone, Secretary United Hebrew Trades, Rose Schneiderman, Women's Trade Union League, and Abraham I. Shiplacoff, Manager of the International Leather Goods Workers' Union. This call asked "for war upon Communist disruption, for the workers in all unions to unite against the internal enemy, the Communists."

The conference on December 21, 1926, at Beethoven Hall, was attended by over 500 delegates representing 17 central labor bodies and 150 local unions. It was decided at that meeting to raise a fund to aid in the fight against the Communists.

Subsequently on January 20, 1927, two huge demonstrations in the 71st and 69th armories were held under the auspices of this committee. Two hundred thousand workers, mainly from the needle trades, stopped their work at four o'clock and attended these protest meetings against the activities of the Communist union wreckers.

The meeting at the 71st Armory was presided over by Vice-President Harry Greenberg of the I. L. G. W. U. and the speakers included Brother Hugh Frayne of the A. F. of L., President Sigman, Alex Rose, Secretary-Treasurer of the Millinery Workers' Union, Brother Dubinsky and Secretary Feinstone of the United Hebrew Trades. Mr. Frayne read a message of support from President William Green, and the following resolution was passed by the thousands of workers assembled there:

WHEREAS, the American labor movement and particularly the needle trades have for some years been cursed with a species of irresponsible adventurers calling themselves Communists who have thrown the ordinary restraints of decent men to the winds in a desperate attempt to rule or ruin the unions; and,

WHEREAS, the workers of New York City have had concrete examples of the methods and consequences of Communist domination of trade unions during the furriers' and cloakmakers' strikes of 1926; and

WHEREAS, they have seen that the Communists in the fur union threw the workers into a 17 weeks' strike only to betray them in the end by signing away long established gains of the union; and

WHEREAS, an investigating committee of the A. F. of L. has revealed in all its brutality the vicious reign of terror and mismanagement instituted by the Communists during the furriers' strike, and

WHEREAS, similarly, the Communist disrupters in the Cloakmakers' Union forced the workers into a criminally needless strike, which they proceeded to mislead in a disgraceful manner, alienating the sympathy of the public, the press and organized labor which in previous struggles has been the staunch friends of the union; and

WHEREAS, regardless of the fact that they have brought the once powerful Cloakmakers' Union almost to the brink of ruin, beggared thousands of workers and wrought great disorder in the industry, the Communists and their gangster hirelings are still doing all in their power to smash or control the union for the benefit of the Communist Party and their personal advantage; and

WHEREAS, the workers in the cloak and fur industries have received the support of the American Federation of Labor which has decided that the Communists have no place in the labor movement, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that we, the workers in all the needle trades unions of Greater New York, do hereby pledge our every effort, financial and moral, and the full strength of our respective unions to support the organized effort of the trade union movement to rid itself of the Communist disrupters; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we support the principle laid down by the American Federation of Labor that there is no place in the trade unions for the Communist disrupters to the end that they be completely and permanently eliminated so that the trade union movement may once more devote its full energies to the advancement of the interests of the American workers.

The meeting at the 69th regiment armory was presided over by Brother Hyman Nemser of the Amalgamated Cloth-

ing Workers, and the speakers included President Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Abraham Miller and A. Beckerman of the Amalgamated Joint Board, and Vice-Presidents Antonini and Hochman. Many thousand of workers were turned away. We believe these demonstrations and the work of the Committee proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the rank and file in our unions were antagonistic to the destructive tactics of Communism.

Forward Association

In our section on the press, we express our thanks to the Jewish Daily Forward of New York, Chicago and other centers for their invaluable aid to us during this period.

The Forward Association has given us great assistance. Not only did it contribute generously to the strike relief, but directly after the crisis within our Union developed, this organization came forward with a pledge of aid. It is impossible to conceive of the successful outcome of our reconstruction efforts without the aid of the Forward Association and of the Jewish Daily Forward.

Every member of the Association was of assistance, but we feel the story would not be complete if we did not record our thanks to Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, who was indefatigable in his devotion to the cause of our Union. We doubt that any written record could adequately express our feeling of gratitude toward this veteran for his incomparable record of service to our organization and to the other trade unions all over the country.

Other Labor Organizations

We have mentioned in the story of the strike the aid of the Workmen's Circle and of its branches, amounting to \$80,000, in addition to the generous support given by many of its branches to cloak strikers and their families who themselves were members of the Workmen's Circle. We further feel that it was not only the generous donation of this organization and the help of its secretary, J. Baskin, which were of great importance, but that its indirect help in making the issues of our struggle for a free union popular in the entire Jewish labor community were of no less value and weight.

Of great service, likewise, was the Jewish Socialist Verband, which because of its wide influence amongst Jewish workers and its staunch adherence to unionism, was able to aid considerably in rebuilding the faith of our membership in our organization. To this service Brothers H. Lang, S. Rifkin, S. Levitas and N. Chanin have contributed generously.

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At various other points in this report, we have mentioned our indebtedness to other organizations and individuals—the United Hebrew Trades of Chicago, the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers in Philadelphia, etc. We realize, of course, that no report could possibly express in sufficient measure our gratitude to the vast army of brave men and women, in the whole labor movement as well as in our own ranks, whose service made it possible for our Union to withstand so successfully the almost inhumanly difficult tasks with which it has been confronted.

The Labor Press

The General Executive Board desires to express its gratitude to the Jewish Daily Forward of New York, as well as to its Chicago and Philadelphia editions, for its consistent service, through its editorial and news columns, to our trade union movement during all the years of its existence. It has not only built up special labor departments, but it has aided in every possible form all branches of the labor movement. It is truly the outstanding interpreter and mouthpiece of the Jewish labor movement, the upholder of the fundamental interests of our trade union organizations, and of their legitimate functions and aspirations. So far as our Union is concerned, its cooperation in the great crisis which we have undergone has contributed largely to its successful outcome. We desire to mention particularly the services not only of Abraham Cahan, its veteran editor, and B. C. Vladeck, its manager, but also of Jacob Rich, labor editor, H. Rogoff and Dr. B. Hoffman (Zivion).

We also desire to record our sincere gratitude to the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" for its attitude of genuine trade unionism displayed in the period of our crisis, and for the able support it has given our cause.

Simultaneously we offer our appreciation to the New York Leader, which at the present time is the only English weekly in New York devoted to the Socialist movement, for its steady and unflinching aid during this period, and for the genuine spirit of working class solidarity in which it has treated the events in the life of our organization.

"Der Wecker," the organ of the Jewish Socialist Verband, during this same period devoted itself to the espousal of our cause almost equally as much as it did to the Socialist cause, and we thoroughly appreciate its aid.

• • •

"The Union Worker" was an organ founded shortly after the disastrous "peace pact" with the Communists in 1925, by a group of trade unionists from all the needle trades, of people with varying political opinions but all loyal trade unionists, nevertheless. This weekly, edited by Simon Farber, was of great assistance, and, in view of that service, we aided it financially to some extent during the period of reconstruction. When a sound and healthy state of affairs within the Union was assured, the "Union Worker" ceased publication.

General Press

On the whole, the New York Metropolitan press, English and Jewish, considering the vast barrage of misinformation put forward by the Communists, has given fair accounts of our industrial and internal struggles. This applies in particular to the New York Times, the New York World and the Herald-Tribune.

The outstanding example of a shameful role played by a newspaper is that of "Der Tag", a Jewish daily. During the strike, this newspaper, although it employed S. Shally, notorious leader of camouflage "peace" movements, as a "labor reporter," carried the advertisements and stories of the employers seeking to break down the morale of the strikers. In the subsequent crisis, as a means of bolstering its circulation, it became party to innumerable "peace" and "impartial" movements, engineered by Communists and other enemies of our movement. Such a brazen attempt to capitalize an internal crisis in a labor union at the expense of the workers, is contemptible, and "Der Tag" deserves our whole-hearted condemnation.

The General Executive Board

Meetings of the General Executive Board

The General Executive Board in the period since the last convention lost three of its members, Joseph Boruchowitz, Louis Hyman and Julius Portnoy. These members of the Board not only failed to register with the International during the period of registration, but failed to appear at the meetings of the General Executive Board after December 12, 1926, though notice was duly sent to them. They, therefore, were automatically dropped from membership in the General Executive Board.

The quarterly meetings of the Board were held as follows:

- First quarterly meeting—New York, beginning Jan. 1926.
- Second quarterly meeting—New York, beginning April 26, 1926.
- Third quarterly meeting—New York, beginning Nov. 3, 1926.
- Fourth quarterly meeting—New York, beginning Feb. 12, 1927.
- Fifth quarterly meeting—New York, beginning June 24, 1927.
- Sixth quarterly meeting—Boston, beginning Sept. 21, 1927.
- Seventh quarterly meeting—Unity House, beginning Jan. 25, 1928.

The Board also held special meetings as follows:

December 18, 1925, Philadelphia, immediately after the convention:

New York:—March 23, 1926; July 20, 1926; Aug. 10, 1926; Dec. 12 and 13, 1926; Jan. 14, 1927; Jan. 25, 1927; March 2, 1927; April 3, 1927; April 26, 1927. June 10, 1927; Aug. 1, 1927; Aug. 22, 1927; Aug. 31, 1927; Sep. 13, 1927; Oct. 23, 1927; Nov. 19, 1927; Dec. 3, 1927; Dec. 14, 1927; Dec. 27, 28, 1927; Jan. 14, 1928; Feb. 27, 1928. March 16, 1928.

Several of these meetings were attended by New York members only.

In the period since the Philadelphia convention, several members of the General Executive Board have been critically ill. Secretary-Treasurer Baroff was forced in the spring of 1927 to take a leave of absence for several months, and during this time, Vice-President Greenberg, in addition to his other duties, carried out with efficiency and ability the different tasks of this post. Brother Max Amdur has also been ill for some time past following his ardent work during the period of registration in the beginning of 1927, and in June, 1927, asked for and obtained a leave of absence for several months without pay during which he regained his health.

Appeal Committee of the C. E. B.

The Appeal Committee of the General Executive Board since the last convention consisted of the following members: Secretary-Treasurer A. Baroff, Chairman, Vice-President Ninfo as secretary; Vice-Presidents Friedman, Gingold, Greenberg, Halperin, Hyman and Reisberg.

The Appeal Committee has heard 44 cases during this term, involving the examination of a great deal of documentary and personal testimony.

President Sigman and Secretary Baroff have also acted frequently during this period in the capacity of judges or arbitrators of disputes arising within locals from time to time, largely in matters involving interpretations of constitutional clauses and local by-laws.

The Finance Committee

As we have shown throughout, the task of the Finance Committee during the period since the last convention and particularly in the period since the 1926 cloak strike has been the most difficult with which such a committee could have been faced. The members of this committee of the General Executive Board during this period have been: Salvatore Ninfo, chairman, H. Greenberg, secretary, and David Dubinsky and Antonini. This committee met from time to time as the necessity arose for action on matters within its jurisdiction.

Standing and Special Committees

Standing Committees:

Finance Committee: Vice-Presidents Ninfo, Dubinsky, Portnoy,* Antonini and Greenberg.

Educational Committee: Secretary Baroff, and Vice-Presidents Hyman,* Friedman, Hochman, Antonini, Gingold, Reisberg.

Prens Committee: President Sigman, Secretary Baroff, and First Vice-President Ninfo.

Appeal Committee: Secretary Baroff, and Vice-Presidents Ninfo Hyman,* Reisberg, Friedman, Halperine, Gingold.

Unity House Committee: Vice-Presidents Reisberg, Halperin, Dubinsky, Portnoy, Boruchowitz, Antonini, Friedman.

Special Committees:

Committee on Charter for Russian-Polish Br.: Vice-Presidents Antonini, Portnoy* and Greenberg.

Committee on Investigation of Knitgoods Industry: Vice-Presidents Halperin, Boruchowitz,⁴ Greenberg.

Committee on Labor Group Insurance: Vice-Presidents Hochman, Hyman,⁴ Amdur.

Committee to Investigate Skirt Industry: Vice-Presidents Antonini, Greenberg and Gingold.

Local No. 41 Committee: Secretary Baroff, Vice-Presidents Halperin and Greenberg.

Committee to Investigate Extent of Reefers in Trade: Vice-Presidents Halperin, Gingold and Antonini.

Committee to Supervise Chicago Elections: Vice-Presidents Dubinsky, Friedman, Kreindler and Ninfo.

Committee to Supervise Boston Elections: Vice-Presidents Halperin, Antonini, Roisberg.

Committee on Proportional Representation: Vice-Presidents Greenberg, Dubinsky, Ninfo, Antonini and Hochman.

Special Press Committee: Secretary Baroff, Vice-Presidents Dubinsky, Hochman, Ninfo and Antonini.

Committee to Study Voting Machine and Consider Advisability of Holding Elections During One Month: Vice-Presidents Ninfo, Greenberg and Halperin.

Committee to Work Out Program of Taking Charge of Strike: President Sigman, and Vice-Presidents Amdur, Kreindler and Hochman.

Committee to Supervise Elections in Reorganized Locals 2, 9, 22 and 35: Secretary Baroff, and Vice-Presidents Gingold, Friedman, Antonini, Greenberg, Ninfo and Halperin.

These committees were all appointed or elected at meetings of the General Executive Board. In addition to these duties, members of the Board, appointed by the President, served as members of local election and objection committees at the request of the locals.

The Present Financial Situation in Our Union

We believe that the account of the situation in the New York cloak and dress market tells very clearly the story of the financial crisis with which our Union was confronted since the disastrous 1926 cloak strike. The Union was faced with an empty treasury, with a long trail of unpaid bills which the

⁴) For the period of their office.

Communist ex-officials had incurred. It had the task of aiding the imprisoned cloakmakers and their families. There was an indebtedness of \$524,000 to the International Bank, of over \$300,000 to the Amalgamated Bank for loans made during the strike. There was an expenditure of over \$830,000, representing employers' securities which were misappropriated and expended by the Communist leaders. We inherited all these burdens and we also inherited chaos and economic misery among our members.

At the present time, after having met our current expenses and paid off some of these debts, the New York Joint Board and the International have total liabilities amounting to a million and a half dollars.

In order to place the organization again on a sound financial basis, the G. E. B. recommends that this convention should consider the levying of an assessment. We suggest that this assessment be in the form of contributions of wages for days' of work from the membership to the extent necessary to clear off this debt. The method of days' wages instead of a fixed and similar sum from each member is suggested as a more equitable means of taxing equally the entire membership.

We suggest that this assessment be applied to the entire membership throughout the country, since in the past the membership in New York has always furnished the means for building up and for aiding every branch and every section in the country. In the past two and a half years, it has been the New York membership which has borne the brunt of the severe internal disorder and industrial maladjustments, not only for itself but for the entire Organization.

New and Extinct Locals

Since the Philadelphia convention, the General Executive Board has granted charters to the following locals:

- 68—Cloakmakers, Toronto, (English-speaking).
- 70—Ladies' Garment Workers', Portland, Oregon.
- 72—Embroidery Workers of Passaic, N. J.
- 79—Mineola (L. I.) Garment Workers Union.
- 87—Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Camden, N. J.
- 88—Garment Workers' Union, Bayonne, N. J.

The following locals have gone out of existence during this period:

4. Baltimore, Cloakmakers' Union.
11. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Peekskill.
13. Montreal—Operators' Union.
25. Montreal—French Workers' Local.
30. Stamford Ladies' Tailors.
33. Bridgeport Corset Workers' Union.
45. New York, Designers' Union.
128. Spring Valley Cloakmakers' Union.
93. Garment Workers' Long Branch, N. J.
139. Garment Workers' Lyndhurst, N. Y.
142. Garment Workers, Staten Island.
143. Garment Workers', Freehold, N. J.

Final Word

Our report is concluded.

In attempting to cover the whole sweep of the industrial and organizational life of the Union, we do not desire to claim that we did not miss a single item or detail. We believe, nevertheless, that, barring unintentional omissions, we have given you a faithful account of the stewardship of our International which you have entrusted to us two and a half years ago and a clear, unblurred picture of our Union and of our industry in all its markets and phases as we find it today.

Above all, our underlying motive and guiding principle, from the first to the last line, has been the truth, the unvarnished truth. We did not mince words in expressing our true sentiment and we did not attempt to color up a situation with false tints to make it appear more agreeable than what facts would warrant.

It has been a hard grind, a terribly exhausting task, to lead the International Union in the past two and a half years. It required nerves of steel, at times, and a faith deeply rooted in the idealism of our movement to bear up under the strain. Above all, it required love for the Organization, inborn devotion that words are too weak to express, to face the ordeal, to confront the fire, to fight on despite setbacks—and to win.

And that is precisely the sum total of our record for the past two and a half years. We have taken over a shattered union, morally and structurally, a union that was mortgaged body and soul to a political clique, after a disastrous strike which broke down the morale of the membership and intensified the sufferings of our workers from the paramount ills of our industry. We are returning you this day a free Labor organization, unhampered to mould its own fate and destiny, and standing four-square again on the fighting line of

the American trade movement. For this we have to thank the inherent loyalty of our members who cooperated with us and helped us carry the burden of the often unbearable task from the moment we resolved that our Union must continue on its glorious career, that our Union must not die!

And let it further be stated here as a matter of historic record. The fight forced upon our Union by the disruptive forces from the outside was a challenge issued not to our International alone but to the whole American Labor movement. Our Union was singled out for attack as a first wedge into the trade union movement of the country, as a starting point to serve as a base of operations for further wrecking activity in other labor organizations. The magnificent and successful struggle which our International has put up to preserve the organization against the ruthless Communist invasion is, therefore, of utmost significance to the whole American trade union movement. We have repulsed this attack at a terrific cost, but we have saved our Union, and in doing so we have rendered a great service to every American labor organization, a service which the future historian of the American Labor movement cannot pass without due notice and stress.

Delegates: We accepted our office in 1925 in a spirit of service, and in this spirit we are returning it to you. Let this spirit of service and loyalty guide you in every step and decision that you might make. It is the only force in the Labor movement that counts; it is the only energizing power that can be relied upon to bring constructive, up-building results. In the name of the I. L. G. W. U. we welcome you to this convention.

**GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, INTERNATIONAL
LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION,**

MORRIS SIGMAN, President,

ABRAHAM BAROFF, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

Salvatore Ninfo.

Jacob Halperin,

Luigi Antonini.

David Dubinsky.

Max Amdur,

Elias Reisberg.

Charles Kreindler,

Julius Hochman,

Harry Greenberg

Mollie Friedman,

David Godes

David Gingold,

Vice-Presidents.

THE WOMEN'S GARMENT INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES
(Report of the Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Census of Manufactures, 1925)

CITY	NUMBERS OF ESTABLISHMENTS			WAGE EARNERS (WAGON NUMBERS)			WAGES			VALUE OF PRODUCTS		
	1915	1922	1921	1915	1922	1921	1915	1922	1921	1915	1922	1921
United States.....	6,127	7,046	7,001	126,456	133,195	144,885	\$175,044,511	\$176,445,515	\$181,082,108	\$1,308,705,201	\$1,406,683,533	\$1,022,742,796
Per cent of total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Principal cities.....	5,281	6,129	6,116	97,630	104,669	116,442	152,261,570	153,354,824	163,433,024	1,186,174,480	1,300,294,286	928,326,680
Per cent of total.....	86.2	87.0	86.6	77.2	78.6	80.4	87.0	86.9	88.3	91.7	92.4	90.5
Remainder of United States.....	846	917	945	28,846	28,526	28,443	22,682,935	23,090,694	21,648,184	107,530,811	106,389,247	94,416,116
Per cent of total.....	13.8	13.0	13.4	22.8	21.4	19.6	13.0	13.1	11.7	8.3	7.6	9.2
Principal cities												
New York.....	4,237	4,878	4,845	72,435	70,398	68,542	122,240,472	121,499,928	120,473,200	1,008,966,287	1,110,121,677	769,627,029
Per cent of total.....	69.2	69.2	68.6	57.3	57.4	59.7	69.8	68.8	70.5	78.0	78.9	74.3
Chicago.....	298	372	315	6,531	7,094	6,970	5,784,208	6,043,881	6,670,502	51,269,723	54,883,289	42,895,698
Per cent of total.....	4.9	5.3	4.5	5.2	5.3	4.8	5.0	5.1	4.7	4.0	3.9	4.2
Philadelphia.....	260	332	438	4,804	7,600	8,310	6,556,033	7,854,691	8,967,790	40,631,781	49,287,489	49,907,335
Per cent of total.....	4.2	4.4	6.2	4.7	5.7	5.7	3.7	4.5	4.8	3.1	3.5	4.9
Cleveland.....	69	89	77	2,454	3,057	3,691	3,556,442	4,216,967	4,010,322	28,862,628	27,442,282	25,438,242
Per cent of total.....	1.1	.9	1.1	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.2	2.4	2.2	1.8	1.9	2.5
Boston.....	160	192	164	2,941	3,183	2,956	3,772,024	3,984,980	3,350,611	20,119,500	21,054,619	18,619,747
Per cent of total.....	2.6	2.7	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.1	2.2	2.3	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.8
St. Louis.....	66	72	75	2,457	2,394	2,465	2,667,778	2,323,128	2,300,237	16,019,917	12,871,294	11,887,097
Per cent of total.....	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.2	.9	1.2
Baltimore.....	63	79	92	2,589	2,981	3,053	2,021,748	2,431,932	2,333,296	13,302,287	13,878,299	12,673,419
Per cent of total.....	1.0	1.1	1.3	2.0	2.2	2.1	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.2
Los Angeles.....	158	93	109	2,116	2,122	2,457	3,444,905	2,027,007	2,345,842	13,002,207	11,007,117	10,214,243
Per cent of total.....	2.6	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.4	1.1	1.3	1.0	.8	1.0

FINANCIAL REPORT

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

NOVEMBER 1, 1925 TO MARCH 31, 1928

NINETEENTH CONVENTION

MAY 7, 1928

Musicians' Hall, Boston, Mass.

To the Delegates of the Nineteenth Convention of the
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Greetings:

In the thirteen years that I have had the great honor of occupying one of the two highest posts in the gift of our International Union, I have endeavored to serve it with all the energy, faith and devotion of which I am capable. In these long years I have had the happiness of watching our great Organization grow in numbers and strength and extend its influence to new fields; I have seen our Union emerging from its narrow sphere to a place of importance in the general Labor movement, pioneering along lines of working-class action hitherto unexplored and now acclaimed as effective means for the leveling-up of the conditions of the toilers all over the country.

Our Union has always taught the workers one unfailing lesson in trade union tactics, and that has been the lesson of unity. In the fight against exploitation in the shops, in the struggle to lift our men and women out of the thralldom of economic servitude and up to a higher plane of living, we always have emphasized the necessity of consolidated, undivided action. Another point we have always stressed was that a "man cannot live on bread alone." We expanded the sphere of our trade-union work to include as much educational work as possible, to make our workers familiar with the needs of their industry in general, and to learn to think not only in limited one-shop terms but in the terms of the needs, wants, ills and remedies of the industry as a whole.

To this end we have built up an educational department in our organization, a Unity House, a Union Health Center with various clinics; for this purpose we have tried hard to make effective and operative in our industries an unemployment benefit system, a sanitary label registry of all our shops that would secure cleanliness, health, and uniform union conditions in all shops.

Then, a few years ago, the bloody aftermath of the World War, the devastating influence of the union-wrecking Communist propaganda, which for a time has created havoc in many labor movements in Europe, struck our Union spreading poison, filth, calumny and mistrust in our ranks. The Communist propaganda, with unlimited financial means at its back, succeeded in raising confusion among our workers, in creating a babel of tongues in which brother knew not brother and friend attacked and besmirched friend. For a time the enemy chortled in unholy glee; he thought he achieved his criminal end.

Then came the cloak strike of 1926, with the untold agony and pain it brought to tens of thousands of men and women. Followed the miserable surrender of the Communist chiefs to the employers and the debacle of the strike, the first defeat in the history of our Union. The workers rebelled, and, under the leadership of their International, they have driven out the faithless commissars and have recaptured their Union from the hands of the usurpers. A period of up-hill reconstructive work by all the loyal elements of the organization came immediately after, with the result that we have saved the Union and have put it back on a sound trade union basis.

We are now assembled at the 19th convention our International has had in the 28 years of its existence to complete the work of its reconstruction. Out of the terrible experience of the recent past, we have come out with one great lesson: Our leaders and our active workers must not only preach but also practice the great idea of unity and solidarity of action. If there are still some clouds on our horizon it is solely because some of us have not yet learned in full this lesson of unity, because some of us are still willing to pay it lip service but are woefully deficient when it comes to practicing it in trade union life. Let us commit this truth fast to memory: We shall never have a great and powerful organization if all the loyal elements in the Union fail to act unitedly and like one man on all important occasions and issues that affect vitally its interests.

I have put these thoughts down on paper that they may serve as a warning to the younger and perhaps more impulsive elements in our Union to remember that "revolutionary" phrases and reckless promises of a heaven on earth are

seldom a bond and a guarantee of even simple honesty; that not all is gold that glitters; that the hard road of the Labor movement, lighted up by the fire of our ultimate goal, is, nevertheless, not a road of short cuts and straight jumps into a new world but a long, difficult journey which must be achieved by stages, intelligently and always with the support of the conscious mass and not through dominating and dictatorial tactics and gestures.

• • •

And there are other vital matters on hand that we must take care of at this convention, if we are to assure for our Organization stability and efficiency. The criminally extravagant Communist administration has saddled upon our Union and its most important locals huge debts which all but bankrupted us, as the delegates might see for themselves from the following financial report. These staggering obligations must be redeemed, if we are to continue to live a rational trade-union life.

First—Let us form once again a united front of all active elements in the Union against every adversary.

Second—We should reestablish the high morale in our Union which for many years has served as our best defensive weapon in every contest with the employers.

Third—We must raise a fund to redeem the Union and all its subdivisions from the indebtedness which is hanging like a millstone on our necks. That will give us the long sought opportunity to resume organizing work all along the line on a large scale, to invade the huge non-union territory in every market, and will put new spirit and courage into our hearts.

Forward, delegates, united like one person to achieve the great aims of our movement—to secure for the members who have elected you to represent their interests a stronger Union, purified in the crucible of its sufferings, and mobilized in every sense of the term to lead them on to a greater and more fruitful future.

Fraternally,

ABRAHAM BAROFF.
General Secretary-Treasurer
I. L. G. U. U.

BALANCE SHEET

I. L. G. W. U.

March 31, 1928

Assets

Cash in Banks	\$4,506.60
Investments	22,615.00
Accounts Receivable (Joint Board and Locals).....	277,825.85
Loans Receivable (Joint Boards and Locals).....	160,428.26
Loans Receivable (Ladies' Garment Workers Center, Inc.)	141,833.39
Loans Receivable—Joint Board N. Y. for Reorganization	261,468.74
Revolving Fund	600.00
Sanitarium Assets	13,157.50
Furniture and Fixtures	15,752.72
Supplies (Estimated)	5,000.00
Total Assets	\$903,187.96

Liabilities and Surplus

Accounts Payable (Current Accounts)	37,568.19
Loans Payable—Int'l Joint Boards, Int'l Locals and Labor Organizations and Institutions.....	424,194.77
Notes Payable—Banks	21,000.00
Notes Payable—Labor Organizations	105,250.00
Notes Payable—Current Accounts	16,988.00
Exchange	3,505.65
Sanatorium Fund	14,310.92
Total Liabilities and Fund.....	\$622,817.53
Surplus	280,370.43
Total Liabilities and Surplus	\$903,187.96

This balance sheet is subject to the liabilities (Schedule A) assumed by the International collectively with the N. Y. Joint Board and Locals.

Schedule A

At, during and after the Reorganization of the New York Joint Board, the International together with the reorganized New York Joint Board and locals, assumed collectively the liabilities shown below. These debts had certain collateral on deposit, which was applied as shown below:-

AMALGAMATED BANK

Liability

Before and during Strike—Joint Board and Locals	\$258,000.00
Before and during Strike—Liberty Bonds	50,000.00
Past due Interest—1-1-28	14,930.65
Total	\$322,930.65

Collateral Applied

174 I. U. B. shares at \$290.....	50,460.00
174 I. U. B. shares at \$265	46,110.00
Realized on Sale of Liberty Bonds.....	50,669.31
Still Hold—\$4000 L. B.	4,000.00
	131,239.31
Payment by Local Contributions	171,691.34
	3,000.00
Net Liability	\$168,691.34*

*This includes liability of \$100,000 guaranteed by Garland Fund.

INTERNATIONAL UNION BANK

Liability

Before Strike—Joint Board and Locals..	\$94,000.00
International	62,800.00
During Strike—Joint Board and Locals..	300,000.00
I. U. B. Stock, placed as collateral in other banks and redeemed by pur- chase for Joint Board and Locals...	35,256.91
Interest and past due interest to 12-10-27	22,168.96
	\$514,215.87

Collateral and Payments Applied

From Trustee—proceeds from sale of 975 shares of I. U. B. Stock.....	189,382.13
From Trustee—Refinancing of Lex. Ave. & 25th St. Corp. (Locals 2 & 9 Bldgs.)	2,613.52
From Trustee—Refinancing of 130 E. 25th St. Corp. (Joint Board Bldg.)	50,282.72
From Trustee—Proceeds from sale of 2nd Mortgage—Local 48	12,437.50
Hold 250 shares I. U. B. Stock at \$250	62,500.00
Hold 50 shares I. U. B. Stock at \$300— estimated	15,000.00
	332,215.87
	182,000.00
Payments made	3,000.00
Net Liability	179,000.00

Securities Deposited with the Old Joint Board by Employers.

Counsel advises that this is not a part of the Inter- national. The General Executive Board, however, feels that this liability should be satisfied in full as a matter of policy and on ground of moral obligation.	
Estimated	700,000.00

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Period—November 1, 1925 to March 31, 1928
29 Months

Receipts		
Dues per Capita		634,240.25
Assessments		
1925 Assessment	65,301.45	
Miners "	2,500.00	
Chicago "	5,971.00	
Total Assessments		74,772.45
Initiation Tax		3,392.35
Supplies	3,525.11	
Charter Fees	120.00	
Surety Bond Premiums	352.50	
Total Supplies, etc. Income.....		3,997.61
Publication Dept. Income:		
Advertising	9,251.83	
Subscriptions	27.50	
Total Publication Dept. Income.....		9,279.33
Miscellaneous Income		640.48
Locals' Proportionate Expense—Reorganized Joint Board		22,300.00
Contributions by Locals, Joint Boards and Labor Organizations for Joint Board N. Y. 1926 Strike—Received		104,355.85
Collections given to international during period of Reorganization		36,322.61
Exchange Items:		
Collections for English Miners.....	6,520.95	
Exchanges	65,692.33	
Total Exchange Items		72,214.28
Loans and Advances:		
Loans Receivable—Returned	35,890.00	
Loans from Banks—Joint Boards and Locals..	1,088,650.00	
Advanced Revolving Funds for Expenses—Returned	12,175.00	
Total Loans and Advances.....		1,136,715.00
Total Receipts		2,098,231.21

Disbursements

Administration Expenses:

Salaries—Officers:

Salary—President	13,050.00	
Salary—Secretary-Treasurer	10,610.00	

Total Salaries of Officers..... 23,660.00

Office:

General Office Salaries	21,823.69	
Auditing Department	20,988.34	
Record Department	4,538.27	
Educational Department	18,308.80	

Publication Dept.:

Printing and Mailing — Justice— Gerechtigkeit, Giustizia and Miscel.	98,930.82	
Salaries of editors and contributors	42,890.82	
Salaries—Mailing Dept.	9,642.05	151,463.69

Office Maintenance:

Rent	50,000.00	
Printing	5,501.12	
Stationery and Supplies.....	1,446.26	
Telephones and Telegrams	4,823.11	
Postage	519.17	
Towels—Ice	543.10	
Insurance	1,600.64	
Furniture & Fixtures	474.50	
Building Expenses & Repairs....	1,330.78	
Auditing General Books	360.00	
Miscellaneous Expense	1,347.35	67,946.03

Total Office Disbursements .. 285,068.82

General Executive Board Meetings and
G.E.B. Standing and Special Com-
mittees 6,613.10

Per Capita to Organizations:

A. F. of L.	8,600.00	
Dues and Per Capita to Other Organ- izations	909.75	

Total Per Capita to Organiza-
tions 9,509.75

Convention Expenses:

International Convention (1925) ..	35,853.30	
International Convention (1928) ..	554.60	
A. F. of L. Convention	1,900.95	

Total Convention Expenses .. 38,308.85

Total Administrative Exp. 363,160.52

Organizing Expenses:	
Salaries and part salaries (General Organizers and Managers)	43,769.00
Organizers R. R. Fare and Expenses (Sent to assist organization campaigns and strikes for existing Locals)	11,367.80
Traveling Expenses—President	7,118.17
Traveling and Committee Expenses—Secretary-Treasurer	2,606.95
Eastern Out-of-Town Dept.—Salaries	84,426.00
Eastern Out-of-Town Dept.—Expenses (Includes strike benefits and relief, strike expense, traveling, etc.)	95,866.69
Western and Canadian Organizing Expenses	20,443.21
Legal Fees	54,113.49
Advertisements	620.20
Publicity	9,321.04
Donations to Locals	12,700.00
Donations to Members	7,556.65
	<hr/>
Total Organization Expenses..	349,909.20
Reorganization Expenses:	
Expenses incurred for N. Y. Joint Board and affiliated Locals after strike was taken over by the International and until the N. Y. Joint Board and affiliated Locals were fully reorganized. These include Salaries of Business Agents and Clerks, Branch Office Expenses, Rents (offices and halls), Telephones, Postage, Printing and Stationery, Organization and Picketing, Lawyers' Fees and Legal Expenses, Registration Salaries and Expenses, Strike Expenses and Strike Relief	258,932.39
Donations to Organizations	26,254.58
Other Expenses:	
Discount and Interest on Notes.....	17,165.18
Surety Bond Premiums	2,354.30
Motion Pictures—Boston Convention	500.00
Gompers Statue and Bust.....	1,320.00
Christmas Gifts	919.20
Painting for Auditorium—3 West 16th Street	410.00
	<hr/>
Total Other Expenses	23,168.68

Contributions for Joint Board N. Y. 1926 Strike—Paid Out		104,355.85
Exchange Items:		
Sanatorium Fund—Disbursements ..	863.72	
Exchange	61,265.46	
Total Exchange Items		62,129.18
Loans and Advances:		
Loans Receivable—Given	108,672.26	
Loans Returned to Banks, Joint Board and Locals	769,592.20	
Advanced Revolving Funds for Ex- penses—Given	9,850.00	
Total Loans and Advances ...		888,114.46
Investments		15,915.00
Total Disbursements		\$2,091,989.86
Summary		
Total Receipts	\$2,098,231.21	
Total Disbursements	2,091,989.86	
Overdrawn November 1, 1925	1,734.85	2,093,724.71
Balance March 31, 1928		\$4,506.50

DONATIONS TO ORGANIZATIONS
November 1, 1925 to March 31, 1928

Anarchist Red Cross	\$ 200.00	
British Miners	8,000.00	
Ex-Patients Tubercular Home	100.00	
Freie Arbeiter Stimme	800.00	
Henry Street Settlement	100.00	
Italian Chamber of Labor	700.00	
Il Nuovo Mondo	5,600.00	
International Labor News Service	110.00	
Jewish Consumptive Relief Associations	250.00	
Kropotkin Museum	100.00	
Labor Age	200.00	
Modern School	150.00	
Pioneer Youth	900.00	
Polish Tailors' Union	500.00	
Polish Folkzeitung Bund	250.00	
Passaic Strikers	100.00	
United Mine Workers	5,000.00	
Women's Trade Union League, Chicago.....	100.00	
Workers' Art Scholarship Committee	100.00	
Other Donations—Tickets and Ads.--		
Various Organizations	2,894.58	
Total		\$26,254.58

**STATEMENT OF DUES STAMPS PURCHASED
BY LOCALS AND JOINT BOARDS**

	Number of Dues Stamps	Total Amount	Amount Paid	Balance Due
2—Cloak, Suit & Reefer Operators, N. Y. C.	720,784	\$108,117.05	\$87,717.05	\$20,400.00
3—Sample Makers, Cloak & Suit Tailors, N. Y. C.	48,878	7,331.70	6,731.70	600.00
4—Cloakmakers' Union, Baltimore, Md....	2,530	382.50	382.50	.....
6—Embroidery Workers, N. Y. C.	33,000	4,350.00	4,350.00	600.00
7—Embroidery Workers, Toronto, Canada	3,768	565.00	565.00	.....
8—Ladies' Garment Workers, San Fran- cisco, Cal.	2,600	290.00	90.00	300.00
9—Cloak & Suit Finishers, N. Y. C.	337,145	58,071.75	48,221.75	9,750.00
10—Amalgamated Garment Cutters, N. Y. City	375,000	56,250.00	52,050.00	4,200.00
20—Waterproof Garment Workers, N. Y. City	76,000	11,400.00	11,400.00	.....
21—Cloakmakers, Newark, N. J.	7,622	1,140.30	1,140.30	.....
22—Dressmakers, N. Y. C.	616,854	92,528.20	92,228.20	300.00
23—Skirtmakers, N. Y. C.	56,910	8,534.50	7,186.50	1,350.00
24—Waterproof Garment Workers, Bos- ton, Mass.	12,500	1,875.00	1,200.00	675.00
28—Ladies' Tailors, Seattle, Wash.	1,300	195.00	195.00	.....
30—Ladies' Tailors, Stamford, Conn.	200	30.00	30.00	.....
31—Ladies' Garment Workers, Rahway, N. J.	300	45.00	45.00	.....
32—Ladies' Garment Workers, Winnepeg, Canada	400	60.00	60.00	.....
34—Corset Cutters, Bridgeport, Conn.	1,000	150.00	120.00	30.00
35—Cloak & Dress Pressers' Union, N. Y. City	410,188	61,528.20	50,278.20	11,250.00
38—Ladies' Tailors, Theatrical Costumers, N. Y. C.	122,000	18,300.00	17,700.00	600.00
41—Tuckers, Hemstichers, Plesters & Novelty Workers, N. Y. C.	69,250	10,387.50	9,337.50	1,050.00
45—United Designers of Ladies' Wear, N. Y. C.	3,606	541.25	406.25	135.00
47—Italian Cloak, Suit & Skirtmakers, Phila. Pa.	5,300	795.00	795.00	.....
48—Italian Cloakmakers, N. Y. C.	350,129	52,519.35	35,004.55	16,914.80
50—Waistmakers, Phila., Pa.	81,000	12,150.00	10,650.00	1,500.00
51—Dress & White Goods Workers, Pas- saic, N. J.	800	120.00	120.00	.....
52—Ladies' Garment Workers, Los Ange- les, Calif.	37,133	5,570.00	5,205.00	365.00
55—Amalgamated Knitgoods Workers, N. Y. C.	200	30.00	30.00	.....
58—Ladies' Garment Workers, Vineland, N. J.	500	75.00	60.00	15.00
62—White Goods Workers, N. Y. C.	131,833	19,775.00	17,475.00	2,300.00
63—Cloakmakers, Cincinnati, Ohio	800	120.00	120.00	.....
64—Buttonhole Makers, N. Y. C.	2,000	300.00	300.00	.....
66—Bonnax Embroidery Workers, N. Y. C.	98,000	14,700.00	14,700.00	.....
67—Cloakmakers, Toledo, Ohio	1,200	180.00	75.00	105.00
70—Ladies' Garment Workers, Portland, Oregon	250	37.50	37.50	.....

	Number of Dues Stamps	Total Amount	Amount Paid	Balance Due
72—Handkerchief Workers, Passaic, N. J.	400	60.00	60.00	.....
73—Cloak, Skirt & Dressmakers, Worcester, Mass.	5,200	780.00	780.00	.....
76—Custom Dressmakers, Phila., Pa.	400	60.00	60.00	.....
82—Examiners & Graders, N. Y. C.	20,498	3,074.85	3,074.85	.....
85—Ladies' Garment Workers, Keyport, N. J.	4,400	660.00	540.00	120.00
87—Ladies' Garment Workers, Camden, N. J.	200	30.00	30.00	.....
88—Ladies' Garment Workers, Bayonne, N. J.	200	30.00	30.00	.....
89—Italian Waist & Dressmakers, N. Y. City	175,680	26,352.00	25,297.05	1,054.95
91—Children's Dress, Bathrobe & House-dressmakers, N. Y. C.	107,000	16,050.00	16,050.00	.....
93—Cloakmakers, Long Branch, N. J.	600	90.00	60.00	30.00
123—Ladies' Garment Workers, Paterson, N. J.	467	70.00	70.00	.....
127—Ladies' Garment Workers, Stamford, Conn.	2,000	300.00	300.00	.....
131—Retail Salespeople, N. Y. C.	1,733	260.00	260.00	.....
132—Buttonmakers' Union, N. Y. C.	1,900	285.00	100.00	185.00
134—Cloak, Waist & Dressmakers, Hackensack, N. J.	4,067	610.00	570.00	40.00
136—Ladies' Garment Workers, Jersey City, N. J.	4,800	720.00	600.00	120.00
139—Ladies' Garment Workers, Lyndhurst, N. J.	400	60.00	60.00	.....
140—Ladies' Garment Workers, Plainfield, N. J.	5,200	780.00	660.00	120.00
143—Ladies' Garment Workers, Freehold, N. J.	200	30.00	30.00	.....
Stamps purchased collectively for Locals:				
Locals 57, 77, 79, 84, 107, 137, 138, 141, 142	30,204	4,530.00	3,450.00	1,080.00
Locals 15, 38, 113	11,000	1,650.00	900.00	750.00
Joint Board, N. Y. City	64,167	9,625.00	.....	9,625.00
Joint Board, Boston, Mass.	163,667	24,550.00	24,050.00	500.00
Joint Board, Chicago, Ill.	265,667	39,850.00	38,950.00	900.00
Joint Board, Cleveland, Ohio	112,667	16,900.00	16,600.00	300.00
Joint Board, Montreal, Canada	13,000	1,950.00	1,800.00	150.00
Joint Board, Philadelphia, Pa.	92,417	13,862.50	13,712.50	150.00
Joint Board, St. Louis, Mo.	7,000	1,050.00	1,050.00	.....
Joint Board, Toronto, Canada	64,589	9,683.25	8,388.25	1,300.00
	4,820,700	\$723,105.00	\$534,240.25	\$188,864.75

Statement by Finance Committee

The Finance Committee has looked over all the vouchers for the years ending November 1925, 1926, 1927 up to March 31, 1928. We find that all vouchers O. K'd by Secretary Baroff are legitimate and authorized expenses.

SALVATORE NINFO, Chairman
HARRY GREENBERG, Secretary
DAVID DUBINSKY
LUIGI ANTONINI

I hereby certify that the cash balance amounting to \$4,506.50 Four Thousand Five Hundred Six Dollars and Fifty Cents (\$4,506.50) as shown by the bank reconciliation in the cash book on March 31, 1928 is correct.

ALEXANDER J. MEYERSON,
Certified Public Accountant

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CONVENTION

OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION



Opening Session, Monday Morning,
May 7, 1928

The formal opening of the Nineteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union took place on Monday morning, May 7, 1928, at a reception mass meeting and concert, under the auspices of the arrangement committee of the Boston locals of the I. L. G. W. U., at Convention Hall, 22 Garrison St., Boston, Mass.

Delegate Harry Tockman, of the Boston Arrangements Committee, announced that the band would play several pieces while the delegates took their assigned seats. The "Star Spangled Banner" and the "Internationale" were rendered while the delegates stood at attention. Brother Tockman welcomed the delegates in the name of the Boston organization and assured them of as cordial a reception as the means of the local union could provide. He stressed the point that the Boston ladies' garment workers were immensely proud of the fact that their city was chosen as the place for the "first great reconstruction convention of the I. L. G. W. U."

Delegate Tockman then turned over the gavel to Bro. John Van Varenwyck, president of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor. The members of the General Executive Board then mounted the platform amid the hearty cheers of all the delegates. Bro. Van Varenwyck warmly welcomed the delegates to the city of Boston in behalf of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, assuring them of its hearty cooperation. He reminded the delegates of the many sacrifices made by the American labor movement in behalf of the cause, many of them paying for their devotion with

their very lives, and urged them to hold together in unity, regardless of differences of opinion.

Harry P. Grages, secretary of the Boston Central Labor Union spoke next. He emphasized the point that what the employers recognized and respected was not so much the skill of the workers as their strength as evinced by the power of their organization. In other words, the stronger the workers' organization, the better the conditions of the workers, and vice versa. He concluded by welcoming the delegates in behalf of the Boston Central Labor Union.

Francis Fenton, President of the Boston Central Labor Union, followed. He stressed the importance of educating the workers, and concluded by reiterating the welcome of Brother Grages to the delegates.

Brother Van Varenwyck then continued:

"As I said in my opening remarks, there have been men and women who, in the cause of labor, have not cared for self, family, friends, country, nor the world. They had the one mission—Labor. They cared not for criticism, they cared not for persecution, they cared not for prison; their ideal, their life's mission, was Labor. Many of these men and women have already passed away. They are gone. We have still some of them living. There are many unions in this country that can boast of such men, and I believe that your organization can boast of just as many. You have a great reason to be proud of their character, their mettle, which has been tested and has not been found wanting. They are

still here. The President of your International Union (applause) is one of these chosen persons who has been willing to make that sacrifice. It is, indeed, to me a great pleasure to be able to present to you delegates to this convention, the President of your International Union.

(Applause—audience rising at this point.)

President Sigman was given a rousing ovation, followed by the singing of the "Internationale."

President Sigman: Fellow delegates, members and friends: I am sure that all present at this wonderful gathering deeply appreciate the honor and cordiality extended to us by the President of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, by the Secretary of the Boston Central Labor Council, and by the Chairman of the Boston Joint Board in behalf of the Boston members of our International. I am sure, from the sentiments expressed by them, that they will be with us during this convention and will help us not only by giving us comfort but also by giving us advice and assistance.

You know that our conventions occur every two years, but this convention takes place after a lapse of almost two and a half years, due the fact that Philadelphia convention, in December, 1925, was held at an earlier date than prescribed by our constitution. These 29 months, sisters and brothers, were the hardest, the most difficult months in my own life and in the annals of our International Union.

Those of you who attended that Philadelphia convention, no doubt, still vividly remember it. You, no doubt, remember the conditions under which that convention was held, due to the fact that not only were we confronted with grave industrial problems, which conventions are obliged to consider and solve, but also because some men and women, supposedly a part of Labor's family, have, in the last seven or eight years, adopted toward us a policy of discord, antagonism and hatred. I want you, delegates and

friends, to know that prior to that Philadelphia convention, and at that convention, the men and women in our movement who have its welfare at heart, who consider the trade union movement an ideal and a protection for the workers' interests, had made heroic efforts to make these men and women who represent that destructive element understand that we cannot serve the cause of Labor, that we cannot protect the interests of the workers, unless the workers in industry are united in mind, spirit and action. At that convention, we who believe in the organized trade union movement as a paramount factor today and tomorrow, until the day would come when human society will be entirely rebuilt and reconstructed on a more just and a more equitable basis,—we made the effort to join hands with them, and proved it so by action at that convention. And as you will go through the report that the General Executive Board has prepared for your consideration and judgment, you will fully agree with the statements that I make here, and you will learn from it that when this element clamors for unity or talks about amalgamation, it only sputters idle and false phrases. In reality, they only break split, antagonize and poison the minds of worker against worker, and I want you, delegates, friends and members present here today, to remember that this plague brought upon our International affects not only our organization alone. As you observe the recent history of the trade union movement throughout the world, and the occurrences within many other labor unions right here in this country you will find that the acts of this destructive group are the same in all of them, except that in some organizations their influence is less felt because of better industrial conditions. I do not believe there is another organization in this country that was confronted with such a great problem of unemployment as our organization. In our organization you will find crafts in which the oversupply of workers is at certain times nearly 100 per cent. At times, we have in some of our trades two men to one job. Under such adverse conditions any demagogue

who would drape himself in a red revolutionary mantle could mislead the workers and play right into the hands of the employers. Any irresponsible creature can, under such circumstances, cause discontent and turmoil. It is only natural that, when confronted with such a severe struggle for existence, workers are liable to lose control of their thinking apparatus and commit the most foolhardy acts against their own interests.

The delegates at the Philadelphia convention should have given most of their attention to our industrial problems, but that was impossible because of that group of irresponsible adventurers which was acting at the behest of a political party, which has no regard for the economic labor movement, which clings to the theory that the worse the economic condition of the masses, the sooner would they become "revolutionized," and, therefore, would bring about a quick change in the present system of society. With such men and women we could not work out the vital problems upon which the life and happiness of our tens of thousands of members depends.

It is my hope that, regardless of what issues may come to the fore at this convention, the delegates will remember that they should not give politics the preference over the economic problems which the convention has to solve, as otherwise, as was demonstrated at our Philadelphia convention, politics will be given full play while our real problems will be thrown into the wastebasket.

It is my sincere hope that the delegates at this convention will bear in mind the fact that we have grave tasks before us, tasks which have grown out of the tremendous changes that our industry has gone through in the last ten years. When we first sat down to solve these problems in 1923, and prepared an industrial program, hoping to eliminate by it at least the worst of the ills in our industry you know how these destructive groups had sidetracked and made impossible all sane and rational activity within our union.

I hope that the delegates will bear in mind the fact that this convention will

decide the fate of our International as to its future effectiveness and influence and efficient service for its members.

I surely appreciate the spirit with which you have received our guests, as well as our General Executive Board and myself. I hope that this convention will be a constructive and fruitful convention, and will bring back to our International that glory which it had once enjoyed not only in the American trade union movement but throughout the labor movement the world over. I thank you. (Ovation.)

Brother Julius Hochman—I move that this convention send a message of greetings to the United Mine Workers of America, particularly to the striking soft coal miners of Pennsylvania. (This was seconded and unanimously carried.)

Brother Max Stoller—I move that this convention extend its greetings to the United Textile Workers of New Bedford, Mass., who are now on strike against inhuman wage reductions. (Applause.)

(This was seconded and carried unanimously amidst applause.)

As the Committee on Credentials was not ready with its report, the session adjourned at noon until 2 p. m.

First Day—Afternoon Session Monday, May 7, 1928

President Morris Sigman called the session to order at 2 p. m. sharp.

Abraham Snyder, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following report:—

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Greetings:—

Your Committee on Credentials herewith submits its report on credentials submitted to it for examination by 69 locals, 6 joint boards, 2 district councils, and 3 general officers of the International.

Your committee has examined the credentials of 204 delegates representing the

following trades, under the jurisdiction of our International in the United States and Canada:—

Cloakmakers	126
Dressmakers	40
Hemstitchers	4
Embroidery workers	6
White goods workers	4
Raincoat makers	7
Button makers	1
Sample makers	3
Hankercloth makers	2
Joint boards and district councils.....	8
Total delegates	201
General officers	3

In the course of its work, the Committee has listened to a number of objections which were filed against individual delegates, challenging their fitness to represent locals at this Convention. In its deliberations it was guided by a spirit of genuine fairness and allowed personal judgment or preference to play no part in its decisions and recommendations.

Your Committee, in submitting its report to this Convention, is mindful of the fact that during this period, between the convention last held in the city of Philadelphia, in the month of December, 1925, and this present Convention, May, 1928, our International Union has gone through the most crucial period in its existence. This was due principally to the fact that our International has had constantly to combat the destructive policies of the Communists outside and within our unions.

The Credential Committee, in its work, has not only found it necessary to deal with the seating of the individual delegates, but likewise to consider the financial status of the locals insofar as meeting their obligations and indebtedness to the General Office is concerned.

Among the delegates whose seating we recommend are included a large number who represent locals that have failed to meet their obligations since the last convention. The bills presented to the Credential Committee by the General Office show that a large number of New York locals are heavily indebted to the International. These bills represent the 1925 assessment and other items which the locals have incurred while under

Communist leadership in the general strike of 1928, and which they are unable to meet at this time. Since we are aware of the fact that the General Executive Board, in its report to this convention, has certain recommendations bearing on this subject, we recommend that the incoming General Executive Board at its first session, after the adjournment of the convention take up for adjustment the indebtedness of the New York locals to the International.

The following is a list of the locals which owe the International sums above one hundred dollars'

Local No. 2—Cloak, Suit and Reefer Operators' Union (New York), \$29,302.68.

Local No. 3—Sample Makers, Cloak & Suit Tailors' Union (New York), \$4,047.25.

Local No. 9—Cloak, Suit Finishers' Union (New York), \$18,378.35.

Local No. 10—Amalgamated Cutters' Union (New York), \$11,807.00.

Local No. 22—Dressmakers' Union of Greater New York, \$20,312.60.

Local No. 23—Skirt Makers' Union (New York), \$5,084.85.

Local No. 24—Waterproof Workers' Union, Boston, Mass., \$856.50.

Local No. 35—Cloak, Skirt & Dress Pressers' Union (New York), \$1,350.00.

Local No. 41—Hemstitchers & Tuckers' Union (New York), \$4,365.60.

Local No. 48—Italian Cloakmakers' Union (New York), \$29,722.00.

Local No. 50—Waist & Dressmakers' Union, Philadelphia, Pa., \$4,117.25.

Local No. 52—Ladies' Garment Workers, Los Angeles, Cal., \$1,515.88.

Local No. 62—Whitegoods Workers' Union (New York), \$9,866.95.

Local No. 64—Buttonhole Makers' Union (New York), \$437.50.

Local No. 75—Cloak & Dressmakers' Union, Worcester, Mass., \$500.80.

Local No. 82—Examiners & Bushelers' Union (New York), \$1,498.25.

Local No. 89—Italian Dressmakers' Union (New York), \$13,045.90.

Local No. 91—Children's Dress & Bathrobe Workers' (New York), \$2,112.50.

Joint Board of St. Louis, Mo., \$614.13.

Joint Board of Boston, Mass., \$4,981.35.
 Joint Board of Toronto, Canada, \$3,761.30.

After considering the debts of the above-mentioned locals, the Credentials Committee recommends, in view of the circumstances which are largely responsible for the weak financial condition of these locals, that their delegates be seated and that this Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to see to it that every local makes good its indebtedness to the international within sixty days after the Convention adjourns.

We now submit a list of the locals, joint boards, and district councils' delegates to be seated at this Convention:—

Local No. 2—Cloak, Suit & Reeler Operators' Union, New York—Benj. Schlesinger, B. Kaplan, Morris J. Ashbes, Benj. Kaplan, Louis Goldstein, Abraham Belson, Morris Leventhal, Joseph Stankewich, Jacob Snyder, Jacob Miller.

Local No. 3—New York Sample Makers', Cloak & Suit Tailors' Union—Otto Pick, Samuel Lofkovits, David Rubin.

Local No. 5—Cloak Makers, Chicago Ill.—Max Graffman, M. A. Goldstein, M. Novak.

Local No. 6—Embroidery Workers' Union, New York—Carl Grabler, Manny Weiss, David Greenberg.

Local No. 9—Cloak & Suit Tailors, New York—Louis Kaufman, Nicholas Kirtzman, Sam Amislofsky, Jacob Halpern, Isidore Sorkin, Solomon Goldstein.

Local No. 10—Amalgamated Cutters, New York—David Dubinsky, Isidore Nagler, Samuel Perlmutter, David Frubling, Max Stoller, Harry Zaslavsky, Maurice W. Jacobs.

Local No. 12—Pressers' Union, Boston, Mass.—Joseph Weiner, Barnet Levine.

Local No. 14—Cloak & Dressmakers of Toronto, Canada—Charles Schatz.

Local No. 15—Cloak & Dressmakers of White Plains, N. Y.—Tessie Cavaliori, Morris Elaberg.

Local No. 18—Cloak, Suit & Dress Pressers, Chicago, Ill.—H. Messer, A. Sudin.

Local No. 19—Cloak & Suit Cutters, Montreal, Canada—Albert Eaton.

Local No. 20—Waterproof Garment Workers, New York—Samuel Freedman, David Gingold, Meyer Pollinsky.

Local No. 21—Cloak & Shirt Makers, Newark, N. J.—Leo Arch.

Local No. 22—Dressmakers Union of New York—Jos. Rabinow, Joseph Spielman, Aaron Dashkoff, Jacob Cooper.

Local No. 23—Skirt Makers' Union, New York—Samuel Freund, Harry Wander, Harry Rabinowitz, Aaron Cohen.

Local No. 24—Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Boston, Mass.—Sol Goldberg, Julius Cohen.

Local No. 26—Cloak Operators' Union, Cleveland, Ohio—Nathan Solomon, Louis Friend, Sam Finkel.

Local No. 27—Skirt Operators' Union, Cleveland, Ohio—Morris Stein, Jack Silverstein.

Local No. 28—Ladies' Tailors' Union of Seattle, Washington—M. Rosenberg.

Local No. 29—Women Garment Workers of Cleveland, Ohio—Tillie Schwartz, Nina Lapez, Carrie Gallagher.

Local No. 35—Cloak, Skirt & Dress Pressers, New York—Israel Rothstein, Max Cohen, Sam Eisenberg, Ben Berland, Louis Reiff, Joseph Breslaw.

Local No. 36—Ladies' Garment Workers, Yonkers, N. Y.—Irene Feejko Nathan Bliss.

Local No. 37—Cloak & Skirt Pressers, Cleveland, Ohio—Julius Gorainick, Sam Turk.

Local No. 38—Ladies' Tailors' Union, New York—Boris Drasin, J. L. Banach, Luigi Rea, Goldie Benchman.

Local No. 39—Finishers' Union, Boston, Mass.—Jacob Sneider, Louis Egelnick.

Local No. 40—Cloak & Skirt Makers, Phila., Pa.—Ruben Lubroff, Samuel Rudin, Abe Golden.

Local No. 41—Tuckers Hemstitchers, New York—Morris Levine, Max Grackin, Harry Greenberg, Jack Peckofsky.

Local No. 42—Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union, Cleveland, Ohio—Charles Kreindler, Moyer Berkman.

Local No. 44—Italian Cloak Makers, Cleveland, Ohio—Joseph Magistro, Josephine Fanelli.

Local No. 46—Dress & Waistmakers, Boston, Mass.—Isaac Posen, Morris Lynsky, Morris Miller.

Local No. 47—Italian Cloak & Skirt Makers, Philadelphia, Pa.—Donato Di-Girolomo.

Local No. 48—Italian Cloak Makers, New York—Eduardo Molleani, Basilio Desti, Carlo Carotenuto, Paolo Mancuso, Giovanni La Russo, Giacomo Piccione, Gennaro Spina, Pasquale Muccigrosso.

Local No. 50—Waist & Dressmakers, Philadelphia, Pa.—Elias Reisberg, Edith Kallsh, Albert Stein, Aaron Einbinder.

Local No. 51—Dressmakers, Passaic, N. J.—Marco Durante, S. W. Biagoli.

Local No. 53—Amalgamated Cutters, Philadelphia, Pa.—Sam Otto, Abe Cohen.

Local No. 54—Raincoat Makers, Chicago, Ill.—J. Berenstein, A. Rabinowitz.

Local No. 56—Cloak Makers, Boston, Mass.—Isaac Lederman.

Local No. 57—Ladies' Garment Workers, Jamaica, L. I.—Dorothy Jasinska, Bertha Siegel.

Local No. 59—Cloak Finishers, Chicago, Ill.—Harry Rufer, Pearl Gold, A. Sher.

Local No. 62—White Goods' Workers, New York—Abraham Snyder, Fannie Shapiro, Clara Friedman, Sophie Dachman.

Local No. 64—Buttonhole Workers, New York—A. Brick, A. Friedman.

Local No. 66—Bonnaz Embroidery Workers' Union, New York—Morris Fishman, Saul Klein, Nathan Riesel.

Local No. 67—Garment Workers' Union, Toledo, Ohio—Morris Flaum, Louis Stolberg.

Local No. 68—Cloak Finishers, Philadelphia, Pa.—Sarah Greenberg, Beekie Stein.

Local No. 71—Cloak Pressors, Philadelphia, Pa.—George Rubin, Harry Kaplan.

Local No. 72—Hand, Machine Embroidery Workers' Union, Passaic, N. J.—Jeanette Birnbaum, Fannia M. Cohn.

Local No. 73—Garment Cutters, Boston, Mass.—Phillip Kramer, Sam Spiegel.

Local No. 75—Cloak & Dressmakers, Worcester, Mass.—Charles Brown.

Local No. 77—Ladies' Garment Workers, Corona, L. I.—Kate Damiano, Bessie King.

Local No. 78—Cloak Makers, St. Louis, Mo.—B. Gilbert.

Local No. 79—Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Mineola, L. I.—Anna Daviola, Jennie Sowinski.

Local No. 80—Italian Cloak & Dressmakers, Boston, Mass.—Joseph Morabito, Anthony Di Maggio.

Local No. 81—Cutters, Chicago, Ill.—Sam Lederman, M. Schwartzberg.

Local No. 82—Examiners, New York City—Morris Greffer, Leon Rosenblatt.

Local No. 84—Garment Workers, Astoria, L. I.—Hattie Turner, Nancy Romano.

Local No. 85—Ladies' Garment Workers, Keyport, N. J.—Matilda Heyer, J. Fierontino.

Local No. 89—Italian Dressmakers, New York—Luigi Antonini, Carmelo Landoli, Antonio Crivollo, Margherita Di Maggio, John Egitto, John Cabiati.

Local No. 91—Children's Dressmakers, New York—Peter Li Causi, Morris Berkowitz, Phillip Mainella, Esther Stein.

Local No. 92—Cloak Pressors, Toronto, Canada—Louis Gallinaky.

Local No. 100—Dressmakers, Chicago, Ill.—Mollie Friedman, Meyer Terry, Helen Mosenki.

Local No. 107—Ladies' Garment Workers, Woodhaven, L. I.—Josephine Kinney, Madeleine Farrel.

Local No. 113—Ladies' Garment Workers, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.—Louis Maggio, Esther Thamos.

Local No. 134—Garment Workers, Hackensack, N. J.—Chas. R. Cirrencione.

Local No. 136—Ladies' Garment Workers, Jersey City, N. J.—Nathan Shaeffer, Helen Oliver.

Local No. 137—Bridgeport Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Bridgeport, Conn.—L. Kennedy, Rose Zimmerman.

Local No. 138—Ladies' Garment Workers, Colchester, Conn.—Jacob Grossman.

Local No. 140—Ladies' Garment Workers, Plainfield, N. J.—Mary Warden, A. Rosenberg.

Local No. 141—Ladies' Garment Workers, South Norwalk, Conn.—David Harris, Vincent Peluso.

District Council of Long Island—Phillip Oretsky.

District Council of Jersey City—G. Di Nola.

Joint Board of New York—Julius Hochman.

Joint Board of Boston, Mass.—Gol Polakoff.

Joint Board of Philadelphia, Pa.—Max Amdur.

Joint Board of Cleveland, Ohio—Abraham Katovsky.

Joint Board of Toronto, Canada—Abraham Kirzner.

Joint Board of Chicago, Ill.—Morris Bialis.

In addition to these delegates, we desire to announce that the President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Morris Sigman, and the General Secretary-Treasurer, Abraham Baroff, and its First Vice-President, Salvatore Ninfo, are delegates to this convention by virtue of their office as provided in our Constitution.

Your committee received a communication from Local No. 38, Ladies Tailors' Union of New York, informing us that Brother Abraham Torchinsky was sent to this convention as an alternate for Boris Drasin, who is unable to attend on account of illness. Your committee recommends that Brother Torchinsky be seated to this convention.

Your committee received a communication from Local No. 18, Cloak & Dress Pressers' Union of Chicago, Ill., informing us that Brother Abe Levine was elected as a substitute delegate in place of Brother H. Meisser, who is unable to attend. Your committee recommends that Brother Levine be seated.

Your committee has received an objection from Brother Frank Antman, member of Local No. 35, Ledger No. 309, to Delegate Charles Aronsky on the ground that while working with Brother Aronsky in the shop of Liman & Eidlinger, the latter mistreated him in the division of work and brought about his discharge, and, therefore, he believes that Brother Aronsky should not be seated as a delegate to this Convention.

Brother Aronsky denied the charges as unfounded and proved to the Committee that he never caused this man's discharge, but, on the contrary, was forced himself to leave the shop due to the misbehavior of Brother Antman who is still working in the same shop.

Your committee, after listening to the charges presented by the objector, found them groundless. The committee is aware of the clean record of Brother Charles Aronsky in his local union. He has served his local union for a number of years as officer and your committee, therefore, recommends that delegate Aronsky be seated.

Your committee received an objection from Brother A. Rudin, a member of Local No. 35, against Brother Goldowsky, that on the night when Brother Goldowsky was nominated as a delegate, he, Goldowsky, was in arrears in dues for about six months. This is a violation of Section 5, Article 2, of the I. L. G. W. U. constitution.

Brother Goldowsky stated that he is one of the first organizers of Local 35, having been a member since 1907, and that he carries Ledger No. 1 on his book. He has always been a good-standing member of his local union and has paid his dues promptly. He has attended a number of conventions and at no time has any objection been raised against him. Brother Goldowsky further told that he was not aware that he was in arrears for about twenty-two weeks at the time of his nomination, as his union book was in his local union office and that, as a paid officer of the Joint Board, he was constantly busy with the routine work of the office. He further stated that it was merely an oversight on his part. On learning that he was in arrears he immediately paid up his dues.

In order to prove that it was an oversight on his part, Brother Goldowsky further explained that upon a recent emergency call from his local for loans, he responded with a loan of twenty-five dollars.

Your committee took cognizance of the good record of Brother Goldowsky in his local union and of his service to his local union and to the Joint Board for a number of years in many capacities. It also realized the hardship under which the officers work at present in the City of New York. Your committee recommends that Brother Goldowsky be seated as delegate to this Convention.

We received an objection from H. Lieber, Local No. 9, Ledger No. 2508, to Brother Max Kravitz, delegate from the same Local, on the ground that said delegate was suspended from the Executive Board of Local No. 9.

Brother S. Bender, Local No. 9, Ledger No. 900, in supporting the objection against Brother Kravitz, stated that at a meeting of the Executive Board of Local No. 9, Brother Kravitz, in a conversation with another member and also on the floor of the Executive Board, made the following remarks—"That all old officers are crooks and grafters and that they were all elected by a clique of 300." Brother Kravitz, it is alleged, had made similar remarks on other occasions.

He further stated that Brother Kravitz was brought up on charges before the Executive Board. A committee was appointed to hear the charges against Brother Kravitz, whose report was read by Brother Cohen, secretary of the Executive Board of Local No. 9, and which is as follows:

"To the Executive Board of Local No. 9:

"We, the committee appointed by the Executive Board to act on the charge preferred against Brother Kravitz by Brother Bender, decided to recommend to the Executive Board that Brother Kravitz be deprived of his right to participate in the general work of the Executive Board as well as in the organization work during the next eight meeting. Signed: S. Amislofsky, chairman; S. Lefkowitz, secretary; Beckie Pollack, D. Miller and S. Shuckin."

Brother Kravitz, in stating his case, denied that he had at any time made any direct accusations as stated in the testimony against him. He explained that all he had said was that there are a number of members of the local union who believe that the old officers are not honest enough, and since the International is attempting to reorganize the Union, it is advisable, at this time, that he old crowd should stay away and other people be elected in their stead.

Your committee, after listening to the statement of both sides, is of the opinion that responsible members of a Union should be more careful in making remarks of such a nature. The Committee believes, however, that since the case of Brother Kravitz is now pending before the Appeal Committee of the Joint Board, that he be seated as a delegate to this Convention.

Your Committee on Credentials received an objection from the Executive Board of Local No. 22, signed by Brother Joseph Spielman, secretary, against delegates Sonia Farber, Fannie Shapiro, Max Bluestein and Max Moskowitz, charging them with making statements to the effect that they would not carry out the instructions of the membership of their Local. In accordance with a decision adopted at a membership meeting on April 26th, 1928, all delegates refusing to abide by its instructions shall be replaced by alternates.

The objected delegates appeared before the committee and denied the charge preferred against them, stating that at no time after the decision by the membership did they make any statement to the effect that they would not carry out the instructions of the membership. In view of the fact that the objected delegates deny these charges, your Committee recommends that they be seated at the Convention.

Your Committee wishes to report that several letters have been turned over to it by Brother Abraham Baroff. These letters are all addressed to Mr. Abraham Baroff, Secretary, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and purport to inform him that certain persons were elected as delegates to the Boston Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

The letters are signed by—

Julius Portnoy, purporting to act as Secretary of the Joint Board of Cloak, Skirt, Dress & Reefer Makers' Union of New York.

A. Zirlin, purporting to act as Manager of Local No. 9.

Joseph Boruchowitz, purporting to act as Manager of Local No. 2.

Julius Portnoy, purporting to act as Secretary of Local No. 22.

Joseph Goretsky, purporting to act as Manager of Local No. 35.

Morris E. Taft, purporting to act as Manager of Local No. 41.

I. L. Davidson, purporting to act as Chairman of Chicago Joint Board.

Freda Becker, purporting to act as Secretary of Local No. 100.

Sarah Panitsky, purporting to act as Chairman of Local No. 100.

Barnett Soll, purporting to act as Chairman of Local No. 5.

Joseph Sapp, purporting to act as Secretary of Local No. 5.

Bertha Pinhasik, purporting to act as Chairman of Local No. 59.

Anna Dohrer, purporting to act as Secretary of Local No. 59.

Your Committee disregarded the said letters for the reason that the persons who have signed the same are not officers of the organizations they claim to represent, and that neither they nor the persons alleged to have been elected as delegates are members of such organizations or of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, but represent small groups of former members who have failed to maintain their membership in the International during the reorganization of the Joint Board of York, and of the other local unions mentioned.

The regular organization of the Joint Board of New York and of the local unions above mentioned have presented credentials for delegates duly elected by them, and such delegates are among those whom the Committee has already recommended to be seated.

Delegate Hochman: Since Brother Boris Drasin, Secretary of Local 38, is ill and unable to attend, I move that we send him a telegram of sympathy, expressing our hope that he get well and be able to attend this convention.

(This motion was unanimously carried.)

Delegate Dubinsky: Some of those who pretend to have been elected as delegates of fictitious locals, especially from Chicago, were suspended from

their local unions for non-payment of dues, and this fact should be brought out by the Credentials' Committee.

Delegate Snyder: We made a thorough investigation and we found that every one of these members was suspended not only for failure to pay dues, but some of them, as in the case of Chicago, for scabbing, and I will so state in my report.

President Sigman: I believe that the Credentials' Committee should have given a little more light in its report on the individuals who pretend to be members of the International and their present status in the industry. We shall now vote on the report of the Committee. (The report was unanimously adopted.)

Delegate Snyder: This temporarily concludes the report of the Committee.

Address by Matthew Woll

At the conclusion of the report of the Credentials' Committee, President Sigman presented Vice-President Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor, and chairman of the committee appointed by the A. F. of L. to aid the International during its period of reconstruction. Bro. Woll was received with thunderous applause.

Matthew Woll: First of all, permit me to extend to you the fraternal greetings of the American Federation of Labor (applause), and wish for you a very fruitful and constructive meeting, adding the hope that out of your deliberations there shall be designed such policies that would reflect beneficially not only upon the men and women of your calling but would also reflect a radiant light of hope upon all wage earners.

"I, like many of you, am a product of continental Europe—like many of you, driven by desperation and poverty, to find in America a better condition of life and work. Something was said this morning about a silver and tin spoon. I too, received a training in that school of the tin spoon. I recall that the Moulders' Union, of which my father was a member, always gave help to our family when we were in need. And so, when the time

came for me to enter industrial life, I resolved to do what I could to repay the debt that I owed the labor movement, and ever since then I have kept to that resolve. But in devoting my life to the labor movement, I did not and never will propose to be carried off my feet upon a course of insanity, or follow a procedure that spells disaster and ruin, a policy which seeks only to tear down the life and work of the wage earners. Rather will I raise my voice at all times for constructive work in the labor movement, for improving conditions day by day, and for securing fully and freely the rights of the wage earners.

"Your President has mentioned the fact that, as Chairman of the Special Committee, it became my duty to do whatever I could to be helpful to your organization to rid it of the cancer that had disrupted it and was leading it to ruination. If I have done anything to help improve conditions, I shall be more than compensated for the trials and tribulations involved in that trouble. When called upon to be of assistance, I did not possess the knowledge of your organization—least of all did I understand the characteristics of some of the men and women then identified with you movement. I have always been led to believe that you respected equal rights and lived up to the rule of fair play, and lo and behold! when I came into this work, I found a situation where brother and sister were at each other's throats. Speak of your pogroms of old, we have witnessed them in New York, and practiced by whom? By men and women of the same family. Surely, when one sees a condition of this kind, there must be something wrong. Surely, such a condition cannot be justified. That is the situation I found, and that is the work in which I glory in having been helpful to right and adjust, and had it not been for the unfortunate industrial depression, you would today have a complete organization united within, instead of still having to face a number of difficulties.

"There is placed in us a power, greater than all other powers yet discovered by scientists and applied for human advancement, and that power is in our hands,

without which all tools and mechanical devices are helpless. Then let us organize these tools of the human mind, and thus organized labor can and will become the greatest power in society in any form of government. That, to my mind, is the great philosophy of the trade union movement, to take hold of the powers we possess, to organize the tools that are ours, and by that organization to obtain the ideal conditions that you and I at present conceive as best designed for all mankind.

"You have many problems before you. Individually you are hopeless to solve them. United our power is supreme, and these problems can and should be solved.

"I wish to take a few minutes of your time to speak of a new development within the American Labor movement. I am speaking now of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, organized, first, to give protection to the wage-earner at the lowest possible cost, and, secondly, to give the trade union movement another arm; thirdly, to give Labor that which it now has, but in an unorganized form, the additional power that is now dissipated and placed in the hands of our enemies, the capitalists, the large employers, and banking institutions. We appeal to you individually and collectively to interest yourselves in this movement, to consider insuring your entire membership on the group plan with the Union Labor Life Insurance Company and to give your individual insurance to this organized labor enterprise.

"Again wishing you success in your deliberations, I express the hope that this Convention will be the most constructive ever held by you, and that its results will hearten us everywhere, that we may feel that you are coming out into the sunlight to the inspiration and hope of the great mass of wage earners of America." (Great applause.)

Delegate Perlmutter: I move that the Convention extend its thanks and appreciation to Brother Wolf and that his address be spread upon the minutes. (This motion was unanimously carried.)

Both the roll call and the reading of the report of the G. E. B. were dispensed

with, Secretary Baroff merely reading the preface and the conclusion of the report of the G. E. B., in order to save the time of the delegates for the transaction of the business of the convention.

Frank R. Crosswaith, organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, delivered a fervent address in behalf of his organization, urging the International to give both its moral and financial support to the impending strike of the Brotherhood for better working conditions and for union recognition.

President Sigman: I will now read the personnel of the various committees that were appointed by me.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS

Joseph Weiner, Boston, Local 12,
Chairman.
Max Graffman, Chicago, Local 5.
A. Sudin, Chicago, Local 18.
Jack Silverstein, Cleveland, Local 27.
Isidor Lederman, Boston, Local 56.
Louis Maggio, Mt. Vernon, Local 113.
Charles Cirencloni, Hackensack, N. J.,
Local 134.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

Luigi Antonini, Local No. 89,
Chairman.
Jacob Snyder, New York, Local No. 2.
Otto Pick, New York, Local No. 3.
Sam Amislofsky, New York, Local No. 9.
Tessie Cavalleri, White Plains, Local
No. 15.
Morris Elsberg, White Plains, Local
No. 15.
Leo Arch, Newark, Local No. 21.
Nina Lapez, Cleveland, Local No. 29.
Sam Eisenberg, New York, Local No. 35.
Paolo Mancuso, New York, Local No. 48.
Bertha Slegel, Jamaica, Local No. 57.
Clara Friedman, New York, Local No. 62.
Chas. Brown, Worcester, Local No. 75.
Anna Daviola, Mineola, Local No. 79.
A. Fierontino, Keyport, Local No. 85.
L. Kennedy, Bridgeport, Local No. 137.

COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORT

Abe Katovsky, Cleveland Joint Board,
Chairman.
Benjamin Kaplan, New York, Local No.
2.

Manny Weiss, New York, Local No. 6.
Nicholas Kirtzman, New York, Local No.
9.
Max Stoller, New York, Local No. 10.
Joseph Spielman, New York, Local No.
22.
Samuel Framed, New York, Local No. 23.
L. Reif, New York, Local No. 35.
Max Tolchinsky, New York, Local No.
38.
Meyer Berkman, Cleveland, Local No. 42.
Isaac Posen, Boston, Local No. 46.
Basilio Desti, New York, Local No. 48.
Aaron Sher, Chicago, Local No. 59.
Nathan Reisel, New York, Local No. 66.
George Rublin, Philadelphia, Local No. 71.
Joseph Morabito, Boston, Local No. 80.
A. Schwartzberg, Chicago, Local No.
81.
Carmelo Iandoli, New York, Local No.
89.
Peter Licausi, New York, Local No. 91.
A. Rosenberg, Plainfield, N. J., Local No.
140.
Abe Kirzner, Toronto Joint Board.

COMMITTEE ON LAW

Salvatore Ninfo, Local 48,
Chairman.
Mollie Friedman, Chicago, Local No. 100.
Solomon Goldstein, New York, Local No.
9.
Samuel Freedman, New York, Local No.
20.
Max Bluestein, New York, Local No. 22.
Nathan Solomon, Cleveland, Local No.
26.
Max Cohen, New York, Local No. 35.
Samuel Rudin, Philadelphia, Local No.
40.
Morris Levine, New York, Local No. 41.
Josephine Fanelli, Cleveland, Local No.
44.
Morris Lynsky, Boston, Local No. 46.
Albert Stein, Philadelphia, Local No. 50.
Marco Durante, Passaic, Local No. 51.
Sam Otto, Philadelphia, Local No. 53.
Harry Ruffer, Chicago, Local No. 59.
Morris Fishman, New York, Local No. 66.
Becky Stein, Philadelphia, Local No. 69.
Philip Kramer, Boston, Local No. 73.
Antonio Crivello, New York, Local No.
89.
Phillip Mainella, New York, Local No. 91.
Louis Galinsky, Toronto, Local No. 92.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

David Dubinsky, Local No. 10, Chairman.
 Julius Hochman, New York Joint Board.
 Jacob Miller, New York, Local No. 2.
 David Rubin, New York, Local No. 3.
 M. A. Goldstein, Chicago, Local No. 5.
 Carl Grabler, New York, Local No. 6.
 Isidor Sorkin, New York, Local No. 9.
 Max Moskowitz, New York, Local No. 22.
 Sam Finkel, Cleveland, Local No. 26.
 Jos. Breslaw, New York, Local No. 35.
 Sam Turk, Cleveland, Local No. 37.
 Luigi Rea, New York, Local No. 38.
 Morris Miller, Boston, Local No. 46.
 Pasquale Muccigrosso, New York, Local No. 48.
 A. Flaum, Toledo, Local No. 67.
 Sarah Greenberg, Philadelphia, Local No. 69.
 Leon Rosenblatt, New York, Local No. 82.
 John Cablati, New York, Local No. 89.

APPEAL AND GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE

Max Amdur, Philadelphia Joint Board, Chairman
 Harry Greenberg, New York, Local No. 41.
 M. J. Ashbea, New York, Local No. 2.
 Louis Kaufman, New York, Local No. 9.
 Saml. Perlmutter, New York, Local No. 10.
 Abe Levine, Chicago, Local No. 18.
 Fannie Shapiro, New York, Local No. 22.
 Chas. Aronsky, New York, Local No. 35.
 Nathan Bliss, Yonkers, Local No. 36.
 Joe Magliastro, Cleveland, Local No. 44.
 Giovanni LaRusso, New York, Local No. 48.
 Sophie Dachman, New York, Local No. 62.
 Helen Mosciaki, Chicago, Local No. 100.
 Nathan Shaffer, Jersey City, Local No. 136.

COMMITTEE ON JURISDICTION

Chas. Krcindler, Cleveland, Local No. 24, Chairman.
 David Gingold, New York, Local No. 20.
 Benj. Schlesinger, New York, Local No. 2.

Morris Leventhal, New York, Local No. 2.
 Maurice W. Jacobs, New York, Local No. 10.
 Sonia Farber, New York, Local No. 22.
 Morris Stein, Cleveland, Local No. 27.
 J. Gorabnick, Cleveland, Local No. 37.
 J. L. Banach, New York, Local No. 38.
 Jack Peckofsky, New York, Local No. 41.
 Edith Kallah, Philadelphia, Local No. 50.
 A. Rabinowitz, Chicago, Local No. 54.
 Samuel Splegel, Boston, Local No. 73.
 Bessie King, Corona, Local No. 77.
 B. Gilbert, St. Louis, Local No. 78.
 John Eglito, New York, Local No. 89.
 M. Berkowitz, New York, Local No. 91.
 Esther Thamos, Mt. Vernon, Local No. 113.
 David Harris, So. Norwalk, Local No. 141.
 G. DiNola, Jersey City, District Council.
 Sol Polakoff, Boston Joint Board.

COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Samuel Lefkowitz, New York, Local No. 3, Chairman.
 J. Stankewich, New York, Local No. 2.
 Barnet Levine, Boston, Local No. 12.
 Harry Rabinowitz, New York, Local No. 23.
 Benjamin Berland, New York, Local No. 35.
 S. W. Biagoli, Passaic, Local No. 51.
 Abe Cohen, Philadelphia, Local No. 53.
 Kate Domiano, Corona, Local No. 77.
 Nancy Romano, Astoria, Local No. 84.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, UNION LABOR LIFE, AND SICK BENEFITS COMMITTEE

Morris Bialis, Chicago Joint Board, Chairman.
 A. Belson, New York, Local No. 2.
 Max Novack, Chicago, Local No. 5.
 Harry Zaslowsky, New York, Local No. 10.
 Jacob Cooper, New York, Local No. 22.
 Aaron Cohen, New York, Local No. 23.
 Israel Rothstein, New York, Local No. 35.
 Louis Egelnick, Boston, Local No. 39.
 Genaro Spina, New York, Local No. 48.
 Jack Bernstein, Chicago, Local No. 54.

Morris Greifer, New York, Local No. 82.
 Hattie Turner, Astoria, Local No. 84.
 Madeleine Farrell, Woodhaven, Local
 No. 107.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Harry Wander, New York,
 Local No. 23, Chairman.
 Louis Goldstein, New York, Local No. 2.
 Max Kravitz, New York, Local No. 9.
 Julius Cohen, Boston, Local No. 24.
 Tillie Schwartz, Cleveland, Local No. 29.
 M. Goldowsky, New York, Local No. 35.
 Irene Feljko, Yonkers, Local No. 36.
 Ruben Lubroff, Philadelphia, Local No.
 40.
 Giacomo Piccione, New York, Local No.
 48.
 A. Brick, New York, Local No. 64.
 Pearl Gold, Chicago, Local No. 59.
 Jennie Sowinski, Mineola, Local No. 79.
 Rose Zimmerman, Bridgeport, Local No.
 137.
 Donato DiGirolomo, Local No. 47.
 Louis Stolberg, Local No. 67.

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

Jacob Halperin, New York,
 Local No. 9, Chicago.
 Elias Reisberg, Philadelphia, Local No.
 50.
 B. Kaplan, New York, Local No. 2.
 David Greenberg, New York, Local No. 6.
 David Fruhling, New York, Local No. 10.
 Chas. Schatz, Toronto, Local No. 14.
 Albert Eaton, Montreal, Local No. 19.
 Meyer Pollnsky, New York, Local No. 20.
 J. Rabinow, New York, Local No. 22.
 Sol Goldberg, Boston, Local No. 24.
 Carrie Gallagher, Cleveland, Local No.
 29.
 Goldie Benchman, New York, Local No.
 38.
 Abe Golden, Philadelphia, Local No. 40.
 Max Grackin, New York, Local No. 41.
 Carlo Carotenuto, New York, Local No.
 48.
 Dorothy Jasinska, Jamaica, Local No. 57.
 Fanny Shapiro, New York, Local No. 62.
 Sol Klein, New York, Local No. 66.
 Jeannette Hirnbaum, Passaic, Local No.
 72.
 Anthony DiMaggio, Boston, Local No. 80.
 Sam Lederman, Chicago, Local No. 81.

Matilda Heyer, Keyport, Local No. 85.
 Esther Stein, New York, Local No. 91.
 Meyer Terry, Chicago, Local No. 100.
 Josephine Kenny, Woodhaven, Local No.
 107.
 Helen Oliver, Jersey City, Local No. 125.
 Jacob Grossman, Colchester, Local No.
 138.
 Mary Warden, Jersey City, Local No.
 140.
 Phillip Oretsky, Long Island District
 Council.

Delegate Gallagher: I move that the
 committees appointed by the President
 be approved of.

(This was unanimously carried.)

Delegate Polakoff: For the benefit of
 the delegates I want to announce that
 Boston Checker Taxis are non-union.
 Please do not patronize them.

The chairmen of the various commit-
 tees announced the time and meeting
 place of their respective committees.

There being no further business before
 the house, the session adjourned at 4:30
 P. M. to reconvene on Tuesday, May 8,
 1928, at 9:30 A. M.

Second Day—Morning Session Tuesday, May 8, 1928

President Morris Sigman called the
 session to order at 10:30 A. M.

Secretary Baroff read communication
 and telegrams from the following or-
 ganizations, shops and individuals, which
 were received with hearty applause:

Harry Wander, Secretary-Treasurer, New
 York Joint Board Cloak & Dressmakers'
 Union.
 Cloak and Suit Finishers' Union, Local No. 50,
 Chicago, Ill.
 Executive Board, Local No. 82, New York.
 New York Joint Board, Amalgamated Cloth-
 ing Workers of America.
 New York Joint Board—Chas. Jacobson, Max
 Schoenfeld, M. Kraftchick, F. Communale,
 L. Bezahler, F. Oliva, H. Fried.
 Chicago Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 108.
 Executive Board of Local No. 48, New York.
 Chicago Cloak Operators' Union, Local No. 6.
 Herman Grossman.
 Clothing Workers' International, headquar-
 ters in Amsterdam, Holland.
 L. Yasser, Recording Secretary, New York
 Local No. 82.

Workers of S. Diamond, members Local No. 91, New York.
 Chicago Pressers' Union, Local No. 18.
 Pioneer Youth of America.
 Chicago Joint Board.
 D. Goldstein, member of Local No. 18, Chicago.
 Shop Chairmen, Abe Levine, Hyman Dan, Abr. Allen, Local No. 52 Los Angeles, Calif.
 Executive Board, Local No. 91, New York.
 Vestmakers' Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York.
 A group of 85 Chicago members.
 Workers of Seldman Dress Shop, New York City.
 Executive Board, Skirtmakers Union, Local No. 23, New York.
 Local No. 64, New York.
 Children's Dress, Bathrobe, House Dress & Infants' Costmakers' Union, Local No. 91, Brownsville Office.
 The New Leader.
 Employees of Fisher-Jelenko, New York.
 Workers of Keller-Kohn Co., Cleveland, O.
 Jacob Wishelevsky, Phillip Palley, Workers of Resh & Kantravitz, New York, skirt shop.
 Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colo.
 Italian Dress & Waistmakers' Union, Local No. 89, New York.
 Workers of Brown & Yinder, members Local No. 41, New York.
 Workers of Egor Shop, members of Local No. 41, New York.
 Workers of Phenix Shop, members of Local No. 41, New York.
 Phillip Ansel, member of Local No. 10, New York.
 Cleveland Local 42.
 Cleveland Joint Board.
 J. Baskin, Workmen's Circle General Secretary.
 H. Schoolman, ex vice-president.
 Workers of Newport Novelty Co., Local 41, Horowitz, shop chairman.
 American Ort. Jacob Panken, president; Henry Moskowitz, executive chairman.
 Cutters of Aaron Goldstein.
 Joint Council of New York, S. Hershkowitz, secretary.
 Executive Board, Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local 50, Philadelphia.
 Cutters of Phillip Schlansky, Harry Teitler, chairman.
 Cutters of Zuckerman & Krause, Wm. Slatkin, chairman.
 Chaim Shapiro, president, Los Angeles Sanitarium.
 Workers of Commercial Pleating Co., members of Local 41, shop chairman, H. Filin.
 Cutters of Harry Rentner, chairman Isidore Gorin.
 Cutters of Roaling & Cohen.
 Workers of Wittenberg-Shimberg, H. Freedman and Isidore Dover, shop chairmen.
 Rand School of Social Science.
 Cutters of Wm. I. Davidow, I. Cohen, chairman.
 Cutters of Jack Wiener & Wersba.
 Albert Green, President United Hebrew Trades, Chicago, Ill.

Schochtin Union, Local No. 598, A. M. C., Joe Etkin, business manager.
 National Labor Committee for Organized Jewish Workers in Palestine, Ab. Shiplacoff, treasurer; Isaac Hamlin, secretary.
 Joseph Schloberg, secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
 Needlecraft Workers, members Local No. 32, Sam Goldfarb, Abraham Allen, Hyman Wexler, committee (Los Angeles).
 Independent and American Ass'n Dept., New York Joint Board, S. Perlmutter, manager.
 Phillip Davids, member of Local No. 18.
 International Fur Workers' Union, Phillip Silberstein, general president; H. Begood, general secretary.
 Executive Board of Local No. 50, Chicago; M. Trubakoff, secretary.
 Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union, Local 53, Philadelphia.
 Cloak & Skirt Makers' Union, Local No. 40, Philadelphia.
 Joint Board Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union, Philadelphia.
 Cloak and Skirt Finishers Union, Local No. 60, Philadelphia.
 Jewish Consumptive Relief Society, Phillip Hillkowitz, president.
 Workers of M. Sussman, members of Local No. 41, New York.
 Executive Board Embroidery Workers' Union, Local No. 6.
 Executive Board Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local No. 20, I. L. G. W. U.
 E. Nathan Wolf and Simon L. Hamburger.

Mr. Hirsch Bloch, representing the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, addressed the delegates. He expressed his appreciation of the moral and financial aid given his organization by the International in the past, and expressed the hope that the International would continue to give them its support.

The next speaker was Mr. R. Schwartz, manager of the Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home, Denver, Colorado. He brought out the fact that his institution depended upon labor for its support, but realizing the financial difficulties of the International, he asked for moral rather than financial support at this time. He concluded by extending the greetings of his organization to the delegates.

Max Zaritsky, President of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, was next introduced. He was greeted with generous applause.

President Zaritsky: "It is my pleasure and privilege to bring to you the hearty greetings of the organized capmakers and millinery workers of this country. Our problems are your problems. We are

suffering from the same maladies in both industries. We go even so far as to practice a mutual and fraternal exchange of Communists in our organization. Whenever there is a rump mass-meeting of cloakmaker-Communists, and, as is usually the case, they cannot fill the hall, we supply the audience for you (laughter), and vice-versa. Do you want any better or more striking example of our unity and of our close connection? (Laughter) But, seriously speaking, lately, we have been suffering from an overdose of friendship offered us by so many people. We have too many who proclaim themselves to be our friends, and, like that proverbial ancestor of ours, hug us to death from too much love. There are times when I feel like telling our friends: Won't you please keep your friendship to yourselves? We are the ones charged with the responsibility of carrying out the work for our membership. Leave us in peace. But, no! They would force themselves upon us, and, instead of rendering us help, they are helping those who are against us. There are also a few who tell us that in this clash of forces within our organization, they maintain a 'neutral' position. There is no neutrality in this fight. Either you are for us or you are against us. There is no middle road. It is these neutrals that I should like to get off our backs.

"It is the philosophy of our opponents that revolution thrives on misery, that the more misery there is amongst our people, the more 'revolutionary' they will become. We adhere to an entirely different philosophy. We believe that rather than have revolution based on misery, we prefer to have more happiness based on evolution. We can never work with them together, because when we start building, they become busy destroying what we have built up. And the average intelligent member in all our unions has come to the conclusion now that he must align himself with builders of the movement rather than with those who would destroy the movement in order to control it for their political purposes.

"I have been delegated here by the General Executive Board of my organiza-

tion not only to deliver to you a message of goodwill, a message of fraternal greetings, but to tell you as well, in the name of our thousands of members, that we shall together with you go on in our own way to build and rebuild, to construct and reconstruct our unions. It is my privilege to say to you in the name of our organization: 'God speed to you, and may your deliberations and your actions at this convention bring the success desired by all of you, and lay the foundation for a virile, influential International that always has been and always shall be the pride of the American labor movement.' I thank you" (Prolonged applause.)

Delegate Max Cohen: I move that the convention express its appreciation to President Zaritsky for his splendid address and that it be spread upon the minutes.

(This was unanimously carried.)

The next speaker to address the convention was Mr. Raymond V. Ingersoll, Impartial Chairman of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry of New York. Mr. Ingersoll was greeted with enthusiastic applause.

Address by R. V. Ingersoll

Mr. Ingersoll: "It is a great honor to be called upon to say a few words to this convention. When I first came to New York, about 30 years ago, I used to see hundreds of women and children going through the streets with enormous bundles of clothing on their heads which they were taking to and from their homes in the tenement houses. Now, fortunately, that vicious system of home production has been mostly done away with, partly through wise legislation, but very largely through the efforts of your Union.

"The problems of the needle trades are extremely complex, and a number of evils still exist in them. The seasons are altogether too short, and the standards are constantly being broken down here and there, particularly in the smaller shops. Unfortunately, these evils are not mere surface affairs. They

arise out of basic conditions and out of prevailing economic factors in the industry, which are hard to change or to control. I know of no panacea for them, but I do believe that a strong, well-organized union can do a great deal to cope with these difficulties and to lessen the suffering which grows out of them.

"This question of the short season is very much accentuated by the existence of so many small, irresponsible shops. If it were not for the existence of these small shops, the buying habits of the industry would have to be readjusted to some extent—that is, the buyers would not find it safe to wait until the last minute before placing their orders, and if the orders could be distributed more widely and more early, the manufacturers would know how to plan their season, and the season could be longer and not so much crowded into a few feverish weeks.

"It is not going to be possible to entirely do away with these small shops so long as it takes so little capital to start a new shop.

"The question of the short seasons is a hard problem because it rests upon changes which have taken place in the buying habits of the women of America. The women's wear merchandise has been democratized and nationalized to such a point that even the women who live in the small, remote villages or on the farms expect to wear garments only of the latest style. That has caused a considerable change because the retail merchants are not willing to take the chance they did in previous years to place their orders early and to stock up. Furthermore, in the old days, if the manufacturer started in early and made up a stock and it did not happen to be just the popular thing in design or color, he, at least, could have worked it off on the remote districts. This can no longer be done. Now, I believe that a strong, well-organized union can cope with many of these problems. I know that during the past year the union has been working under a great handicap. There has been a gradual lessening of employment, and along with that has gone some lessening of the purchasing

power. That has been felt in most of the industries, including the needle trades. In the New York market the Union has been suffering from the disastrously long and unsuccessful strike. That strike left the union without resources. It takes time to get back the morale and the interest and the vital forces which are necessary to make the union successful. I believe that, considering all the circumstances, the union has made considerable progress, particularly during the past season. Now may not be time when new and ambitious programs might be undertaken and carried out, but it certainly is a time when with energy and patience and all working together, a great deal can be done. If there ever was an industry in which a strong union organization was essential it is in your industry. Most of the employers see this, and I think they see it more clearly since the last strike than they did before. They are not rejoicing over the weakness of the union. On the contrary, they are feeling the sharp edge of unfair competition from substandard and unregulated shops, and particularly from those that have assumed no contractual obligations whatever.

"I am not one of those who believe that always, under all circumstances, the interests of employers and workers are identical. But I think that in the present situation, at least so far as the New York market is concerned, the interest both of the workers and of the employers will be best served by the building up of all the organizations which function under the collective agreements—that is, we need stronger organizations among the employers so that they can make their own members live up to the obligations which they have assumed, and, above all, we need a stronger organization for the union.

"I certainly wish your union every success in its efforts to get back its strength and to build up its organization and to deal with these intricate economic problems in such a way as to improve permanently the well-being of the thousands of members which your union is endeavoring to serve. I thank you very

much for your kind attention." (Loud applause.)

Delegate Nagler: I move that this convention go on record expressing its appreciation to Mr. Ingersoll for his splendid address, and that his address be spread on the minutes. (Unanimously carried.)

The next speaker to address the delegates was Mr. Morris Feinstein, Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades of New York. He bitterly attacked the tactics of the Communists and charged them with using foul and libellous methods to undermine unions. He urged the delegates to stick together regardless of personal differences of opinion in order that in one solid formation they might once again bring the International to the forefront of the American labor movement. He concluded by expressing the greetings and best wishes of the United Hebrew Trades.

Immediately thereafter the doors swung open and a procession of delegates carrying huge bouquets, wreaths and other artistically designed floral pieces marched into the hall, greeted by a tremendous cheer from all the delegates, who jumped from their seats and staged an ovation for President Sigman, as one after another the floral decorations were placed in front of the platform.

The bouquets were presented by Local 20, raincoat makers of New York; Local 50, Philadelphia dressmakers; Local 9, cloak finishers of New York, and Local 89, Italian dressmakers; Philadelphia Joint Board, Cleveland Joint Board, Women's Circle of Locals 22 and 89, from the Boston shops of Cohn & Jacobson, Hite & Elkin, and J. H. Fishman. All of them bore inscriptions expressing admiration and affection for President Sigman and deep recognition of his faithful stewardship of the International Union.

No sooner were the flowers placed on the platform than an urgent cry arose from among the delegates calling upon President Sigman to speak. The insistent demand, interrupted by applause and

hurrahs, grew in volume, until President Sigman, yielding to the clamor, arose to speak. He spoke briefly:

President Sigman: Needless to say, no single person could have met and carried out the task that our organization had to face in the last five or six years. I must share this token of your esteem with all of those who were in the first line of trenches in this battle to rid our trade union movement of the devastating disease which has taken for itself the name of Communism. It is the thousands of loyal men and women in New York, in Philadelphia, in Boston, in Chicago, who, through their loyalty and desire for a better and a happier life, for a unified, sane and constructive organization, their readiness to defend it with their very lives, had made the fight, and it is they who deserve this tribute.

The members of the General Executive Board who inspired my work are entitled to the same cordiality and expression of appreciation. It is this spirit, this understanding that ennobles our movement and makes it worth while. I thank you very much in behalf of the General Executive Board, in behalf of all those who are in the forefront of our struggles against the enemy from within as well as against the enemy without. I hope that this spirit will not only awaken greater hope and aspiration among ourselves, but that it will also re-awaken life in some of the victims of the Communistic adventure. I thank you very, very much in the name of all those to whom you have given the flowers (Thunderous applause)

The Committee on Resolutions, reporting through its chairman, delegate Abraham Snyder, made the additional remarks:

Your Committee received an objection from Brother Joseph Greenberg, Local No. 73, Ledger No. 79, with regard to Brother Samuel Spiegel of the same Local, objecting to his being seated as a delegate on the ground of certain irregularities committed while an officer of the Union.

We have notified both to appear before the Credentials Committee.

Brother Spiegel, the objected delegate, appeared, while the objector informed the Committee that he does not wish to appear and withdraws his complaint.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends the seating of Brother Spiegel as a delegate to this Convention.

Your Committee received an objection against Brother Abraham Rabinowitz, a delegate of Local No. 56 to this convention on the ground of certain irregularities that have occurred in 1920 or 1921.

Brother Rabinowitz has since informed the Committee that, due to health, he is unable to attend this Convention. Your Committee, therefore, recommends that Brother Alex Finkelstein, Local No. 56, Ledger No. 91, be seated as alternate.

Both recommendations were carried.

The Committee next reported on the case of L. Meisel of Local 52, Los Angeles, recommending that he be not seated.

After some discussion in the course of which Bro. Meisel was asked to come up on the platform and state his case, this matter was referred back to the Committee for reconsideration.

It was decided to have no afternoon session, in order to give the various committees an opportunity to function.

At 1:30 P. M. the session adjourned, to reconvene Wednesday, May 9, 1928, at 10 A. M.

The following resolutions were received by President Sigman, and, after being duly classified, were assigned to the proper convention committees:

Resolution No. 1

Introduced by Julius Hochman, New York Joint Board.

WHEREAS, the Negro workers of the United States have shown unmistakable signs of awakening to the importance of Trade Union organization as manifested in the organization of 12,000 Pullman porters and maids into the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and

WHEREAS, these workers in their efforts to win recognition of their right to organize from the Pullman Company, face a foe tremendously wealthy and influential, with a tradition of unabated hostility to organized labor, and

WHEREAS, because of the widespread prejudice against Negroes generally and because of the tremendous cost involved in the use of the machinery of the Government to adjudicate their dispute with the Company, these workers are in need of the unstinted support of every worker regardless of race, creed or color, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Convention send fraternal greetings to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and wish them god-speed and success in their struggle. Be it also

RESOLVED, that we give them our full moral and financial assistance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions,

Resolution No. 2

Introduced by Julius Hochman, New York Joint Board.

WHEREAS, American industrial corporations have now established a deadline of employment for men and women past their prime of life so that it is practically impossible to find employment after the age of forty, and

WHEREAS, economic independence in old age is becoming increasingly more difficult, and

WHEREAS, it is well known that in view of the rising standard of living the wages received by a workingman are utterly inadequate to enable him to lay by sufficiently for his non-productive years, and

WHEREAS, this problem is now becoming one of the most serious in the United States since all investigations show that two out of every five persons reaching old age are now dependent upon charity or relatives for their support while the discriminations practiced against the old workers constitute an outstanding cause of the present unemployment situation, and

WHEREAS, in no industrial country on earth are such difficulties confronting the masses of workers, because all civilized nations have already developed scientific and comprehensive methods for taking care of their dependent aged in the form of Old Age Pensions, and

WHEREAS, the United States today shares the unenviable distinction of being associated with China and India as the only large countries in the world having no modern adequate provision for their aged and dependent poor, and

WHEREAS, the honest and industrious workingman who by his labor has added to the wealth of the nation and who through no fault of his own is deprived of his earning power is entitled to consideration other than an object of charity, and

WHEREAS, through the organization and education work of the American Association for Old Age Security, protective legislation for these dependent aged is now being pushed throughout the United States with vigor and zeal, and

WHEREAS, the problem of the old workers is one of the important ones facing our organization and its members, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in convention assembled, hereby endorse and commend the work of the American Association for Old Age Security; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the executive officers of our organization be instructed to lend to the Association and its work our Union's full moral and financial support in the important work which it is seeking in behalf of the dependent aged.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 3

Introduced by Toronto Locals 14, 68, 83 and 92.

WHEREAS, the agreement signed by the Toronto locals with the Toronto Manufacturers' Protective Association about three years ago, with the aid of the International, expired last February, and the manufacturers failed to renew same agreement, and

WHEREAS, only through a general strike will it be possible to compel the manufacturers to come to an understanding and to restore union conditions in the cloak industry, and

WHEREAS, lately our Union in Toronto is in a weakened condition, and if not immediately strengthened, its existence and integrity may be seriously endangered, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Biennial convention of the I. L. G. W. U. now in session in Boston, Mass., instruct the incoming General Executive Board to immediately launch an extensive campaign to organize the cloak-makers in Toronto in preparation to an early general strike.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 4

Introduced by Local 89 Delegation.

WHEREAS, the Fascist regime in Italy has ruthlessly murdered thousands of men, women and children of the working class, burned hundreds of labor papers and other property, imprisoned tens of thousands of union men without cause, substituting the oligarchic rule of a handful of adventurers and marauders for the democratic form of the state, and made it virtually a crime to belong to a labor union; and

WHEREAS, having practically destroyed the Italian labor movement, the Fascist now

seek to extend their brutal union-smashing activities to the rest of the world, being especially anxious to get a foothold in America, where Fascist bands operating under direct orders from Italy, as was proven in the case of the Harlem bomb and in the frame-up against two honest workers, Greco and Carrillo, whom they tried to send to the chair but who were acquitted by the Bronx jury, are already in existence, encouraged by the labor-hating elements here, and actually attempting to substitute Fascist organization for the bona fide labor movement; and

WHEREAS, the spread of Fascism in America represents a dread menace calling for uncompromising action by organized labor, whose very foundations and source of power it seeks to undermine and destroy; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at its Nineteenth Convention assembled in the City of Boston, Mass., once again condemn with abhorrence every manifestation of Fascism, and once more call upon the Labor Movement to combat its importation into the United States under any guise or form whatsoever.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 5

Introduced by Delegation of Local No. 50, Philadelphia.

The incoming General Executive Board is instructed to enforce the five-day work-week in those centers of our industry where same is not in effect at present.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 6

Introduced by Local No. 19, Montreal.

RESOLVED, that the Nineteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the incoming G. E. B. to consider at the earliest possible date the advisability of directing their efforts and energy towards reviving and strengthening the Montreal locals which, due to Communistic intrigues and adverse trade conditions, were practically wiped out of existence.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 7

Introduced by the Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, after the conclusion of the 1924 strike of the dressmakers in the City of Chicago, about five thousand dressmakers remained outside of the union, and

WHEREAS, the working standards and conditions in the non-union dress shops are endangering the established standards of the

unionized cloak and dressmakers in the City of Chicago, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to conduct a vigorous organization campaign with the object of completely unionizing the dressmakers in the City of Chicago, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the General Executive Board be empowered to call a general strike if necessary at the opportune time.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 8

Introduced by Local 66 Delegation.

WHEREAS, the convention of the I. L. G. W. U. held in Boston, Mass., 1924, adopted a resolution establishing a union label on all the accessory trades to be attached to all union-made garments, and

WHEREAS, at the last convention held at Philadelphia, November, 1923, it was again decided that the incoming Executive Board establish a label department to be devoted to the carrying out and enforcing of that resolution and

WHEREAS, the said committee failed in its purpose, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board that in the future all agreements that will be entered into by any local or joint board of our International shall have a clause making it obligatory on the manufacturers to use none but union made embroidery with the union label attached thereto, and be it further

RESOLVED, that a representative of Local 66 shall be present at all negotiations of such agreements.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 9

Introduced by the Hand-Machine Embroidery Workers' Union, Local No. 72, Passaic, N. J.

WHEREAS, for the last five years we, the workers of our trade, have made many efforts to organize and to improve our working conditions, and

WHEREAS, as soon as we start an organization campaign, the work disappears from our shops thus discouraging our efforts for further organization work, and

WHEREAS, due to our helplessness our weekly hours of labor are not less than fifty-five, not mentioning the unlimited hours of overtime, and

WHEREAS, since we have affiliated ourselves with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union we discovered that the idleness in our industry is due to the importation of our product (handkerchiefs) from abroad where the standard of living is much lower

than ours, thereby enabling them to produce the merchandise at a much cheaper price, and

WHEREAS, according to the information we received from the U. S. Customs House, ten million dollars worth of handkerchiefs were imported during the year of 1926, with many millions more for the year of 1927, thereby depriving us of a livelihood, and

WHEREAS, the office of the A. F. of L. with which our International is affiliated, is maintaining in Washington, D. C., a legislative committee to introduce and advance in the U. S. Congress many bills advantageous to the interests of the toiling masses, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the incoming G. E. B. be instructed to request the A. F. of L. legislative committee to introduce or cause to be introduced a bill in the U. S. Congress to set a tariff on the imported merchandise to that level as the difference between the cost of labor in the U. S. and abroad, thus making it possible for us in the U. S. to shorten our hours of labor and to earn a living American wage.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 10

Introduced by Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, in every branch of industry, and more so in our industry, there are a multitude of men and women who are unable to find employment due to their advanced age, although they have given the best years of their life to develop the industry to its present size and wealth, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct its delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention to introduce a resolution demanding that the American Federation of Labor should use their influence and power so that the United States Government establish an old age pension fund which shall take care of these men and women whom industry can no longer use because of their old age.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Resolution No. 11

Introduced by Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, the Chicago Federation of Labor and its officers have at all times responded very loyally and faithfully to the appeals for assistance from our membership in the city of Chicago, and

WHEREAS, they have played a tremendous part in the re-establishment of trade union tactics in our Chicago locals as against the destructive policy of dissension and disloyalty as preached and practiced during the Communist administration in our locals, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the convention extend a

vote of gratitude to the labor veterans, Brother John Fitzpatrick, president, and E. Nockels, secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, as well as to the membership of their organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 12

Introduced by Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, the United Hebrew Trades in the city of Chicago have in recent years devoted most of their time in assisting our Chicago locals in their work, whether in rebuilding the Union after the Communist disastrous reign or in the field of organization work, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention extend a vote of appreciation to the officers and members of the United Hebrew Trades in Chicago.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 13

Introduced by Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, the working agreements between the Local Unions in the various cities and their employers are signed at different times of the year, and

WHEREAS, it is our belief that, if the agreements in our industry were consummated at the same time and for the same period all over the country, much unnecessary difficulty would be avoided and would help us towards being recognized as an industrial union and not as a craft union, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention take steps to see that the working agreements of all its affiliated unions shall be of the same duration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 14

Introduced by Local No. 89 Delegation.

WHEREAS, in the City of New York there has been organized a central body called the Italian Chamber of Labor along the line and with the same program of the United Hebrew Trade and the Women's Trade Union League, whose aim it is to help organize the Italian element and to assist every legitimate labor union in spreading propaganda and organizing, and to give to any labor union all the necessary help in time of struggles, be it

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. assembled in Boston, Mass., instruct the incoming General Executive Board to request the locals that have Italian members to affiliate with the Italian Chamber of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the incoming Executive Board will continue helping in all its possible limits, both morally and financially, the above-mentioned organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 15

Introduced by Local No. 89 Delegation.

WHEREAS, in order to enlighten the Italian workers of the aims of the organized workers in all industries, it is necessary to establish an Italian labor press to help clear away the poison that is fed to them daily by the capitalist-Fascist press, and

WHEREAS, there can be little progress of the organized masses as long as hundreds of thousands of Italian workers remain poisoned with the falsehoods of the press that is controlled by the master class, and

WHEREAS, our I. L. G. W. U., at its previous conventions at Chicago and Philadelphia, has endured and helped the labor daily "Il Nuovo Mondo," and

WHEREAS, "Il Nuovo Mondo" is struggling for the last two and one-half years against the most bitter boycott ordered by Mussolini's agents, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the I. L. G. W. U. in convention assembled in Boston, Mass., instruct the incoming General Executive Board to continue giving its support both morally and financially, within all possible limits of its resources, to the "Nuovo Mondo" and calls upon all the local unions and joint boards to help such a worthy newspaper which is the only defender of the labor cause among the Italian workers of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 16

Introduced by Local No. 89 Delegation.

WHEREAS, the dress industry of the City of New York and vicinity is in a demoralized and neglected state, due to Communist destructive activities and the adverse industrial conditions prevalent for some time past, requiring special attention and drastic action, which may result in a general strike in the very near future, and

WHEREAS, such a general strike will necessitate much preparatory work for the organization and conduct of the strike, and

WHEREAS, the New York Joint Board, to which the dress locals are affiliated, is confronted with the task of restoring the work standards and conditions in the market, prior to the coming season, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that an Emergency Dress Trade Board, to be composed of Locals 10, 22, 35 and 89 within the sphere of the Joint Board, be organized immediately by the Joint Board; such Trade Board to concern itself

primarily with questions regarding the successful organization of the dress industry, to which work wide and proper attention shall be given, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board shall immediately, after the adjournment of this Convention, call upon the Joint Board to carry the above into effect, and be it further

RESOLVED, that to this end the General Executive Board shall give the Joint Board its full cooperation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 17

Introduced by Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 22, New York.

WHEREAS, the dress industry finds itself in a demoralized and neglected state, owing to the Communist destructive tactics and adverse industrial conditions, requiring special attention and drastic action on the part of our organization, and

WHEREAS, the condition above referred to may lead to a general strike, which step would necessitate much preparatory work for its organization and conduct, and

WHEREAS, the New York Joint Board with which the dress locals are affiliated, is confronted with the task of restoring union standards and conditions in the market, prior to the coming season, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that an Emergency Dress Trade Board, to be composed of representatives of Locals 10, 22, 23, 35, and 40 within the sphere of the Joint Board, be organized immediately by the Joint Board; such Trade Board to concern itself primarily with questions regarding the successful organization of the dress industry, to which work wide and proper attention shall be given, and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board shall immediately, after the adjournment of this convention, call upon the Joint Board to carry the above decision into effect, and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the General Executive Board shall give the Joint Board its full cooperation in this end.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 18

Introduced by Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 22, New York.

WHEREAS, there are thousands of prisoners of various political shades and opinions languishing in the prisons of many European and American countries, for no acts of violence but for holding views which do not suit the particular party in power, and

WHEREAS, such action on the part of

those governments, and particularly of the Soviet Government of Russia, violates every principle of justice and fairness, which are the basic foundations of all civilized countries, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. hereby petition and demand the unconditioned release of all political prisoners in all lands.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 19

Introduced by Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 22, New York.

WHEREAS, owing to the tremendous growth and expansion of the dress industry, thousands of new workers have been attracted to it, whom our organization has had neither means nor opportunity of enrolling as members, and

WHEREAS, as a result of the short Communist experiment in our Union and their subsequent destructive and scabish tactics, the dress industry stands today highly disorganized, and

WHEREAS, as a result of these circumstances, and particularly because of the competition due to the large army of unorganized workers, the dressmakers are working today under most deplorable and unbearable conditions, and

WHEREAS, it is our firm belief and conviction that nothing short of a general strike can remedy the condition above described, be it

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. herewith sanctions and endorses a general strike in the Dress Industry of Greater New York, and that the General Executive Board is herewith empowered to call such strike whenever it, in conjunction with the New York Joint Board, deems it most advisable, and be it further

RESOLVED, that simultaneously with the strike in New York, or as soon thereafter as the General Executive Board may find it advisable, similar strikes or organization campaigns be undertaken in all other dress centers throughout the country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 20

Introduced by Delegates of Local No. 41.

WHEREAS, there are a large number of non-union shops making tucking, hemstitching, pleating, and novelty work for the Cloak, Suit, Dress and Children's Dress Industries, and

WHEREAS, in the agreement of the Cloak Industry there is a provision that all accessories such as tucking, hemstitching, pleating, novelty work are to be made in union shops only, and

WHEREAS, this provision of the agreement has not been enforced, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Convention goes on record that the agreements entered into by the Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit and Dress Unions of the City of New York shall embody a clause that the above-named accessories should be made in union shops only. And be it further

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to see that this provision is carried out to its fullest extent.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 21

Introduced by the Cleveland Delegation.

WHEREAS, the experience of the Cleveland Organization with the time-guarantee of employment provision has proved beneficial to the workers relieving them to some extent of the evils of seasonal unemployment and having a very wholesome effect on the entire industry, and

WHEREAS, we believe that the industrial conditions which led to the adoption of this time-guarantee plan in Cleveland should prevail throughout all our markets and that our members, all over the country, would benefit by the introduction and enforcement of such provisions in their agreement, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed in all future agreements with employers, throughout the country, to include clauses guaranteeing the workers a specific number of full weeks of employment during the year, or payment of established wages for such a period, such payment to be made possible through the deposit of sums of money adequate at specific periods by the employers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 22

Introduced by the Cleveland Delegation.

WHEREAS, the forty-hour five-day week is very essential in our industry due to its short seasons and long slack periods, and

WHEREAS, the forty-hour week would bring to our members more time for leisure and education, as has been proved in those branches and markets of our industry where it has been effectively enforced, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. goes on record and instructs the incoming G. E. B. to introduce and enforce the forty-hour week in all centers where ladies' garments are manufactured.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 23

WHEREAS, there are still confined in the prisons of Soviet Russia, Italy and other countries a large number of political prisoners, and

WHEREAS, their imprisonment is due only to the fact that they disagree with the policies and tactics of those governments, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Convention urge and demand of those governments the immediate release of all political prisoners.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Resolution No. 24

Introduced by Local 38 Delegation.

WHEREAS, the employers, through their control of government, Federal, State and city, are interfering more and more in the functions of the labor movement through injunctions, arrests of organizers, speakers and pickets, and

WHEREAS, the organized workers in their struggle for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions, have found themselves forced to combat not only the employers directly but also the government through all its agencies, anti-labor legislation, injunctions, Watson-Parker bills, use of police and militia in strikes, and

WHEREAS, because of its persistence in the futile and antiquated political policy of rewarding its "friends" and punishing its "enemies" American labor has become practically a political zero, all branches of the government, local, state and national, being almost completely in the hands of the exploiting class, and

WHEREAS, the only remedy for the situation, the only way labor can become a real political factor and free its trade unions from the present devitalizing capitalistic influence, is setting up a great and militant political party of its own, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we, the delegates to this Convention, work for the movement for the formation of a great Labor Party, and be it further

RESOLVED, to instruct the incoming General Executive Board to actively participate in the movement for the formation of a Labor Party.

Resolution No. 25

Introduced by Delegates of Local No. 37, Cleveland (Pressers' Local).

WHEREAS, a situation exists in our industry whereby the minimum scale of wages for pressers is lower than the scale of some of the other crafts, though the craft of pressing is as complicated, difficult and skillful as that of any other craft, and

WHEREAS, we believe that such a situa-

tion is detrimental to the workers in our industry, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the incoming G. E. B. to include in the making or renewing of all agreements in all markets one uniform scale for pressers, which scale shall not be lower than that of any other craft.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 26

Introduced by Local No. 2 Delegation, New York.

WHEREAS, the members of our organization are fully in sympathy with the aims and endeavors of the organized Jewish workers of Palestine and are gratified with the progress reported to have been made by that organization, and

WHEREAS, our union has expressed its support of the National Labor Committee for the Organized Workers of Palestine, a committee founded through the efforts of the United Hebrew Trades of New York, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. send its greetings to the National Jewish Labor Organization of Palestine—the Histadruth, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to make every effort to secure the support, moral and financial, of the International and its affiliated locals in the campaign undertaken by the National Labor Committee for the organized workers of Palestine to raise a fund for our Palestinian brethren.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 27

Introduced by Delegates of Local 42, Cutters' Local of Cleveland.

WHEREAS, the present minimum scale of wages for cutters in the cloak and dress industry is lower than scales in some of the other crafts, although the work of cutting is as complicated and requires as much skill, if not more, than that of the other crafts; and

WHEREAS, a situation of this kind is detrimental to the workers in these trades, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this 19th Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the incoming G. E. B. that in making or renewing of agreements in all trades and in all markets, one uniform scale be fixed for cutters in every place where ladies' garments are made, and such scale shall not be lower than that of any other craft.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 28

Introduced by Local 20 Delegation.

WHEREAS, a great number of raincoat manufacturers and jobbers are engaged in the manufacture of gabardine and cravenetted garments, and

WHEREAS, this work has for many years been manufactured in the raincoat shops, which long provided employment for hundreds of workers in our industry through the long dull period, as we have only one season during the year, and

WHEREAS, because of certain jurisdictional misunderstandings with the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the manufacturers in our trade, taking advantage of the situation, have sent their work into Amalgamated as well as non-union shops, thereby throwing many of our members out of work, and

WHEREAS, at the Cleveland Convention in 1922, the charter of Local 20 was changed from Raincoat Makers' Union to Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, with the sole intention of getting control of the waterproof garments, including cravenetted and gabardine coats made by our manufacturers and jobbers, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the incoming General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. to use all moral and jurisdictional means in bringing about that all waterproof garments produced by the raincoat manufacturers and jobbers should be made by the members of the Waterproof Garment Workers' Union Local No. 20.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 29

Introduced by Benjamin Kaplan, M. J. Ashbes, Jacob Miller and Jacob Snyder, Local 2.

WHEREAS, the Jewish Consumptive Relief Society of Denver, Colo., the Deborah Sanatorium, the Los-Angeles Sanatorium, and the Ex-Patients Home, are institutions which care for most of the members of the International Ladies' Garments Workers' Union afflicted with consumption, and

WHEREAS, these institutions are rendering free service and shelter to all its patients, and

WHEREAS, these institutions have greatly expanded their capacity during the last year so as to accommodate those who waited for admission for many months, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention request all its Locals and Joint Boards to make arrangements for its members to donate one hour's work for the benefit of these institutions; such donations to be distributed by the incoming General Executive Board among these institutions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 30

Introduced by Local 28 Delegation.

RESOLVED, that this Nineteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. demand that the American Government immediately recognize the Russian Government and enter into trade relations with that country, and be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to the President and Secretary of the State Department, and also to the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 31

Introduced by Local No. 9.

WHEREAS, the 1923 Convention in Philadelphia has recognized groups in the Union, and whereas such groups are a detriment to the growth of our union; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the International declare that groups are a detriment to the Union, and decide that if any member of the Union should belong, organize or assist in any way, form or manner any group said member should be held to strict accountability.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 32

Introduced by Local No. 9.

WHEREAS, after the last strike, a number of workers remained outside of the Union, and when a number of workers thus stay out of a labor union, it becomes impossible to control the conditions of the trade, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the International instruct the Incoming General Executive Board to devise a plan for taking in all those that still remain outside of the Union on reasonable terms.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 33

Introduced by First Vice-President Salvatore Ninfo and the Delegation of Local 48.

WHEREAS, a drive is in progress in the city of New York, under the chairmanship of Hon. Francis X. Mancuso, Judge of the Court of General Sessions, to raise a two million dollar fund for the purpose of erecting an Italian Hospital for those unfortunate Italo-Americans who are so handicapped financially that they are compelled to appeal to charity in time of need and serious sickness, and

WHEREAS, many of these Italians, unable to speak the English language, are deprived the privilege of entering a hospital where they can be understood and cared for by their countrymen, due to lack of funds, and knowing that a good number of these afflicted are, no doubt, also members of our International Union, and

WHEREAS, our International Union, at previous conventions and through the General Executive Board, has been very liberal in contributing towards similar institutions, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention donate from its general funds the sum of five thousand dollars for a room which would bear the name of our International Union, and that such amount should be paid during the period of three years.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 34

Introduced by Louis Goldstein, Local 2; B. Kaplan, Local 2; Sol Goldstein, Local 9, and Max Kravitz, Local 9.

WHEREAS, the "Tolerance Group" in our Union has elected a delegation of ten members to appear before this convention for the purpose of calling the attention of the delegates to the present critical situation prevailing in our Union and to present a demand that steps be taken to make an end to the struggle and unite all elements for the purpose of rebuilding the Union—a demand which is supported by thousands of workers who have signed a petition to that effect, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this convention grants that committee the privilege to present its request to the delegates on the floor of the convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 35

Introduced by New York Joint Board.

WHEREAS, the agreements now in force in the Cloak and Dress Industries in the City of New York will expire before the next convention of the I. L. G. W. U., and

WHEREAS, in renewing these agreements, complications may arise which might necessitate the calling of general strikes, due to the general attitude of certain groups of employers who are endeavoring to undermine union standards and conditions, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Nineteenth Convention goes on record as endorsing general strikes in both the Cloak and Dress Industries of New York City should all other means for a peaceful and amicable agreement fail.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 36

Introduced by New York Joint Board.

WHEREAS, the Joint Board of the Cloak, Skirt, Dress and Reefer Makers' Union of New York City, is indebted to an amount exceeding Two Million Dollars, due to the mismanagement of the 1926 General Strike by the then Communist office holders, who, besides contracting many other debts, had used up employers' securities for which the Joint Board and the International are forced to assume responsibility, and

WHEREAS, the regular income of the Union is insufficient to meet any of these obligations with which we are confronted daily, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Nineteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. levy a tax upon each member of the I. L. G. W. U. for the purpose of liquidating the debts of the New York Joint Board.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 37

Introduced by S. Polakoff, Delegate Boston Joint Board, and A. Rosenberg, Local 140.

WHEREAS, a letter has been received from Brother Herman Grossman, Ledger 8, Local No. 2, the first President of our International Union, reading as follows:

"May 3, 1928.

"To the Officers and Delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 19th Biennial Convention, Boston, Mass.

"Dear Brethern: I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for what you have done for me in the past. Words fail to express my appreciation for the kindness you have shown me.

"I have just reached my 60th birthday. How the time flies. I can recall the first day that I entered the labor movement and my feelings today are as great as on the first day. There is neither pen nor ink that can describe the hardships and deprivations that I have undergone during the 40 years that I spent in the movement. I believe that my activities in this organization speak for themselves, and you are all well aware of my splendid record.

"I therefore wish to repeat my request which I made before the General Executive Board at their last quarterly session, that an assessment be levied upon the entire membership of 20 or 25 cents. When deliberating upon this request I hope you will take cognizance of the fact that I have given my whole life to the labor movement; neglected my family and especially myself so much so, that now it is impossible for me to talk and earn my own livelihood and I am compelled to make this request so that it will not be necessary for me to be a burden on this organization for the rest of my days. By endorsing

this recommendation, you will commit a noble deed and with which the entire labor movement will be in accord. It will be recorded in the annals of the history of our International, that a man, who has given his entire life to the organization was given recognition in his time of need. It will encourage more devotion among our active and loyal members when they know that their sacrifices for the Organization will be given some consideration should the necessity arise during their lifetime.

"As I have already stated, I didn't try to protect my wife and children in my younger years, but I should like to make some provision for them now. I feel very unhappy to think that it is necessary for me to call upon you for help at a time when there is so much turmoil and confusion in the Organization, but it is inevitable that I appeal to you for assistance. It lies within the power of your Tribunal to add many more years to my life.

"I want to thank you for all past favors and also for the future.

"With best wishes and kind regards to you, I remain

"Your loyal brother,

"HERMAN GROSSMAN,

"Local 2, Ledger 8."

Therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this convention give due consideration to this request coming as it does from the first president of our International Union, whom we know to be in need.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 38

Introduced by Local 41 Delegation.

WHEREAS, the tucking, hemstitching, pleating and novelty workers' union, Local 41, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, after eliminating the destructive element in its ranks, has succeeded in enrolling over 1,000 members, and

WHEREAS, it is the desire, hope and determination of the membership of our Union to organize the industry 100 per cent, and

WHEREAS, in order to accomplish our aim, a general strike will have to be called in the industry, and

WHEREAS, such strike call is anticipated at the expiration of the agreement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union goes on record as endorsing such strike, and be it further

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to give all its financial and moral support to Local 41 when the strike will be called.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 39

Introduced by Local No. 9 and Harry Ruffer, Local No. 59; Beckie Stein, Local No. 69, and J. Snelder, Local No. 39.

WHEREAS, the present minimum scale of the finishers in the Cloak and Suit Industry is lower than the scale of any other craft in our trade, and

WHEREAS, the work and qualifications of finishing the garment are equally important as that of any other craft, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Convention of the International instruct the Incoming General Executive Board in negotiations with the manufacturers pertaining to the renewal of agreements, the minimum scale of the finishers shall be increased to the same level as the scale of wages of any other craft.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 40

Introduced by Local 38 Delegation.

WHEREAS, the many attempts to enroll the unorganized custom dressmakers into our local have, to date, met with failure, and

WHEREAS, the problem is growing more acute as time goes on, in view of the ever increasing competition between the non-union and our union establishments, due to the difference of working hours and wage scales existing in these two different groups of shops, and

WHEREAS, such conditions practically check our advancement in the trade and are bound, therefore, to diminish rather than to increase the strength and importance of our organization in our trade in the future, and

WHEREAS, this cannot and should not be allowed to happen as there is no good reason to believe that to organize the non-union element in this trade is an impossible thing, and

WHEREAS, organization work in this field must be carried on on a much bigger scale than has been the case heretofore, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Nineteenth Convention instruct the General Executive Board to lay out, together with the representatives of Local 38, a plan of work for the purpose of organizing the non-union custom dressmakers in our trade, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the General Executive Board aid in this campaign, both financially and morally, to their fullest extent.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 41

Introduced by Cleveland Delegation.

WHEREAS, many governments have already established diplomatic and commercial relations with the United Socialist Soviet Republics; and

WHEREAS, the Government of the United States has in the past pursued a policy of avowed antagonism towards the Russian Soviet Government, a policy which is contrary to the spirit of fair play and genuine democracy; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention go on record as demanding that the Government of the United States give immediate and complete recognition to the United Socialist Soviet Republics.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 42

Introduced by Cleveland Delegation.

WHEREAS, the ultimate aim of the trade union movement is to bring about social justice, liberty and democracy and to abolish all forms of oppression, political as well as economic, and

WHEREAS, there are at the present time a large number of people in the United States, Bulgaria, Hungary, France, Germany, Japan, Italy, Poland, Roumania, Great Britain and Russia and other countries, imprisoned for political opinion and belief; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union assembled in its 19th Convention in the City of Boston, May, 1923, solemnly protest against the policies of persecution and imprisonment for political opinions and beliefs, and jointly with all the labor movements all over the world demand the release of such political prisoners in all countries where such conditions exist.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 43

Introduced by request of Local No. 52.

At a special meeting held Saturday, April 14th, 1923, at our Union headquarters, 656 South Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles, California, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, the Cloak and Dress Industry in Los Angeles is growing rapidly, official figures showing \$6,000,000.00 in cloak production and \$2,000,000.00 in dress production for the year 1927, and thus becoming a decided competitive factor with the Eastern market, which may eventually lead to a marked clash between the Eastern and Western Cloak centers, and

WHEREAS, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and its subsidiary, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association are waging a ruthless and merciless war against organized labor, concentrated and systematic attempts being made by these anti-labor organizations to wreck and destroy the already existing locals, through bringing pressure to bear by

the use of the anti-syndicalist and anti-picketing laws, thereby making it that much harder for our local to carry on extensive organization campaigns; and due also to the fact that financially the local is unable to carry on union activity on a scale to keep up with the developments of our industry.

WHEREAS, the conditions in the dress trade in particular are bad beyond description and even imagination, the bosses using race and creed as a means to keep up the antagonisms between workers, and in this way lengthening hours, paying miserably low wages, and discharging workers upon the slightest suspicion of being connected with a union, using the Mexican element against the American and Jewish, and vice versa, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we, the members of Local 52, I. L. G. W. U., assembled at a special meeting, called for this purpose, demand that the Nineteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, go on record that all financial and moral support be given to Local 52, by the International in order to enable the local to combat all the obstacles and difficulties and carry on successful organization work.

I. LUTSKY, Chairman.
M. HERMAN, Secretary.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 44

Introduced by request of Local No. 52.

At a special meeting held Saturday, April 14th, 1928, at our Union headquarters, 656 South Los Angeles Street Los Angeles, California, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, the Ladies' Garment Industry on the Pacific Coast employ about ten thousand men and women (cloaks and dresses being made in Los Angeles and San Francisco, California; Portland, Oregon; Seattle, Washington; Vancouver, British Columbia), Los Angeles alone employing at least 40 per cent of these workers, working under open shop conditions, and

WHEREAS, these thousands of men and women that are working under these degrading conditions and receiving a starvation wage, are competitors to the workers of the unionized centers, and

WHEREAS, the Coast States are known as the most reactionary anti-union states, where all reactionary forces are united against organized labor, spending millions of dollars and employing all political forces in their concentrated attack upon organized labor and are doing their utmost to further the "American Plan" whereby it becomes impossible for local forces alone to combat these concentrated attacks on the efforts to unionize the cloak and dressmakers of the Pacific Coast, and

WHEREAS, the chief purpose of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is to obtain and preserve for all workers engaged in the Ladies' Garment Industry just and reasonable conditions of work with respect to wages, work hours, and other terms of employment, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we, the members of Local No. 52, I. L. G. W. U., assembled at this special meeting, called for this purpose, recommend that the Nineteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. go on record:

1. That a general organizer be assigned specially for the Pacific Coast, whose purpose shall be to carry on constant organization work along the Pacific Coast.

2. That the International extend every other support, financial and moral, to enable us to organize the ladies' garment workers on the Pacific Coast, and be it further

RESOLVED, that since Los Angeles is the largest center of the ladies' garment industry on the Pacific Coast, the organizer's office be established in Los Angeles.

(Signed)

I. LUTSKY, Chairman.
M. HERMAN, Secretary.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 45

Introduced by Local 91, New York.

WHEREAS, our conventions in May, 1920, and in May, 1922 instructed the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. to organize an Eastern Organization Department under the supervision of the General Executive Board for the purpose of organizing the workers employed in the making of cloaks, suits, dresses, waists, children's dresses, house-dresses, white goods, raincoats and all other garments, and such an Eastern Organization Department has been formed by the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U.; and

WHEREAS, the activity of the department has been up to the present time limited to the cloak, suit and dress industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this convention assembled in Boston, May, 1928, instruct the incoming General Executive Board to see to it that the Eastern Organization Department embrace in its activity all those employed in the making of ladies' garments without exception.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 46

Introduced by Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, various cities in the Middle West and the West, such as Kansas City, Kansas, Portland, Oregon, and several others, have lately become cloak and dress manufacturing centers, and

WHEREAS, these centers are not organized, which makes them a menace to the entire industry, and especially so are they a menace and a competitor to the Chicago market, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board as expeditiously as possible to start an extensive organization campaign for the purpose of organizing the workers employed in the ladies' garment industry in the above unorganized centers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 47

Introduced by the Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, the raincoat industry in the City of Chicago is diminishing in size because of the keen competition between this market and the middlewestern towns where labor standards are very low, and

WHEREAS, the Chicago market is also hampered through the competition with the East, and

WHEREAS, such conditions can only be eliminated through an extensive organization campaign among all the raincoat makers, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be given power to assign organize for the Middle West, who shall devote their time to the unionization of the raincoat makers in the smaller towns for the purpose of elevating their standards of labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 48

Introduced by Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, there are in the city of Chicago about two thousand workers, a large portion of whom are women, employed in the corset, corselette and brassiere industry, and

WHEREAS, their hours of labor are very long, and the wages earned by these workers are very meager, and

WHEREAS, a successful attempt at organizing this branch of the industry was crowned with success in the unionization of the largest corselette and brassiere shop in the city of Chicago, which should facilitate future organization campaigns, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be given full power to conduct an organization campaign for the unionization of these workers and for the improvement of their labor conditions.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 49

Introduced by the Boston Delegation.

WHEREAS, in and around every organized center in the women's garment industry, there exist not only individual unorganized shops, but adjoining vicinities which are, in many instances, almost wholly unorganized, and

WHEREAS, the appointment of organizers in a given city by locals or joint boards tends to restrict said organizers to the work of that particular locality or craft alone, and, consequently to the neglect of the wholly unorganized adjoining centers or allied branches, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that district organizers shall be appointed and be under the supervision of the General Executive Board of the International, and such general district organizers shall be appointed for every important center of our industry completely to cover all branches.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 50

Introduced by St. Louis Joint Board.

WHEREAS, the dress trade in the city of St. Louis has become immensely big and the thousands of American girls employed in it are totally unorganized; and

WHEREAS, the conditions in these shops are very miserable; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board is instructed to conduct an organization campaign among these workers and do its utmost to help them establish for themselves humane conditions and fair wages.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Third Day—Morning Session Wednesday, May 9, 1928

President Morris Sigman called the session to order at 10:30 A. M.

Secretary Baroff read additional communications and telegrams from the following organizations, shops and individuals:

Local No. 9, New York.
Ladies Embroidery Union, Local 66, New York.

Cloak, Skirt and Dress Makers' Union, Local 35, New York.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Toronto.

President Sigman introduced Mr. Nathan Kurtzoff, field secretary of the Denver Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Mr.

Kurtkoff thanked the delegates for the aid extended by the International to his organization in the past, and expressed the hope that it would continue to give both moral and financial assistance to the Denver institution.

The next speaker to address the delegates was Mr. Charles W. Ervin, representing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. He was greeted with enthusiastic applause.

Mr. Ervin: I am here representing and bearing the greetings of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a sister organization; but more important than all else, I am here representing myself as one who received his first baptism in the labor union movement in the school of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (Applause). You, like all of us, have had difficulties, but in spite of all these difficulties, you are a fighting unit today, destined not only to recover from all your troubles, but to become again one of the great organizations in the needle trades of America. (Applause.)

The rank and file of the needle trades in this country have given notice time and time again that they can run their own affairs, and they will continue to run them in spite of every attempt to the contrary.

I want to close by saying again that I bear the greetings to you of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and, as for myself, I have not the least doubt that the International will continue to be one of the militant fighting forces of labor in his country. I thank you. (Great applause.)

Luigi Antonini, Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Regulations, submitted the following reports:

Report of Committee on Rules and Regulations

Your committee on Rules and Regulations unanimously recommend the adoption of the following rules by which the Convention shall be guided:

Rule No. 1. The Convention shall be

called to order at 9.30 A. M. and remain in session until 12.30 P. M. It shall convene at 1.30 P. M. and remain in session until 5 P. M., except on Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9.30 A. M. until the hour of adjournment.

Rule No. 2. The main floor of the Convention shall be reserved for the delegates only.

Rule No. 3. Visitors shall be permitted on the balcony and space permitted on the floor. Special guests shall be escorted to the platform.

Rule No. 4. If a delegate, while speaking, is called to order he shall, at the request of the chair, take a seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule No. 5. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule No. 6. No delegates shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to call him to a point of order.

Rule No. 7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same question without the permission of the Convention.

Rule No. 8. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the Convention.

Rule No. 9. A motion shall not be opened for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule No. 10. When a question is pending before the Convention, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, or the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, or to amend, which motions shall have preference in the order made.

Rule No. 11. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by two delegates who voted in the majority and shall receive a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

Rule No. 12. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes on the floor of the Conven-

tion, the same as the other motions and resolutions.

Rule No. 13. It shall require at least fifteen delegates to move the previous question.

Rule No. 14. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the name of the organization he or she represents and shall be in duplicate.

Rule No. 15. No debate shall be declared closed until the maker of the motion has had the privilege of the floor.

Rule No. 16. After the previous question has been put and decided upon, the parties involved in the particular question shall be permitted to speak in their own behalf.

Rule No. 17. When a roll-call vote has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule No. 18. When a delegate addresses the Convention in any other than the English language, the main points of his remarks shall be translated by the chairman or any other delegate appointed by the Chair and recorded in the minutes.

Rule No. 19. Registration cards shall be furnished at each session. Any delegate not registered within fifteen minutes after the Convention is called to order shall be marked absent and the list of absentees shall be printed in the daily proceedings.

Rule No. 20. Roll-call may be called upon any question at the request of not less than fifteen delegates from five different locals.

Rule No. 21. Cushing's Manual Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not here provided.

Rule No. 22. The delegates shall retain the same seats all through the Convention assigned to them during the first session of the Convention.

Rule No. 23. The afternoon session beginning with 2 P. M. on Friday, May 11th, 1928, shall be devoted to the nomination and election of general officers

and delegates to the A. F. of J. Convention.

Rule No. 24. The Chairman shall have the power to order night sessions in order to expedite the work of the Convention, which is to continue for one week only.

Luigi Antonini, Chairman,
Jacob Snyder, Secretary.

All of the rules were adopted, with the following changes:

Rule No. 1. Upon amendment by Delegate Ninfo, the clause, "except on Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9.30 A. M. until the adjournment of the Convention," was stricken out.

Rule No. 24. This rule was withdrawn by Chairman Antonini in view of the change made in Rule No. 1.

President Sigman next introduced to the convention Mr. Israel Mereminsky, General Secretary of the Palestine Federation of Labor. Mr. Mereminsky gave a brief and interesting sketch of the activities and problems faced by his organization, and extended the fraternal greetings and best wishes of his organization.

Delegate Max Cohen: I move that we go on record as expressing our appreciation to Mr. Mereminsky for his interesting address. (Motion carried.)

The following telegrams of greeting and encouragement were sent by the convention to the United Mine Workers of America, and to the United Textile Workers' Union.

May 9, 1928.

Strike Headquarters,
United Textile Workers' Union,
New Bedford, Mass.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in convention assembled in the City of Boston extend to the striking textile workers in the mills of New Bedford, Mass., warm fraternal greetings and a message of encouragement and cheer in their struggle against the starvation and oppression policy of their masters. It is our fervent hope that your magnificent fight for human rights and for the right to a decent living will terminate in a glorious victory.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.

National Headquarters,
United Mine Workers,
Indianapolis, Ind.

The Nineteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Boston assembled extends to your organization a message of warm fraternal greetings and an expression of comradely solidarity. The Women's Garment Workers of America always have deeply appreciated the cordial relations between your organization and their own, and today we wish to emphasize and reiterate this bond of friendship and cooperation. Our convention fervently hopes that the great fight being conducted by your members in the soft coal fields of Pennsylvania and Ohio will terminate in a triumph over the combined enemies of your organization.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.

The next speaker to address the convention was Mary Gordon Thompson, president of the Women's Trade Union League of Boston. She briefly sketched the work of her organization, and mentioned as an illustration the wonderful work they had done in organizing the neckwear industry in Boston. She concluded by asking for moral and financial support.

A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Faculty of Brookwood Labor College, was then introduced. He presented the greetings of Brookwood Labor College, as well as that of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

Delegate Polakof: I wish to announce that all delegates are invited tonight to a banquet which will take place in the Somerset Hotel at 8 o'clock sharp.

I wish also to announce that on Friday night we will have a dance at the same place and the delegates and their friends are invited. The members of the different locals in Boston will join with you and we will have a real reunion. The arrangements committee also extends to the members of the press a cordial invitation to attend the banquet.

At this point a delegation from Locals 2, 3, 9, 10, 21, 22, 23, 35, 48, 64 and 82 of the New York Joint Board marched to the platform bearing a huge floral piece with the name "Abraham Baroff" inscribed on it, which they presented to Secretary-Treasurer Baroff, amidst rounds of cheers and applause.

After the applause had subsided, Delegate Maurice W. Jacobs, of Local 10, made the following address of presentation:

Delegate Jacobs:

During this Convention our President was presented with elaborate flowers as an expression of appreciation for his accomplishments as chief officer of our International.

Knowing that the accomplishments of our President would not have been as successful without the assistance of other high officers of our Union, we feel that recognition should also be extended to the next highest officer of our International.

We, therefore, wish to extend our appreciation to our General Secretary-Treasurer, Brother Abraham Baroff.

We regret that we cannot be as elaborate as other locals.

—Delegates of New York Joint Board,
Locals 2, 3, 9, 10, 21, 22, 23, 35, 48, 64
and 82.

There was another demonstration for Secretary Baroff, all the delegates rising and cheering vigorously. Secretary Baroff, visibly touched by the outburst of warm feelings, rose to respond.

Secretary Baroff: Chairman, delegates and friends: This is, indeed, a surprise to me. When the presentation was made to the President yesterday I took it for granted that I was included. I certainly appreciate this token of your esteem. I do not want to deliver a long talk, especially since I am very sentimental and such things upset me.

I want to say that the work that has been accomplished in the last two years and five months in our endeavors to rebuild the Union, was done not only by your President, your Secretary-Treasurer and your General Executive Board, but by all the joint boards, by all the executive committees of the different locals in the city of New York, as well as by the active members who had been constantly on the firing line. They are the ones who deserve the flowers. They

are the ones who were assaulted, who have suffered, and who stood ready to give their lives for the Union. I thank you very much for this beautiful reception, and I can assure you that I am ready to continue to serve the Union in any capacity you see fit. I shall remain a loyal and devoted member of the Union and work ceaselessly to the last of my days for the aims that the Union is established for, namely, to liberate the workers from wage slavery. I thank you. (Great applause.)

It was decided to hold no afternoon session in order to give the committees an opportunity to get to work.

At 1 P. M. the session adjourned, to reconvene Thursday, May 10, 1928, at 9.30 A. M.

The following additional resolutions were received by President Sigman, and after being duly classified were assigned to the proper convention committees:

Resolution No. 51

Introduced by Local 20, New York.

WHEREAS, there has existed for some time and still exists now stronger than ever before, a movement on the part of manufacturers and contractors to either move their factories totally or partially to villages, cities, and townships outside of all gain garment manufacturing centers, and

WHEREAS, in the past few years the raincoat industry has grown, and due to the above-mentioned tendency on the part of the employers, the new incoming employers have established their factories in these out-of-town open-shop regions, and

WHEREAS, the chief reasons for this exodus or establishment of factories in these outlying districts is that non-union conditions, cheap labor, and long working hours prevail there, and

WHEREAS, this situation has been and is becoming a constantly growing menace to the good and welfare of the union shops in the main garment manufacturing centers, and cannot be allowed to go unchallenged, and

WHEREAS, in the past few years disruptive (Communist) intrigues have weakened our International as a whole producing a very bad effect on the out-of-town organization department which was of great constructive aid to all unions suffering from that evil, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to employ all efforts to devise ways and means for

strengthening this out-of-town department to be in a position again to carry on an extensive organization campaign in all open-shop districts.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 52

Introduced by Local 20, New York.

WHEREAS, the raincoat industry has in the last few years grown to tremendous importance, and

WHEREAS, this growth has largely taken place outside of the main garment manufacturing centers chiefly because of the tendency on the part of employers to escape the rigid control of the union, and

WHEREAS, as a result of that condition, new raincoat manufacturing centers have been created such as Philadelphia and other cities, which are constantly growing and constituting a menace to the other organized centers, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to institute immediately after the adjournment of this convention an intensive organization campaign so that the Union may gain control in all these various centers where raincoats are being made.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 53.

Introduced by Local 20, New York.

WHEREAS, by decision of the Eighteenth Biennial Convention a charter was granted to the raincoat makers of Boston and a local No. 24 established, and

WHEREAS, since the formation of that Boston local it has been supported partly by the International but, in the main, by Local No. 20, but nevertheless, due to adverse conditions and lack of proper and sound leadership this local at this time finds itself in a very precarious state, and

WHEREAS, there are thousands of workers employed in non-union raincoat shops in Boston and vicinity who are imperiling the existence of the organized raincoat makers in Boston and other centers, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to exercise every effort in helping out this local financially in the immediate future so that an extensive organization campaign may be conducted and the worthy work that was started shall not have been in vain.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 54

Introduced by the Delegation of the Philadelphia Joint Board.

WHEREAS, the city of Camden, New Jersey, has grown to be a cloak center during the last two years, and practically an unorganized center, which undermines the union conditions of the cloakmakers of Philadelphia, due to the proximity of this center; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to do all in its power to organize the City of Camden, N. J.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 55

Introduced by Locals 15, 36 and 113.

WHEREAS, the Ladies' Garment Workers of Mount Vernon control but a very small fraction of the dress and cloak shops in Westchester County; and the small membership of the locals have stuck together, improving their conditions in the few shops under union control, but cannot gain further improvements from their employers since organization work does not extend to the numerous open shops throughout the entire County of Westchester, and

WHEREAS, there are about fifteen hundred workers employed in these non-union shops, be it

RESOLVED, that this Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to look into this matter and see what can be done to organize all the shops in the County of Westchester, New York.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 56

Introduced by Toronto Locals Nos. 14, 63, 83 and 92.

WHEREAS, Toronto and Montreal are the principal cloak centers in Canada and

WHEREAS, there is no active union in Montreal at present, thus hindering in maintaining union conditions in Toronto, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. now in session in Boston, Mass., instruct the incoming G. E. B. to immediately launch an organization campaign to build up an effective cloakmakers' union in Montreal.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 57

Introduced by Toronto Locals 14, 63, 83 and 92.

WHEREAS, there are engaged in Toronto about 3,000 workers in the dress industry, and

WHEREAS, the organization of a dressmakers' union is essential for the interests of our International, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the incoming General Executive Board to immediately launch a campaign to organize the dressmakers in Toronto.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 58

Introduced by Delegates of Local 38.

WHEREAS, the agreements in our branch of the industry expire on September 15, 1928, and

WHEREAS, the present conditions under which our workers are employed require much improvement so that they can be guaranteed a yearly income sufficient to support themselves and their families on a decent basis, and

WHEREAS, from all indications the employers in our trade are preparing themselves to stave off any improvements the union might request, and

WHEREAS, such conditions might necessitate a strike in order to compel the employers to consent to the just and legitimate demands of the union on the part of the workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention instruct the General Executive Board to give their moral aid and financial support, if needed, if such strike should be found to be imperative for the best interests of the workers and the union to which they belong

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 59

Introduced by Local 38.

WHEREAS, it is impossible to improve the conditions of the organized workers as long as the overwhelming majority of the workers are unorganized and are used by the employers to undermine union standards achieved after years of struggle, and

WHEREAS, it is the elementary duty of a trade union to organize the unorganized and help them in their struggle to raise their standard of living, and

WHEREAS, in the past years, our Union

had lost members and our trade is spreading throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, the problem of organizing the unorganized throughout the country as well as in New York is of vital importance to our members and organization, and

WHEREAS, the present system of doing organization work among the unorganized, through professional organizers, has proven ineffective, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the G. E. B. is instructed by this Convention to work out a plan for the formation of rank and file organization committees, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the incoming G. E. B. is instructed to carry on an extensive systematic organization campaign throughout the country, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the G. E. B. should initiate a conference of all unions in the needle trades to consider plans for joint organization work.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 60

Introduced by the Delegates of Cleveland.

WHEREAS, there are several hundred workers engaged in the women's garment industry in Cincinnati and vicinity, who are almost completely unorganized, and

WHEREAS, the existence of such an unorganized center is a permanent menace to the maintenance or improvement of union standards throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, the loyal members of our Cincinnati local are anxious to begin an organization campaign with the aid of our international office; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to extend every possible aid to organize the workers of Cincinnati into a permanent, strong organization.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 61

Introduced by Delegates of Local No. 67, Toledo.

WHEREAS, the great majority of the workers engaged in the women's garment industry of Toledo and vicinity are unorganized, and

WHEREAS, the existence of these unorganized workers threatens the standards obtained after years of struggle not only in the union shops of Toledo but in other union centers throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, several attempts have been made in the past by the loyal members of

Local No. 67, aided by the International, to organize these workers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to continue on a more extended scale the effort to organize the garment workers of Toledo.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 62

Introduced by the Cleveland Delegation.

WHEREAS, there are large numbers of unorganized workers engaged in the manufacture of women's garments in the City of Cleveland and vicinity, and

WHEREAS, the unorganized state of these workers has resulted in cut-rate competition with the organized sections of the industry and has reacted unfavorably upon our membership; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to assign a permanent organizer in the City of Cleveland and vicinity to assist the Joint Board of that city in the organization of all workers in our industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 63

Introduced by Local No. 41 Delegation.

WHEREAS, the firms Star Pleating Co., Harrison Bros., and the Lobby Pleating Co. in New York, have been consolidated into one firm which employs close to 250 people, and

WHEREAS, all these firms were previously members of the Pleaters' and Hitters' Association, with which our local is in contractual relations, and

WHEREAS, this firm has notified the members of Local No. 41 of its intention to conduct the factory on a non-union basis, and that any worker who will continue his or her membership in the union would be discharged, and

WHEREAS, as a result of this ultimatum Local No. 41 may be forced to declare the shop on strike; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this Nineteenth Biennial Convention approve such strike if called; and be it further

RESOLVED, that this Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to give its fullest financial and moral support to Local No. 41 in the event it will be forced to call a strike against this firm.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 64

Introduced by Local 2 Delegation.

WHEREAS, the cloak industry in New York, thanks to the wretched leadership of the General Strike of 1926 by the Communist administration, is demoralized and ruined, and

WHEREAS, under their leadership the non-union shops have increased in such proportions that the union shops are badly affected, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the International instruct the incoming General Executive Board to immediately launch a vigorous and intensive organization drive in New York and vicinity in order to completely organize the cloak market in New York, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the Convention empowers the General Executive Board to employ all means to organize the industry and to restore order and union conditions in New York and to call a stoppage in the industry if necessary in order to enforce union conditions.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 65.

Introduced by Delegates of Local No. 24.

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board consider at the earliest opportunity the advisability of engaging a general organizer, whose time and energy shall be devoted towards strengthening the existing raincoat makers' locals, reviving the defunct ones and establishing new ones where the industry and number of workers warrant it.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 66

Introduced by Local No. 75, Worcester.

WHEREAS, there are a number of shops in the city of Worcester engaged in the manufacture of skirts, waists and dresses, employing a large number of men and women who are still unorganized, and

WHEREAS, there are a number of shops engaged in the manufacture of wrappers, kimonos and children's dresses in the city of Worcester which are as yet not under the control of our International, and

WHEREAS, these workers are working under conditions and receiving wages inferior to those prevailing in union shops, which fact obviously endangers conditions in union shops and threatens to overthrow them, and

WHEREAS, in view of present conditions there is a great dissatisfaction amongst those non-union workers who are now ready for organization; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to appoint an organizer with headquarters in the city of Worcester and start an immediate campaign to organize all ladies' garment workers in the city of Worcester.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 67

Introduced by Local No. 50 Delegation, Philadelphia.

Due to the fact that the manufacturers in the dress industry in Philadelphia have assumed a strong anti-union attitude, which makes it impossible to continue regular organization work,

We ask the delegates to the 19th Convention of our International to instruct the incoming General Executive Board to inaugurate an organization campaign on a large scale, with the object of establishing union conditions in the dress industry, said campaign to terminate with a general strike if necessary.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 68

Introduced by Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, a number of women are employed in the various industries in the United States, and

WHEREAS, the low standard of wages received by these women is constantly menacing the higher standard of the men working in the same industry, and

WHEREAS, the numerous attempts by individual international unions to bring the women workers within their fold have in many instances, proven too difficult to be successful, and

WHEREAS, this problem is confronting almost every international union; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to introduce and work for the adoption of a resolution calling for the formation of a special women's organization department which shall be directed and controlled by the American Federation of Labor and its executive officers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 69

Introduced by Benjamin Kaplan, B. Kaplan, M. J. Ashces, Jacob Miller, Louis Goldstein and Jacob Snyder, Local No. 2.

WHEREAS, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is conducting the organization work in the suburbs of New York for the benefit of the locals composing the Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit, Skirt, Dress & Reefer Makers' Union of New York, and

WHEREAS, in order to do this work more effectively, it is essential that the said Joint Board be in close contact with the Out-of-Town Department and its work and have all information about the work accomplished, and make suggestions how this said organization work shall be continued for the future; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the chief organizer of this department submit monthly reports of his activity to the Board of Directors of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. At these meetings, the reports shall be discussed and important suggestions made, thus helping to carry on the organization work more successfully in the vicinities of New York.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 70

Introduced by Local No. 8, San Francisco, Cal.

WHEREAS, the cloak and dress industry on the Pacific Coast is rapidly increasing and involves thousands of workers, and

WHEREAS, the Pacific Coast is now becoming one of the centers of the open-shop, and

WHEREAS, the open-shop conditions on the Pacific Coast are a menace to all other markets not only in time of strikes but also in time of peace; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that Local No. 8 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union endorse the resolution on organization adopted by Local No. 52, Los Angeles.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 71

Introduced by request of Local 52, Los Angeles, Cal.

WHEREAS, the aims and principles of a union are to fight the battle of Labor on the economic field, to advocate collective bargaining, to uphold the right of the working class to be organized, and to strive to bring about a system that would enable the worker to receive the full value of his toil, and

WHEREAS, the privilege and right to join a union is extended to all workers who are in accord with the aims and principles of a union, regardless of race, creed or color; and once one is legally admitted to a union, he is guaranteed his right to hold and express his

opinion and views, whether it be of an economic or political nature. The instant an officer or officers of a union are attempting to deprive a member of his rights and privileges they are transgressing upon his guaranteed right, thereby becoming detrimental to and threatening the very foundation of the union, and

WHEREAS, a dangerous policy of transgressing on these rights was pursued by the General Executive Board of our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, when in November of 1926, four of the largest locals were expelled from the International for the only reason that the members of the four locals utilized the right to express their political views and opinions, the result of this illegal mass expulsion brought about a condition where all the achievements that were attained through years of bitter struggle were within the past 18 months threatening to entirely destroy our Union. Never in the history of the labor movement did organized labor witness such an onslaught upon members of a union by its officers, and

WHEREAS, the deplorable conditions in New York—the center of activity of our Union—is reflected in the entire industry throughout the country, where no organization campaigns are to have been evident for the past two years, as a direct result of the internal struggle that is raging in the International; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we, members of Local 52, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of Los Angeles, California, recommend and appeal to the Nineteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, convened in Boston, Mass., May, 1928, that the internal struggle must cease immediately and that all expelled locals and individuals be reinstated unconditionally and that no expulsion for political opinions shall again be practiced in our union; and be it therefore

RESOLVED, that Local No. 52 protests against the action of the General Executive Board issuing the "Pledge of Loyalty" thereby depriving members of their right as members of the union to participate in the convention which is the supreme authority of our union and be it further

RESOLVED, that the Nineteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. go on record to carry out the decision of the Special Convention held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November, 1925, that all political opinions and convictions be tolerated, and we shall thereby lay the foundation for an ever stronger and more militant International Union, which shall again become the weapon and the defender of its members.

(Signed)

I. LUTSKY, Chrmn.
M. HERMAN, Secretary.

Referred to Committee on Officers' Report.

Resolution No. 72

Introduced by Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, the introduction of tacking, felling and edge-basting machinery does away with a great many workers in the hand sewing branch of our industry, and

WHEREAS, we are as yet living under a capitalistic form of society by which improved machinery is used principally for the purpose of increasing the profits of the employing class through the elimination of workers required in the shops, thereby increasing the army of unemployed, and

WHEREAS, if the introduction of these machines continues unchecked, it may cause the loss of the only means of earning a living for the hand sewers of Chicago; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this Nineteenth Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board not to permit an employer to install felling, tacking, or edge-basting machines unless he employs at least seven hand sewers whose annual earnings shall not be less than two thousand dollars. Button sewers shall not be considered among the seven.

Referred to Committee on Officers' Report.

Resolution No. 73

Introduced by Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, the introduction of the pressing machine in the Chicago cloak industry has done away with many workers in the pressing departments, and

WHEREAS, we are not opposed to the introduction of improved machinery in the industry, as we are aware of the fact that improved machinery, if administered for the benefit of mankind and not in the interest of the employing class, would give the workers shorter hours of labor and more time for education and recreation, and

WHEREAS, the further unchecked introduction of pressing machines will greatly increase the number of unemployed in our trade and make the problem of providing them with employment more difficult; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Biennial Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board not to permit any Chicago manufacturer to install a pressing machine unless he employs a minimum of six pressers in his shop and that the minimum scale of wages of such pressers shall be not less than \$67.50 per week.

Referred to Committee on Officers' Report.

Resolution No. 74

Introduced by Local No. 14, Toronto, Canada.

WHEREAS, because of the internal fight

existing in the International our union is considerably injured, and union conditions have deteriorated, and our union is in danger, and

WHEREAS, only through enduring peace may the International be rebuilt, be it therefore

RESOLVED that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. immediately decide to stop the brotherly fight and reinstate all cloakmakers into the union. Only through unity shall we succeed in rebuilding a strong union in the cloak industry.

Referred to Committee on Officers' Report.

Resolution No. 75

Introduced by Delegate of Local 140, A. Rosenberg.

WHEREAS, the main aim and object of the existence and activity of the I. L. G. W. U. is to elevate and improve the conditions of its members, and

WHEREAS, in the year 1919 our membership, as well as our leaders, had earnestly believed that through the establishment of a week-work system in our industry we would eliminate the short seasons and the competition between one shop and another working at the same line of work, and

WHEREAS, since the inauguration of the week-work system not only did it not create longer seasons and stabilize conditions of employment, but, on the contrary, our seasons are becoming shorter, and by now thousands of our members are completely eliminated from our industry through their inability to find employment, and

WHEREAS, when they find employment they are compelled to work for contractors or sub-manufacturers in very small shops where sanitary conditions and regulations of working hours are unknown; furthermore these workers are never sure to receive their hard-earned pay when the week is over (records of the Joint Board will prove that our members have lost thousands of dollars in unpaid wages), and

WHEREAS, to secure employment in the cloak trade in the city of New York a large number of our members are working piece-work for prices designated by the employers which are naturally very low, and while it is done contrary to the rules of the union they, the workers, are helpless and the employers take advantage of it.

WHEREAS, since the inauguration of the week-work system large numbers of the responsible manufacturers have closed their shops and became jobbers, thereby throwing out thousands of workers of employment, while a number of the workers have augmented the ranks of the irresponsible contractors and sub-manufacturers, and

WHEREAS, a number of jobbers who have previously been responsible manufacturers

claim that as soon as the union legalizes piece-work they are ready to open large shops and employ the workers directly, which would be to the advantage of our members, therefore be it

RESOLVED, at this 19th Convention to legalize both systems (week-work and piece-work). Any employer who desires to run his plant on the piece-work system may do so providing he notifies the Union to this effect once a year, one month before the season starts, so as to enable the Union to arrange prices for the coming season.

Referred to Committee on Officers' Report.

Resolution No. 76

Introduced by Louis Goldstein, Local No. 2; B. Kaplan, Local No. 2; Sol Goldstein, Local No. 9, and Max Kravitz, Local No. 9.

WHEREAS, owing to the protracted struggle in our union, which has been on for the past eighteen months, our industry has become demoralized, union standards and conditions undermined, wages reduced, production enormously increased due to the abnormal working hours, and the confidence of our membership in the Union weakened, and

WHEREAS, the open shop menace is entrenched itself ever more firmly in the industry, making it absolutely impossible to earn a livelihood, and

WHEREAS, in order to do away with all these evils it is necessary to restore the confidence of the workers in the union and unite all elements in an effort to organize the trade and improve the working conditions of our members, and

WHEREAS, so long as the internal war in our union continues all efforts to organize the trade and restore union conditions cannot meet with success, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Nineteenth Convention elect a committee to work out a basis for peace on which all elements in our Union can unite, which shall be presented to this Convention before adjournment.

Referred to Committee on Officers' Report.

Resolution No. 77

Introduced by Boston Joint Board.

WHEREAS, a Joint Board of Sanitary Control, composed of representatives of the Union, manufacturers and the public, has been operating in the city of Boston for the purpose of protecting the health and lives of the workers by installing sanitary standards in that industry, and this Board has adopted the Prosanis Label as the symbol of their work, and

WHEREAS, this Prosanis Label offers a means of bringing to the attention of the public the actual conditions existing in the women's garment industry and of eliciting public opinion in support of our efforts for sanitation, fire prevention and decent working conditions, and

WHEREAS, the great buying public of ladies' garments in New England is not yet sufficiently acquainted with the Prosanis Label, and

WHEREAS, the Prosanis Label is a guarantee to the consuming public that the garment carrying it has been manufactured under hygienic conditions and is free of communicable disease germs, thus offering protection to the public that cannot be over-estimated, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that a vigorous campaign by the G. E. B. of the I. L. G. W. U. be inaugurated through the medium of literature and lectures, through the co-operation of Labor organizations and other friendly organizations for the purpose of making known to the great public the importance of buying ladies' garments with the Prosanis Label attached to them; and it is further

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board stand instructed to inaugurate such a campaign in New England in conjunction with the Boston Joint Board of the I. L. G. W. U.

Referred to Committee on Officers' Report.

Resolution No. 78

Introduced by S. Polakoff, Delegate of Boston Joint Board.

RESOLVED, that Article 12, Section 2, which now reads "Each I. U. shall pay to the I. L. G. W. U. \$1.50 of the initiation fee of each new member" be amended to read as follows:

"Each I. U. shall pay to the I. L. G. W. U. \$1.50 of the initiation fee of each new member immediately after the applicant has been accepted as a member of the Union. Failure to comply with this section shall be considered a violation of Article XII, Sec. 6 of our Constitution."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 79

Introduced by A. Rosenberg, Local No. 140.

Amend Article 3, Section 1: Strike out 15 and insert 13. Also strike out 9 and insert 7.

Amend Article 3, Section 6: Strike out three years and insert five years.

Amend Article 4, Section 1: Strike out 13 and insert 13.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 80

Introduced by the New Jersey Delegation.

WHEREAS, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has made a strenuous effort to organize local unions in suburban towns, and

WHEREAS, the object of organizing Local Unions in suburban towns is chiefly to prevent the manufacturers and jobbers of the industry to avail themselves of the cheap labor they may find in the suburban towns, and

WHEREAS, up to this date out-of-town organization work has not been a great success due to various causes, thereby jeopardizing the existence of the locals in the large markets where our industry is concentrated, and

WHEREAS, one of the causes is that as soon as we succeed in organizing a local union in a suburban town and the employer is forced to improve the conditions of the workers, the employer in many cases gives up the shop and moves back to a large city where workers are more available, causing the workers in the shops of these suburban towns to be thrown out of work, and the blame is naturally laid upon the Union. The Union is then accused of intentionally destroying the suburban shops for the benefit of the workers in the large markets of the trade. The workers of these suburban towns become disgusted with the Union, and thus no organizer has a chance to do effective work in the suburban towns for some time to come, and

WHEREAS, one of the difficulties of doing organization work out of town is that as soon as a shop closes its doors and the workers are compelled to commute to the larger markets of our industry for employment, they, the workers, are compelled by the unions in that locality to transfer their membership to the local unions where they are employed, thereby making it impossible for the remaining members in the suburban towns to retain their membership in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, therefore be it

RESOLVED, at the 19th Convention to permit all members of local unions of not less than one year's membership to work in any shop under the jurisdiction of the I. L. G. W. U. without being requested to transfer membership from the local unions where their original books were issued, providing, however, that the member is still residing in the locality where the book had been issued and commutes daily to work, and so complies with shop rules and regulations adopted at the localities where they are employed.

A. ROSENBERG, Local No. 140.
MARY WARDEN, Local No. 140.
HELEN OLIVER, Local No. 150.
NATHAN SHAFFER, Local No. 150.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 81

Introduced by M. J. Aabbes, Local 2, and Jacob Miller, Local 2.

Article 2, Section 3, Page 8, to read as follows:—

Representation at the Convention shall be upon the following basis:

Local unions with a membership of not more than one hundred shall be entitled to one delegate; local unions with a membership of more than one hundred but not more than four hundred shall be entitled to two delegates; local unions with a membership of more than four hundred but not more than a thousand, shall be entitled to three delegates; local unions with a membership over one thousand shall be entitled to three delegates for the first thousand members and one delegate for each additional thousand or portion thereof. The membership shall be computed upon the basis of the average number of members in good standing in the local unions, etc.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 82

Introduced by New York Joint Board.

WHEREAS, the per capita paid by the Locals to the I. L. G. W. U. was raised at the Seventeenth Convention held in Boston from 10 to 15 cents per week, on the assumption that the local dues would be increased to 50 cents per week, and

WHEREAS, the Locals of the New York Joint Board, after having effected the increase in the local dues had to reduce same to the original amount of 35 cents per week as a result of a referendum vote of their members, and

WHEREAS, by paying to the International a per capita of 15 cents per week, the locals cannot possibly exist, as the balance remaining in their treasuries does not cover their administrative costs; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Nineteenth Convention readjust the International per capita in a way that would make it possible for the locals to meet their financial problems.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 83

Introduced by Local 3, New York.

WHEREAS, the Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Dressmakers' Union of New York is a body existing to conduct the business of all the local unions affiliated with it, and

WHEREAS, the same body conducts strikes, settles all controversies, makes agreements with all manufacturers' associations for all local unions alike, and

WHEREAS, all local unions affiliated with the Joint Board are subject to the same conditions prevailing in the shops, and

WHEREAS, our trade relations are such that we must of necessity be organized on an industrial basis instead of a craft basis, and

WHEREAS, we must set rules and regulations for every local alike, so that the duties of every local union towards the Joint Board be equal; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Convention go on record believing that it is in the interest of the Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Dressmakers' Union of New York to be so organized as to give equal representation to the local unions affiliated with the Joint Board on a basis fair to all of them without discrimination to any of the locals represented in this body.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 84

Introduced by Local No. 22.

WHEREAS, it is a matter of common knowledge that there exists a widespread dissatisfaction and discontent, among our members with the present form of election of our international officers, and

WHEREAS, it is the sense and opinion of the great majority of the members of our organization that its interests and welfare demand a closer relation between the members and their elected officers and a more direct form of representation, and

WHEREAS, the I. L. G. W. U., as a progressive labor union, has always advocated and encouraged a more democratic form of administration, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. herewith amends Article No. 3, Sections 2, 3, and 4 of its constitution to read, to wit:

Sec. 2. "The President and General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board shall be nominated at the Convention and elected by a referendum of all members of the I. L. G. W. U. The names of all those nominees who receive a minimum of one-fourth of the votes cast, shall appear on the ballot as candidates for President or General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board.

Sec. 3. "The terms of office for all General Officers shall be for a period of two years, and they shall hold their respective offices until their successors are duly elected and installed.

Sec. 4. "The referendum for President and General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board shall take place not later than 30 days after the adjournment of the Convention. The referendum vote shall be conducted by an Election Committee, consisting of 15 members, to be elected by the Convention and is to include representatives from the various garment centers.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 85

Introduced by Local No. 22.

WHEREAS, we have learned from past experiences, that any and all clubs, associations, circles, and groups, within the local unions, regardless of their pretenses, ultimately lead to hostile units, which become domineering and attempt to shape union policies and tactics in accordance with their particular views, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. reiterate the stand it has taken at the 1924 Boston Convention, to wit:

"That the I. L. G. W. U. cannot and will not tolerate any groups whatsoever within its organization," and be it further

RESOLVED, that regardless of the names of these groups or the members who are associated with them, all these existing groups, and those which may be organized in the future, are declared to be inimical to the best interests of the organization, and that all members of the I. L. G. W. U. be ordered to sever their relations with all such groups.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 86

Introduced by Local No. 22.

WHEREAS, some of our paid officers have openly aligned themselves with certain groups within and without our Organization, and carried on an intensive campaign in behalf of the candidacy of certain members during elections, and

WHEREAS, our paid officers, being the representatives of all members, do, through such a conduct, demoralize the spirit of our members and undermine the confidence and respect of the members toward their officers, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the incoming General Executive Board to enforce the clause in our Constitution which provides that:

"No paid officer of the I. L. G. W. U. or any of its subordinate locals, shall have the right to agitate or use his influence in any way, or to induce any member to vote for candidates representing certain groups, or independent candidates."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 87

Introduced by Local No. 22.

WHEREAS, the present form of representation at our joint board and conventions is such, whereby the minority, instead of the majority, is oftentimes the deciding factor in matters of union policy, etc., therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of

the I. L. G. W. U. amend the constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. to read, to wit:

"That the votes of all delegates to the joint boards and conventions of the I. L. G. W. U. shall be counted on the basis of the membership they actually represent."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 88

Introduced by Local No. 89.

WHEREAS, at the 1923 Convention in Philadelphia, the delegation of Local No. 89 introduced Resolution No. 123, which was referred to the Law Committee, and

WHEREAS, that Committee had no chance to report on same at the convention since said Committee had a divided opinion in the matter, and

WHEREAS, the Philadelphia Convention referred all undecided matters to the General Executive Board for action, which, due to the conditions prevailing in our Union during the past two years, had no time to consider the above resolution, and

WHEREAS, in several instances locally paid officers were elected as delegates to the Joint Board with which such locals were affiliated, and

WHEREAS, the joint boards and the local executive boards are bodies composed of unpaid representatives; be it

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention add to the Constitution a provision embodying the letter and the spirit of Resolution No. 123 of Philadelphia to the effect that any paid officer who is in permanent service in our Union cannot be a delegate to a joint board or a local executive board.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 89

Resolution introduced by A. Rosenberg, Local No. 146.

Amend Article 3, Section 10, to read as follows:—

"The regular revenue of the local unions shall be used only for the payment of the per capita tax and other legitimate expenses of the local unions, for the payment of strike benefit and for the purpose of assisting bona fide labor organizations. Any financial assistance the members may desire to make to friendly organizations must be made from voluntary contributions only, except that in very urgent cases the General Executive Board may authorize the local union to donate from its local fund. Any special funds which may become mixed with regular revenue should be considered part of regular revenue and be subject to same restriction. Any local union officer or member of a local union who makes or authorizes payments of regular revenue, contrary to the provisions of

this section, shall be liable to removal from office and expulsion from the I. L. G. W. U."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 90

Introduced by New York Joint Board.

WHEREAS, disharmony and internal dissension prevail within the ranks of our International, which make the spirit of co-operation in our Union impossible, and

WHEREAS, it is generally argued that there prevails a widespread dissatisfaction and discontent among our members with the present form of electing our General Officers at conventions, and

WHEREAS, it is the sense and opinion of the Joint Board of New York City that harmony in our Union can best be realized by a change in the form of elections of our General Officers on a more democratic basis and that such a change would tend to serve more effectively the interests and welfare of our members and would gain their confidence, and

WHEREAS, the I. L. G. W. U. as a progressive labor organization has always advocated and encouraged a more democratic form of administration believing that mandates given to officers by the membership places the officers in a more dignified position; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Nineteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. amend Sections 2, 3 and 4 of Article 3 of its Constitution to read to wit:

"Sec. 2. The President, General Secretary, Treasurer and General Executive Board shall be nominated at the Convention and elected by a referendum vote of all members of the I. L. G. W. U. The names of all nominees who receive a minimum of ¼ of the votes cast shall appear on the ballot as candidates for the respective offices.

"Sec. 3. The election shall be by ballot; those candidates receiving the highest number of votes shall be considered elected. When there is but one candidate nominated for any office the election shall be an "aye" and "nay" ballot.

The term of office for all General Officers shall be for a period of two years, and they shall hold their respective offices until their successors are duly elected and installed.

"The referendum shall take place 30 days after the adjournment of the Convention.

"The Convention shall elect a committee of 25 delegates, representing the various ladies' garment centres, to carry through the referendum."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 91

Introduced by M. J. Ashbee, Local No. 2; Louis Goldstein, Local No. 2; Benjamin Kaplan, Local No. 2, and Jacob Miller, Local No. 2.

WHEREAS, disharmony and internal dissension prevail within the ranks of our International, which make the spirit of co-operation in our Union impossible, and

WHEREAS, it is the sense and opinion of the large membership of Local 2 of the I. L. G. W. U. that a change in the form of electing our General Officers on a more democratic basis would be a great help toward harmony in our Union, and that such a change would tend to serve more effectively the interests and welfare of our members and to gain their confidence, and

WHEREAS, it is generally agreed that there prevails a widespread dissatisfaction and discontent among our members with our present form of electing our General Officers at conventions and

WHEREAS, the I. L. G. W. U. as a progressive labor organization has always advocated a more democratic form of administration, believing that mandates given to officers by the membership place the officers in a more dignified position, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. amend Sections 2, 3 and 4 of Article 3 of its Constitution to read as follows:

"Sec. 2. The President, General Secretary, Treasurer and General Executive Board shall be nominated at the Convention and elected by referendum vote of all members of the I. L. G. W. U. The names of all nominees who receive a minimum of one-fourth of the votes cast shall appear on the ballot as candidates for the respective offices.

"Sec. 3. The election shall be by ballot and the candidates receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected. When there is but one candidate nominated for any office the election shall be a 'yes' and 'no' ballot.

"The term of office for all general officers shall be for a period of two years, and they shall hold their respective offices until their successors are duly elected and installed.

"The Convention shall elect a committee of 25 delegates, representing the various ladies' garment centers to carry through the referendum."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 92

Introduced by Delegates of Local No. 50, Philadelphia.

Article VIII, Section VI, add "or to any other union in a different trade."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 93

Introduced by Isidore Sorkin, Delegate Local 9, New York.

Local by-laws may provide for the election of President (wherever the President of the

Local is also presiding over the Executive Board), Vice President and Recording Secretary by the Executive Board, subject to the approval of the next members' meeting, provided such elections are made from among members of the Executive Board.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 94

Introduced by Isidore Sorkin, Local 9.

Amend Article 6, Section 2, D, to read as follows:

To adopt by-laws for the regulations of their affairs, not inconsistent with this Constitution: to elect a General Manager by a referendum vote of the members of all its affiliated locals; to elect or appoint such other officers, managers and committees as they may deem necessary; to appoint (subject to the approval of the local for whom the appointment is made) or conduct elections for business agents for all locals affiliated with it. Such election of business agents shall take place in one day, the members of each local voting for the quota the said local is entitled to (provided said local is entitled to a quota of one business agent or more); to fix their salaries, functions, powers and terms of office. Such terms of office shall, however, not exceed one year.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 95

Introduced by Delegates of Local 66.

WHEREAS, the workers of Local 66, the Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, and the members of Local 41, the Pleaters, Tuckers and Hemstitchers' Union, are working in the same shops, and

WHEREAS, the tendency for the future seems to be for a closer relationship in these two trades, and

WHEREAS, Local 66 wishes for the good of our Union to amalgamate, it being consistent with the policy of our International, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to effect such an amalgamation as soon as possible.

Referred to Committee on Jurisdiction.

Resolution No. 96

Introduced by Delegation of Local 100, Chicago.

WHEREAS, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has conducted an extensive campaign in the city of Chicago, and

WHEREAS, it has been proven that for the

last seven years the organizers in the dress industry did not succeed in establishing a solid organization by classifying the various branches of the trade into separate locals, and

WHEREAS, in the year of 1919 under the leadership of Brother Hochman, by keeping the cutters, pressers and all crafts in one local, the industry was at least one hundred per cent better organized, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention go on record to reconsider the decision of 1920 and to place all the crafts employed in the dress trade under the jurisdiction of one local.

Referred to Committee on Jurisdiction.

Resolution No. 97

Introduced by Local No. 9.

WHEREAS, Local No. 9 of the I. L. G. W. U. of New York, is the recognized local of all the finishers of our trade, and

WHEREAS, the policy of one local for all the finishers is a good one, and

WHEREAS, there are locals in the city of New York which have been and are still taking in as members finishers who are working in shops under the control of our Joint Board, and Local No. 9 has no control over such finishers that belong to other locals, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Convention of the International go on record in accord with our request that all the finishers that belong to other locals in our trade shall be transferred to Local No. 9.

Referred to Committee on Jurisdiction.

Resolution No. 98

Introduced by Local No. 9.

WHEREAS, Local No. 9 is the local of all the finishers of New York, and

WHEREAS, Local No. 48 is also taking in finishers, and due to this fact the finishers cannot be properly controlled, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to establish a joint membership committee for initiating new members into Local No. 9 and Local No. 48, for the purpose of establishing better control of the finishers of our trade.

Referred to Committee on Jurisdiction.

Resolution No. 99

Introduced by M. Bialls, Chicago.

WHEREAS, numerous difficulties prevail among the Italian members of the Chicago Locals due to many hardships experienced in transacting business with their Jewish sisters and brothers, and

WHEREAS, a good number of Italian workers in the cloak and dress shops are still unorganized and refuse to respond to the union appeal, and

WHEREAS, the few active Italian union workers attribute the failure to organize those Italian non-union workers to the fact that they cannot be understood either in character or in language by the sisters and brothers of the Chicago locals and especially by the members of the various executive boards, and

WHEREAS, a great number of Italian cloak and dressmakers are very sensitive to self-government, as were the Italian cloak and dressmakers before they obtained their own Locals Nos. 48 and 89 in New York, Local No. 44 in Cleveland, Local No. 47 in Philadelphia, and Local No. 80 in Boston, which, according to the history of our International, published in May, 1924, and as shown in the various reports of the General Executive Board to the last four conventions held in Chicago, 1920; Cleveland, 1922; Boston, 1924, and Philadelphia, 1925, praising the work of the above-mentioned locals for the great success achieved, for the large enrollment of members and for their activity in the movement, and

WHEREAS, in accordance with the news published in our official organ by the General Executive Board, Locals Nos. 48 and 89, during the period of the struggle against the Communist destroyers, had been the big factors which ultimately determined the success of our International and the labor movement in general; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. grant to the Italian workers in the cloak and dress industry of the City of Chicago a local union with the same power and privileges as the rest of the locals under the general constitution of the I. L. G. W. U.

Referred to Committee on Jurisdiction.

Resolution No. 100

Introduced by Delegates of Locals No.

10, I. Nagler, S. Perlmutter, M. W. Jacobs, H. Zaslowsky, D. Dubinsky; General officer, S. Ninfo; Local No. 3, David Rubin; Local No. 21, Leo Arch; Local No. 23, Samuel Fremed; Local No. 3, Otto Pick, Max Stoller, Local No. 10; Local No. 48, E. Mollisani; Local No. 35, Joseph Breslaw, M. Goldowsky, L. Reiff, C. Aronsky, Sam Eisenberg, B. Berland, M. Cohen, I. Rothstein; Local No. 82, Leon Rosenblatt, M. Greifer; Local No. 22, J. Rabinow, J. Cooper; Local No. 140, A. Rosenberg; Local No. 2, A. Belson, Morris Leventhal, J. Snyder and J. Stanekewich.

WHEREAS, the Reefer Makers' Union, Local No. 17, of the I. L. G. W. U., was chartered by the International in the year 1905, in response to the earnest solicitation of a number of reefer makers who rebelled against the condition of economic slavery rampant at that time, and

WHEREAS, the said Reefer Makers' Union sincerely and conscientiously fulfilled the duties which its charter imposed upon it—by organizing the unorganized, by gaining recognition of the rights of the workers of the trade and by the establishment of a strong, functioning organization of ladies' garment workers in the City of New York, and

WHEREAS, the Reefer Makers' Union was a tower of strength during the entire time of its existence, always responsive to the needs of its members, always on guard for the protection of the International, never failing in the defense of its progressive constructive policies, and

WHEREAS, on October 12, 1924, the General Executive Board, by a majority, decided to withdraw the charter of Local No. 17 on the alleged belief that such action would lead to efficiency, economy and harmony in the then Operators' Union, Local No. 1, and to the strengthening of the entire International, and

WHEREAS, this experiment has not fulfilled the expectations or beliefs of those who favored amalgamation, and it is evident to all that since the abolition of Local No. 17 conditions in the operators' local have not become stabilized, and

WHEREAS, since the dissolution of Local No. 17 many reefer shops became non-union or went out of existence because there wasn't a responsible body to look after the interests of the workers employed in them, and

WHEREAS, there is a strong sentiment among the vast majority of reefer makers in the City of New York for the beginning of an active campaign for organizing their unorganized, for the reestablishment of control over the shops still remaining in the City of New York, and to be of general aid and assistance to the International if only given an opportunity to do so as a legally constituted local of reefer makers, and

WHEREAS, large and oversized local unions have generally been proven to be ineffective and inefficient in the performance of their functions, always being the center of misunderstanding and friction among their membership, the originators of all impossible policies, the victims of false issues and the favorable battlegrounds for conflicting groups and elements; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Nineteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. hereby decides to reestablish the Reefer Makers' Local in New York, to enable it to protect the interests of the workers employed in reefer shops and to organize the many non-union reefer shops in the City of New York, so that they may again become an active and effective instrumentality in the industry and in the rebuilding of our International Union.

Referred to Committee on Jurisdiction.

Resolution No. 101

Introduced by Local 80 Delegation.

WHEREAS, our International Union has grown up in the economic field, and

WHEREAS, we must struggle to obtain a foothold in the political field in order to protect and ameliorate our present positions in the economic field, and

WHEREAS, at present a great many of the members of our International are not citizens and are not equipped with the ballot, and cannot exercise their rights of citizenship, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of our International request the incoming General Executive Board to demand of all its affiliated locals that they establish Americanization classes to which end the General Executive Board should render all the necessary assistance

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 102

Introduced by Cleveland Delegation.

WHEREAS, the economic situation in the women's garment industry is such that the workers in the industry suffer from excessive unemployment, due to the seasonal nature of the industry as well as to its unstable and chaotic condition in the past few years, and

WHEREAS, the industry as such must be responsible for the maintenance of a wage for the workers which will enable them to maintain the American standard of living, and

WHEREAS, unemployment insurance is one means of relieving the workers somewhat of the evils resulting from such unemployment and has proven of great value in such markets where it has been in operation, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the incoming General Executive Board that in all future agreements with employers in all markets provision shall be made for the establishment of unemployment insurance funds, which shall be maintained solely by contributions from the employers.

Referred to Committee on Unemployment Insurance.

Resolution No. 103

Introduced by Boston Delegation.

WHEREAS, due to the criminal mismanagement by the Communist leaders of the New York cloak strike of 1928, and the Communist misleaders in other centers in our industry, unemployment insurance funds contributed to by the employers established in those centers after years of struggle on the

part of our union, have been practically destroyed or suspended, and

WHEREAS, the suffering due from unemployment and long slack seasons has not abated in these centers, but has, on the contrary, increased, and our membership has not been able to obtain any relief from such benefits, and

WHEREAS, although we are firmly convinced that the contributions to such funds should be made by the employers as the industry is directly responsible for the workers in it, we are, nevertheless, anxious to mitigate the hardships these suspensions have caused in whatever way we can, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that as an emergency measure, until the firm re-establishment or introduction of unemployment insurance by contributions of the employers in all organized centers of our industry, this convention instruct the incoming G. E. B. to levy a per capita assessment, or to increase the present per capita dues on all our members to such an amount or at such a rate as to provide our unemployed members with relief.

Referred to Committee on Unemployment Insurance.

Resolution No. 104

Introduced by Joseph Spielman, Local 22; Max Grackin, Local 41; Jacob Miller, Local 2; Abe Katovsky, Cleveland Joint Board; Ab. Kirzner, Toronto Joint Board; Abr. Snyder, Local 62; Luigi Antonini, Local 89; M. Goldowsky, Local 35; A. Einbinder, Local 50, and M. Bialis, Chicago Joint Board.

WHEREAS, the Ex-Patients Tubercular Home of Denver, Colo., is the only National Institution that admits consumptives in all stages, incipient as well as advanced, and

WHEREAS, the Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colo., is the only hospital that keeps incurable cases for an unlimited time, and teaches its improved patients a suitable profession in order that they be not compelled to take up old occupations, thus safeguarding them against relapses, and

WHEREAS, in the Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colo., a real democratic spirit prevails, which makes its patients feel that they are not treated as charity cases, and

WHEREAS, the Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colo., is not being supported by philanthropists, and has a constant struggle in securing funds for its maintenance from the ranks of the workers, and

WHEREAS, the Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colo., takes care of a number of patients who are members of our International Union, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the International appropriate a liberal al-

lotment for the Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colo., the Workers' Sanatorium, in recognition of its great humanitarian work, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the International Union help the Ex-Patients Tubercular Home to enlarge its capacity for many more workers who are stricken with the proletarian disease—tuberculosis.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 105

Introduced by George Rubin, Local 71; Harry Kaplan, Local 71; Samuel Rudin, Local 40; Abe Golden, Local 40; Abe Cohen, Local 53; Samuel Otto, Local 53; M. Amdur, Philadelphia Joint Board; R. Lubroff, Local 40; Beckie Stein, Local 69; Sarah Greenberg, Local 69, and D. Di Girolomo, Local 47.

WHEREAS, the 1926 strike in the cloak and suit industry in New York has been a total failure and has left the industry in a state of demoralization and the workers almost unorganized, and

WHEREAS, the present system of work, especially the system of determining the earnings of the workers, has proved to be unsatisfactory, as a result of which many violations against union standards are being committed by the workers as well as by the employers, which also affects the cloak markets of other cities, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention thoroughly discuss and analyze the present conditions in the cloak and suit industry and decide upon a program that would enable the union to exercise full control over the industry.

Referred to Committee on Officers' Report.

Resolution No. 106

Introduced by Local 35 Delegation.

WHEREAS, a condition of disharmony and internal dissention prevails within the ranks of our International, a condition which makes the spirit of cooperation in our union impossible, and

WHEREAS, it is the sense and opinion of the Cloak, Skirt and Dress Pressers' Union of Local 35 of the I. L. G. W. U., that harmony in our union can best be realized by a change in the form of electing our General officers on a more democratic basis and that such a change would tend to serve more effectively the interests and welfare of our members and would gain their confidence, and

WHEREAS, it is generally argued that there prevails a widespread dissatisfaction and discontent among our members with the

present form of electing our General officers at conventions, and

WHEREAS, the I. L. G. W. U. as a progressive labor organization has always advocated and encouraged a more democratic form of administration, believing that mandates given to officers by the large membership place the officers in a more dignified position, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Nineteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. amend Sections 2, 3 and 4 of Article 3 of its Constitution to read as follows:

"Sec. 2—The President, General Secretary, Treasurer and General Executive Board shall be nominated at the Convention and elected by referendum vote of the members of the I. L. G. W. U. The names of all nominees who received a minimum of 1/4 of the votes cast shall appear on the ballot as candidates for the respective offices.

"If there will be more than one candidate, the one receiving the majority votes shall be declared elected. When there is but one candidate nominated, there shall be a 'yes' and 'no' on the ballot.

"The term of office for all general officers shall be for a period of two years and they shall hold their respective offices until their successors are duly elected and installed.

"The convention shall elect a committee of 25 delegates, representing the various ladies' garment centers to carry through the referendum, and the referendum shall take place 30 days after the adjournment of the convention."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 107

Introduced by Jack Bernstein, Local 54; A. Cohen, Local 23; Otto Pick, Local 3; Giacomo Di Nola, District Council, Jersey City; Benj. Kaplan, Local 2; B. Kaplan, Local 2; Meyer Polinsky, Local 20; Meyer Terry, Local 100; David Gingold, Local 20; Joseph Weiner, Local 12; Joe Rabinow, Local 22; M. Stein, Local 27; S. Finkel, Local 26; Chas. Kreindler, Local 42; Elias Reisberg, Local 50; M. Novak, Local 5; H. Rufer, Local 59; S. Lederman, Local 59; Sonia Farber, Local 22; Morris Levine, Local 41; J. Cooper, Local 22; Janette Birnbaum, Local 72; Phil. Oretzky, District Council of Long Island; Abraham Snyder, Local 62; J. Sneider, Local 39; L. Egelnick, Local 9; Nathan Riesel, Local 66; H. Wander, Local 23; Morris Goldowsky, Local 35; Isidore Nagler, Local 10; M. Amdur, Philadelphia; Margherita DiMaggio, Local 89; John Egitto, Local 89; Jacob Snyder,

Local 2; B. Gilbert, Local 78; M. Meyer, Local 85; Mary Warden, Local 140; H. Oliver, Local 136; M. Weiss, Local 6; Morris Berkowitz, Local 91; Peter L. Causl, Local 91; Phillip Mainella, Local 91; Esther Stein, Local 91; Luigi Rea, Local 38; Claire Friedman, Local 62; M. Grackin, Local 41; Fannie Shapiro, Local 62; C. Grabber, Local 6; Sophie Dachman, Local 62; David Greenberg, Local 6; I. Rothstein, Local 35; Nina Lopez, Local 29; Josephine Fanelli, Local 44; Tillie Schwartz, Local 29; H. Mosucki, Local 100; Carrie Gallagher, Local 29; Max Stoller, Local 10; Abe Katovsky, Joint Board Cleveland; Nathan Sokomon, Local 26; Meyer Berkman, Local 42; Louis Friend, Local 26; A. Kirzner, Joint Board Toronto; Nathan Schaffer, Local 136; C. Silverstein, Local 27; J. Hochman, Joint Board New York; Joe Magistro, Local 44; M. Bialis, Chicago Joint Board; David Borowitz, Local 5; M. Kirziman, Local 9; Samuel Perlmutter, Local 10; Jacob Grossman, Local 138; H. Greenberg, Local 41.

WHEREAS, it is now the twelfth anniversary of the Educational Department of our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and

WHEREAS, our International had the distinction of being the pioneer in the field of workers' education within the Labor Movement in the United States, and

WHEREAS, we appreciate that through its activities, our Educational Department succeeded in interesting scores of our members in the activities of the Labor Movement—in our movement as a great social force—that stands for a new social order based on co-operative effort for the happiness of all, and

WHEREAS, we consider the various publications issued by our Educational Department most useful, constructive and inspiring and of educational value to our International and to the Labor Movement at large, and

WHEREAS, the activity of our Educational Department has gained appreciation in this country and abroad for its efforts and achievements not only for our International but also for the Labor Movement as a whole, for its educational program which included activities for the various groups in our organization as well as for the families of our members, whether they be educational, social, recreational or physical, that tends toward the development of body, mind, friendship and comradeship, and

WHEREAS, our Educational Department was and is an inspiring and constructive influence in the Labor Movement, and

WHEREAS, now when the Labor Movement extends further its social, economic, educa-

tional and research activities, we expect that the influence and contribution of our Educational Department be further increased for the benefit of our International Union and the Labor Movement as a whole, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we express our pride, and deep appreciation of the excellent achievements of the Educational Department, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we congratulate our members and the G. E. B. for their splendid support of our Educational Department, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we instruct the incoming G. E. B. to continue this admirable educational work on a still larger scale, extending its activities in other directions, so that we may reach and satisfy greater numbers of our members, and also to celebrate the Twelfth Anniversary of our Educational Department appropriately.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 108

Introduced by Abraham Snyder, Local 62; Max Krawitz, Local 9; Bessie King, Local 77; M. Berkman, Local 42; J. Snyder, Local 2; Chas. Kreindler, Local 42, and J. Stankewitch, Local 2.

WHEREAS, the Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society of Denver, Colo., an institution which takes care of most of the unfortunates afflicted with the disease who belong to our International Union, and

WHEREAS, this institution has greatly expanded its capacity during the last year so as to accommodate those who wait many months for admission, and

WHEREAS, this institution is rendering free service and shelter to all its patients, and

WHEREAS, it is about to open a branch of its sanatorium in the State of New York, from which most of the patients come, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Nineteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union request all its branches to arrange for donating the proceeds of an hour's work of its members for the benefit of this institution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 109

Introduced by Chicago Delegation.

WHEREAS, there are a large number of corset and brassiere workers in Chicago and vicinity, and

WHEREAS, the low standards of these workers greatly affect the conditions of the organized workers in this locality, and

WHEREAS, about five hundred of these workers have been organized by the Joint Board of Chicago, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to grant a local charter to these five hundred corset and brassiere workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 110

Introduced by Samuel Freedman, Local 20, and Max Bluostein, Local 22.

WHEREAS, it requires a strong organization for the defense of the large masses of immigrants from unfair treatment upon their arrival to the United States, and

WHEREAS, the restriction of immigration brought about suffering to the immigrants and particularly to the Jewish immigrants, and

WHEREAS, the economic conditions in Europe after the war are such that thousands of our brethren are compelled to leave their own homes in search of a new home in a new country, and

WHEREAS, the great masses of Jewish immigrants are at a loss where to go and in many cases are tricked and exploited by unscrupulous elements who are looking for such opportunities now more than ever, and

WHEREAS, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society opened up trade and language courses to help the immigrants to be admitted to these countries, thereby helping them to reach some destination, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention endorse the work of the H. I. A. S., expressing the hope that all of the locals of the International would tender it moral and financial aid.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 111

Introduced by Fannia M. Cohn, Delegate Local 72.

WHEREAS, the worker, the producer of the wealth of the nation, is hardly earning enough for a decent livelihood while young and being employed, and

WHEREAS, old age finds the workers without economic security and scores of them are being compelled to resort to charity and in many instances it means the parting with his life long friend and companion—his wife—to enter a home for the aged, and

WHEREAS, we believe that the worker's contribution to his country in the industrial field should not be considered less important than the soldier serving his government in a military capacity, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. commend the G. E. B. for participation in the movement for Old Age Security, and be it further

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct the incoming G. E. B. to continue this activity to further legislation to this effect, and be it further

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct its delegates to the A. F. of L. to introduce resolutions requesting that body to work for Old Age Security.

Referred to Committee on Unemployment Insurance.

Fourth Day—Morning Session

Thursday, May 10, 1928

The first speaker requested by President Sigman to address the delegates was Mr. Baruch Zuckerman, representing the People's Relief Committee. He reminded the delegates of their pledge to donate \$50,000 to his organization, and expressed the hope that the International Union would redeem its pledge as soon as it got out of its present financial difficulties.

President Sigman: The Credentials Committee will continue with its report. Chairman Snyder and Secretary Nagler of the Credentials Committee thereupon proceeded to report as follows:

Report of the Committee on Credentials (Continued)

We have received an objection from Brother A. Borso, Local No. 80, Ledger No. 2, against Brother A. Di Girolamo, Local No. 80, Ledger No. 173, an elected delegate to this convention, on the ground of improper behavior.

When this case was heard before the committee, a number of witnesses appeared on behalf of the objected and stated that he was a loyal and devoted member, rendering valuable service to the members.

Since we are now informed by Vice Presidents Antonini and Ninfo that the objector has withdrawn his charges, your committee recommends the seating of Brother Di Girolamo.

This recommendation was unanimously carried.

Chairman Snyder: On the question of the Los Angeles delegate, which was referred back to the committee, I was instructed simply to read whatever correspondence we have in connection with this matter, without any comments by the committee.

Chairman Snyder thereupon read the following correspondence:

Your Committee on Credentials has received an objection signed by thirty members of Local No. 52, Los Angeles, Calif., against the seating of Brother L. Meisel on the following grounds:

- 1—That Brother L. Meisel, at a membership meeting held March 13, 1928, made slanderous remarks about the General Officers of our International, especially President Sigman.
- 2—That the election held in Local No. 52 was not in accordance with the regular procedure as prescribed by our Constitution.

The irregularity of Local No. 52's election is stated to be as follows: That Local No. 52, on a certain day, held nominations for delegates to the convention and also elections for a committee on election and objection. That said Brother L. Meisel, the objected delegate, was elected, at that meeting, chairman of the election and objection committee. The committee proceeded with its work of examining the candidates. Brothers Lutzky and Steinberg were the only two candidates left on the ballot. Due to the fact that Brother Lutzky, the chairman of the local, who is also a member of the Communist party, refused to sign the pledge of our International and the Executive Board realized that the election would ultimately fall to Brother Steinberg, who is a loyal member of our International, the Executive Board of Local 52 immediately proceeded to call another meeting for the purpose of holding new nominations for delegates to this convention. At that meeting, Brother Meisel, who already served as chairman of the election and objection committee, was nominated as a delegate to this convention.

Brother L. Meisel appeared before the committee and denied the first charge of slandering the General Officers of the International. He admitted, however, the second charge. He states that the reason that the Executive Board called for the second nomination meeting was that in view of the fact that they had received the pledge of the International, they felt that now nominations should be held.

Your committee, after considering the evidence in this case, taking for granted the denial made by Brother L. Meisel in reference to the first charge, finds, nevertheless, that the local's procedure in holding a second nomination meeting was absolutely irregular.

Your committee is convinced that the reason the Executive Board called for new nominations was that Brother Lutsky, who was the candidate on the first nomination, by refusing to sign the pledge of loyalty presented by the International office, had made room for Brother Steinberg, a loyal member of the International, as the only alternate, and, as this was disagreeable to them, they proceeded to call for a second nomination.

Your committee further believes that Brother L. Meisel, the objected delegate, having acted already in the capacity of chairman of the election and objection committee, and having examined candidates, had no moral right to become a candidate for delegate to this convention.

Your committee, therefore, believes that the irregular procedure in the election of Local No. 52 disqualifies Brother L. Meisel, and, therefore, recommends that he be not seated as delegate at this convention.

Copy of Letter Signed by 30 Los Angeles Members

M. Sigman, President I. L. G. W. Union.
Dear Sir and Brother:

We, the undersigned members of Local 52, I. L. G. W. U., Los Angeles, California, hereby do protest against the method of election of delegates to the Nineteenth Convention to be held in Boston, Massachusetts, the first week in May, 1928, on the following grounds:

(1) The objection and election committee

had no constitutional right to order a new nomination after the candidates were examined. The reason for such order the chairman of the objection and election committee, an elected delegate, gave to the members was—because we received a "yellow dog" ticket for the candidates to sign, and at that meeting, March 13th, Brother L. Meisel (chairman of the objection and election committee) made a statement that if he was only a strong sympathizer of the Communist cause before, he is now 100 per cent with the Communists,—and remarked: "Who is the I. L. G. W. Union, if not the expelled New York locals, certainly not the Sigman gangsters?"

We claim the objection and election committee violated Section 16 of Article 3 or the I. L. G. W. Union Constitution.

(2) New nominations which were held on March 17 gave our chairman, Brother Lutsky, and manager, Brother J. Schlomowicz, and a member by the name of Lubatowsky, who is not a ladies' garment worker and has never worked on ladies' garments, an opportunity to use the vilest and filthiest language against our general president and the general executive board. This man Lubatowsky is a member of Local 52 by virtue of being the secretary of the Jewish Section of the Workers' party.

(3) At this same meeting, held on March 17, Brother Lutsky, chairman of Local 52, said: "I will not sign this 'yellow dog' pledge, but we have a man, our own man, who will sign this shameful pledge, like the young Jewish women in Russia, under the regime of the Czar, in order to get an education and to live in St. Petersburg used to sign that they were prostitutes. Or like the Jewish people in Spain, who accepted Christianity and in secret kept their Jewish faith—so will our man, Brother L. Meisel, sign under cover, and Brother L. Meisel was nominated by Brother D. Daniloff, who is a member of the Workers' Party, and the worst slanderous character in Local 52. Brother Daniloff, in his nomination speech, said: That he is nominating a man who is with the Trade Union Educational League and with the Communists, a man who always voted to support the Communist organization, a man who will serve our interests, not the interest of the Sigman Pogrom Gangsters. Brother Lubatowsky, in seconding the nomination, said: "Brother Meisel will go to the convention whether he is seated or out. We need him in Boston. He will be useful to our cause." And Brother L. Meisel accepted the nomination to represent the cause of the Daniloffs, Lutskys and Lubatowskys, not the cloakmakers.

(4) The new objection committee, under the leadership of the Brothers Daniloff and Wilensky, refused to entertain an objection against Brother Friedlander for continuously slandering our general officers, but removed Brother Landsberg from the ballot as alternate because our Communist administration condemned Brother Landsberg, without any charges having been preferred against him. We claim that the objection and election com-

mittee violated Section 2, Article II in the removal of the name of Brother Landsberg, which was illegal.

(5) The objection and election committee failed to notify the members of Local 52 of the date and time of the election, either by circular or by letter. We claim this is illegal according to Section 15, Article 5. We were only permitted two hours for voting, from 1 to 3 P. M. on March 24th, the day of the election. The cloakmakers, who only worked until 12, had to go home without being permitted to vote, while the dressmakers, who worked until 1 P. M., were practically the only ones who voted.

Signed by Harry Gold, Ledger No. 206; J. Louison, 206; D. Kastel, 173; P. Newman, 147; I. Landsberg, 56; J. L. Boldberg, 173; M. Steinberg, 96; Z. Abrams, 38; H. Meltzer, 153; L. Cohen, 284; Louis Gold, 447; Clara Hayman, 598; Max Janofsky, 76; Morris Tofel, Philip Lapineta, Hyman Wexler, J. Greenberg, 102; Mrs. A. Plechaty, 144; Anna Lesser, 57; S. ZaZretsky; Jacob Goldberg, 365; M. Silverman, 115; S. Sobel; Harry Mirkin, 13; Rebecca Holland, 824; Mrs. Caminsky, 150; Mrs. L. Schultz, 471; Minnie Levitt, 46; B. Himelshline, 596; Annie Weiner, 258.

Letter From Schlomowitz

Los Angeles, Calif., April 14, 1928

Abraham Baroff,
31 West 16th St.,
New York City.

Your letter and copy of petition received. Detailed report follows by mail. Granting your request to reply by wire, I deny all charges mentioned in petition. In detailed report you will also learn the attitude of our membership to the group that instigated the false charges.

JULIUS SCHLOMOWITZ,
Manager of Local 52.

Letter From Isadore Landsberg

I, the undersigned, Isadore Landsberg, a member in good standing of Local 52, Los Angeles, Cal., protest against the seating of Louis Meisel as a delegate from Local 52, on the following grounds:

1. Louis Meisel made a statement at an open meeting of Local 52, on March 13th, in which he stated the following:

"If I was until now only a sympathizer of the Communists, I am now 100 per cent in accord with them and with the expelled locals, and not with Sigman's pogrom gang."

2. The election and objection committee removed me from the ballot as an alternate without any charge being preferred against me. This is contrary to Section 2, Article II of our International Constitution.

3. The members of our union were not informed of the date and the time of the election, either by circulars or by letters.

4. They were permitted to vote for only

two hours, from one till three on Saturday, the 24th of March, 1928.

Hoping that you will take into consideration all of these violations that were committed by Louis Meisel, together with his Communistic Executive Board in carrying through the illegal election, and that you will surely not permit an enemy of the International to be seated as a delegate to this convention, I remain, with brotherly regards,

ISADORE LANDSBERG, Ledger No. 56,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Brother Meisel in his defense denied all charges brought against him, and characterized the statements made in the aforementioned correspondence as falsehoods. He stated that he was neither a "right" nor a "left," but was actuated in all his motives and actions by a desire to aid the International.

Chairman Snyder, in clarifying the position of the committee in denying a seat to Brother Meisel, brought out the following facts: That Lutzky, who is the chairman of Local 52, is in Boston, stopping at the Brewster Hotel, which is the headquarters of the Communist clique; that Landsberg who contested the election of Mr. Meisel and who raised an objection against him, was removed from the ballot as alternate delegate, although no charges were brought against him; that Lubatowsky, who is not and never was a ladies' garment worker, but who is in charge of the Los Angeles branch of the Workers' Party, goes to their local union and directs their affairs officially on the floor at the meetings; that there were irregularities connected with the election of Meisel as delegate.

Upon motion by Delegate Schlesinger, the recommendation of the committee advising the non-seating of Mr. Meisel was carried.

Chairman Snyder: This concludes the report of the Credentials Committee.

Isidore Nagler, secretary, Local 10.

Ab. Snyder, chairman, Local 62.

President Sigman: I wish to thank the Credentials Committee in behalf of the delegates for their very efficient work. The committee is discharged with thanks.

President Sigman introduced Louis D. Berger, representing the Neckwear

Workers' Union of New York. Brother Berger brought the fraternal greetings of his organization to the International, assuring the delegates of their hearty desire to co-operate with the International in every possible way, and wished them a successful and fruitful convention.

President Sigman announced that Anthony Di Girolamo of Local No. 80 had been added to the Resolutions Committee.

President Sigman: Bro. Samuel Lefkovits will now report for the Committee on National and International Relations.

Chairman Samuel Lefkovits and Secretary J. Stankewitch reported for the committee as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: Your Committee on National and International Relations appreciates fully the importance of the duties with which it has been charged. Our organization has, during all the years of its existence, always stressed the principle that, while we are organized as a trade union, we are a part of the entire labor movement and that we are inseparably linked with the rest of the working class the world over.

We have divided our work into sections, the first on national relations and the second on international relations.

On the subject of national relations, your committee has considered the report of the General Executive Board relating to its participation in the different movements of the workers of America engaged in the struggle against the outside and internal enemies of their organization and their cause. We quote from the report of the G. E. B. as follows:

Probably no cause has so stirred American labor as that of the striking coal miners, members of the United Mine Workers' organization. When the first quarterly meeting of the G. E. B. was held in January, 1920, the anthracite coal miners had been on strike for four long months. A decision was made at that meeting to aid the miners in every way

possible, and a conference was called on January 23, 1920, which unanimously decided that each member of the International donate an hour's earnings to the relief fund of the miners. It was hoped in this way to raise a fund of approximately \$100,000. An appeal was sent out by the G. E. B. throughout the country. In New York, the appeal was sent out on February 9, for an hour's work. On the eve of the day on which this hour was to be donated, February 18, L. Hyman, then general manager of the Joint Board, and a puppet of the Communist Party which was fighting the miners, rescinded the appeal on the ground that the strike had been settled. This repudiation had a disastrous effect on the relief movement. The miners were still in great need and would not be collecting their wages if they returned until the 15th of March, and their misery was deeply felt.

In the fall of 1927, a special national conference composed of the heads of International unions and of all the most important state and central bodies of the country was summoned by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to organize aid for 150,000 striking bituminous miners who had been on strike in Pennsylvania, Ohio and sections of Illinois for periods of from seven months to over a year. President Sigman represented the International at this conference, which subsequently sent out a nation-wide appeal.

Immediately thereafter, on December 1, 1927, a city-wide conference of our locals and Joint Boards was held at Webster Hall, to devise means of aiding the coal miners. As a result, stations to receive clothing, food and money donations were opened by every local and by the Joint Board and the International. Our organizations in Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland and Chicago and in the smaller centers also responded to the call. As a result, hundreds of cases of clothing were sent to the miners, much of it being practically new articles of children's and women's clothing. In addition, the International has sent \$5,000. We regret that our Union was not in a position at that time to send a larger amount of money to this organization which has for years been the greatest labor union in the country in one of the most strategic of industries, and which has always during our own hard times been of aid to us. At the time of the writing of this report, the New York Joint Board has decided to donate one hour's pay, to be worked on March 1, for the miners' relief fund.

The Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unions

Early in December, 1926, a call was issued for a conference to consider the complete elimination of Communist interference within the unions. This call was signed by Abraham Beckerman, Manager of the New York Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Louis D. Berger, Manager United Neckwear Workers' Union; Samuel A. Heardsley, President Jewelry Workers' District Council; Samuel Herszkowitz, Manager Joint Council Cap

and Millinery Workers' Union; Morris Feinstein, Secretary United Hebrew Trades; Rose Schneiderman, Women's Trade Union League; and Abraham I. Shiplacoff, Manager of the International Leather Goods Workers' Union. This call asked "for war upon Communist disruption, for the workers in all unions to unite against the internal enemy, the Communists."

The conference on December 21, 1926, at Beethoven Hall, was attended by over 500 delegates representing 17 central labor bodies and 150 local unions. It was decided at that meeting to raise funds to aid in the fight against the Communists.

Subsequently, on January 20, 1927, two huge demonstrations in the 71st and 80th armories were held under the auspices of this committee. Two hundred thousand workers, mainly from the needle trades, stopped their work at four o'clock and attended these protest meetings against the activities of the Communist union wreckers.

At these meetings the following resolutions were passed:

WHEREAS, the American labor movement and particularly the needle trades have for some years been cursed with a species of irresponsible adventurers calling themselves Communists, who have thrown the ordinary restraints of decent men to the winds in a desperate attempt to rule or ruin the unions; and

WHEREAS, the workers of New York City have had concrete examples of the methods and consequences of Communist domination of trade unions during the furriers' and cloakmakers' strikes of 1926; and

WHEREAS, they have seen that the Communists in the fur union threw the workers into a 17 weeks' strike only to betray them in the end by signing away long established gains of the union; and

WHEREAS, an investigating committee of the A. F. of L. has revealed in all its brutality the vicious reign of terror and mismanagement instituted by the Communists during the furriers' strike, and

WHEREAS, similarly, the Communist disrupters in the Cloakmakers' Union forced the workers into a criminally needless strike, which they proceeded to mislead in a disgraceful manner, alienating the sympathy of the public, the press and organized labor, which in previous struggles have been the staunch friends of the union; and

WHEREAS, regardless of the fact that they have brought the once powerful Cloakmakers' Union almost to the brink of ruin, beggared thousands of workers and wrought great disorder in the industry, the Communists and their gangster hirelings are still doing all in their power to smash or control the union for the benefit of the Communist Party and their personal advantage; and

WHEREAS, the workers in the cloak and fur industries have received the support of the American Federation of Labor, which has

decided that the Communists have no place in the labor movement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we, the workers in all the needle trades unions of Greater New York, do hereby pledge our every effort, financial and moral, and the full strength of our respective unions to support the organized effort of the trade union movement to rid itself of the Communist disrupters; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we support the principle laid down by the American Federation of Labor that there is no place in the trade unions for the Communist disrupters to the end that they be completely and permanently eliminated so that the trade union movement may once more devote its full energies to the advancement of the interests of the American workers.

We believe these demonstrations and the work of the Committee proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the rank and file in our unions are antagonistic to the destructive tactics of Communism.

The Formation of a Needle Trades Department Within A. F. of L.

The question of closer affiliation with the other needle trades organizations has been a matter of concern to our Union for many years, particularly with reference to problems of organization throughout the country. We have participated in several attempts to form a Needle Trades Alliance, which have for one reason or another not succeeded.

The General Executive Board at this time recommends that our International initiate a movement for the formation of a Needle Trades Department within the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee heartily concurs and approves of the action and recommendations of the General Executive Board. We trust that we may succeed at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor to carry through the formation of a Needle Trades Department.

On the subject of international relations, we quote further the report of the G. E. B.:

International Clothing Workers' Federation

The International Clothing Workers' Federation, reorganized with the aid of our International in 1921, held its ninth congress in the Bourse de Travail at Paris, France, in the summer of 1926. Much to our regret, the I. L. G. W. U. was not represented at this convention, as it had not been at the 1925 convention. President Morris Sigman, who was a member of the Executive Bureau, was

unable to leave the United States at the time it was held due to the strike situation here, but cabled his greetings to the congress.

The International Clothing Workers' Federation has today affiliated with it practically every needle trade union in Europe but Russia, and practically every union in this country excepting the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Its membership consists of 29 unions with a total membership of over 315,000 workers, several new organizations having been added to its list since its 1925 convention. Although no request had been sent to this Federation, the Bureau decided to send a contribution of \$400 to our general strike in 1928, and the German clothing workers contributed \$1,200. The International Clothing Workers' Federation publishes a monthly bulletin in several European languages, including English, recording every event of importance in this branch of the labor movement the world over, and keeping in close contact with its affiliated organizations.

One of the important questions discussed at the Paris conference was that of the affiliation of the Russian clothing workers. Following the 1925 congress of the Federation, several conferences were held and many communications exchanged on this matter. The Russian Union made its affiliation dependent on: (1) compliance with conditions which included the calling of a conference of all "revolutionary" unions in the clothing industry, including those not affiliated with the International and (2) the affiliation of all unions, including several dual unions in England, France, Germany and Roumania, with the International Federation. This was not acceptable to the congress, which suggested instead as a proper ground for negotiations: (1) unconditional affiliation of the Russian Union and, (2) the affiliation of all bona fide trade unions in the clothing industry.

A very interesting point in this discussion was the destructive work of the Communists in the American unions, and the refusal of our General Executive Board to attend the convention of the Needle Trades Workers' Union in Moscow in April, 1927. This refusal of the I. L. G. W. U. to participate in the conference was not based on any ill will for the needle workers of Russia. In fact, the letter of refusal contained an offer of aid to these workers in their struggle for economic freedom and betterment. It read as follows:

Central Executive Committee,
Needle Trades Workers' Union,
M. Sokolinsky, Chairman, J. Khramov,
Secretary.

Sollanka, 12, Moscow, Russia.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Replying to your invitation extended to the General Executive Board of our Union to attend the 8th congress of your union in Moscow on the 7th of April, 1927, we wish to state the following:

1. Our organization has nothing but good feelings for the needle workers of Russia. It is our sincere hope that their Union may grow continually in power and acquire

full freedom for trade union activity for the protection of their economic interests in both State and private factories.

2. Our members, and our International Union, will always be found ready, whenever called upon, to help the garment and clothing workers of Russia materially and morally, in every struggle for the betterment of their economic lot and their work conditions.

3. Our International Union will not take part in your congress for the reason that your union is affiliated with and is a close part of the Red Trade Union International, which in turn is affiliated with the Communist Internationale, a political organization that has, for several years past, been waging a campaign of malice, calumny and destruction against our International Union, through its American subsidiary organizations, and has nearly succeeded in destroying some of our strongest unions in New York City.

4. Right at this hour, we are engaged in a struggle to eliminate disastrous Communist domination from the New York cloak and dress unions, which has resulted in their recent loss of a general strike after 25 weeks of striking and in the loss of \$30,000,000 in wages to our members. This disaster is the immediate work of the local Communist organization approved and directed by the Moscow central body with which you are affiliated. The damage caused by this Communist political invasion of our trade union will take years to repair, and to this task our International Union is now devoting itself with all its energy and resources, aided by the entire organized workers' movement of our country.

Very earnestly yours,
GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD,
International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union,
MORRIS SIMON, President.

We have mentioned earlier in this section the fact that we received a contribution of \$1,200 from the German Clothing Workers for the general cloak strike of 1928. Somewhat later, in the course of our struggle to put our organization on a sound trade union footing, we received warm greetings from our German brothers who congratulated us on our efforts and told of their similar experiences a few years before, which resulted in the complete defeat of Communist destructive efforts in the German unions.

The opinion of the committee is that no more proper action could have been taken than was taken by our G. E. B. on the invitation of the Central Executive Committee of the Needle Trades Organization of Russia, and heartily approves it.

The I. L. G. W. U. was invited to send delegates to a World Migration Congress

in London, held in May, 1926. The congress was convened by the International Federation of Trades Unions and the Labor-Socialist International, and in view of our inability to send a delegate, the G. E. B. sent its greetings to that congress. We approve of the action of the G. E. B. in this connection.

We are glad to note from the report of the General Executive Board that, in spite of the hardships of the cloakmakers resulting from the general strike in New York, we were able to transmit \$10,000 to the support of the British coal strikers in the summer of 1926.

Your committee is very pleased with the fact that the national and international relations of our Union are not empty phrases, but have proven beneficial to our organization during the fight against the enemies without and within. Although the amounts which were sent by the International Clothing Workers' Federation and the German Clothing Workers' Union was not very large, it shows that they have done all they could, not only to give us their moral but also their material support to such an extent as was possible for them.

When we come to the struggle which the International was forced to carry on against the Communists, we find that our brothers from the other side sent us their encouragement and greetings. We also wish to thank the American Federation of Labor and all other organizations which have helped us in this fight by moral and material support. We refer the delegates to pages 342-348 of the G. E. B. report.

The following letter was referred by the General Executive Board to this committee for action.

October 27th, 1927.

To the Executives of the Affiliated Organizations,
International Labor Conference in 1928 at Geneva.

Dear Comrades:

As you know, at the International Labor Conference at Geneva held in May, 1927, the following point was dealt with for the first time:

"Minimum wage fixing machinery in trades in which organization of employers and workers is defective and where wages are excep-

tionally low, with special reference to the home working trades."

The result was that the Conference adopted a questionnaire which has been submitted to the Governments.

On May 30th, 1928, the 11th International Labor Conference will again take place at Geneva, and the question of minimum wages will come up for discussion for the second time. Then, in connection with the answers of the Governments, they will try to adopt an international convention on the minimum wage fixing machinery.

As it is a well-known fact, the question of fixing minimum wages is very important for those industries or parts of industries where home work is existing. Consequently, it was very convenient that, on the proposition of the National Trade Union Centres, the Governments of various countries sent delegates or experts from the clothing workers' unions to the International Labor Conference of 1927 at Geneva.

As the discussions on the question of minimum wages are final in 1928, it is, of course, necessary that first of all efforts should be made that comrades from our unions who participated in the first deliberations at Geneva should also go to Geneva as delegates or experts in May, 1928. Besides, efforts should be made that those countries which did not send representatives from the clothing industry to the last Labor Conference at Geneva, should do so now.

Consequently, I beg to ask you to urge the Trade Union Centre in your country that a member of your union's Executive should participate in the 1928 Conference as a delegate or an expert.

After you have entered into communication with your National Trade Centre, I should like very much to learn from you whether your National Trades Union Centre would comply with your request and subsequently which delegates or experts have been appointed.

For your information I want to let you know that an article on the discussions of the question of minimum wages appeared in the Bulletin No. 15 of our International, and that the questionnaire on this question will be inserted in its next December number. Further, an essay on this question by myself has been published in the "Economic Supplement to the Press Reports of the I. P. T. U. No. 37."

In case delegates or experts are appointed out of your Executives, it will be necessary that they discuss the question with their National Trade Union Centres, whether the minimum wage fixing machinery is not only necessary in home work, but also in other industries, or parts of such industries in which (a) no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages by collective agreement or otherwise, and (b) wages are exceptionally low, as this is asked in the questionnaire submitted to the Governments.

It will appear from my articles that there were not only differences of opinion at the

1927 Conference, but also that no sufficient attention had been paid to this question by the National Trade Union Centres.

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

T. VAN DER HEEG, Secretary.

As this convention of the International Clothing Workers' Federation takes place in May, it is physically impossible for us to have a delegate present. We recommend that a cable of greetings and encouragement be sent to this congress.

The International received an invitation from the Bund of Poland, which is the central body of the organized Jewish workers in that country, to send a delegate to their convention, which will be held June 15th of this year. Your committee recommends that a message of greetings be sent to this convention.

Your committee also notes that, since the International Clothing Workers' Federation was reorganized with the help of our Union, we were represented by delegates at their convention only in 1920. Your committee is of the opinion that our International Union should be represented at the next congress of the International Clothing Workers' Federation by one delegate.

In conclusion your committee is gratified by the fact that our International Union is drawing closer and closer to all the labor organizations in the United States as well as to the clothing workers of Europe. This fact was demonstrated and tested during the period when our organization was undergoing its most severe crisis.

Fraternally submitted,

Committee on National and International Relations,

Samuel Lefkowitz, New York, Local 3,
Chairman.

J. Stankewitch, New York, Local 2,
Secretary.

Chairman Lefkowitz: I move that the report and recommendations of the committee be accepted.

(This was unanimously carried.)

President Sigman: I wish to express the thanks of the convention to the committee for its efficient work. The committee is discharged with thanks.

The next speaker to address the delegates was Mr. D. Eisenberg, representing the New England Bureau of the Jewish Socialist Verband. He extended the fraternal greetings of his organization to the International.

Delegate Polakoff: I wish to announce that a photograph of all the delegates and their friends will be taken in front of the Boston Library immediately after the close of Friday morning's session.

I also wish to remind you that on Friday evening a dance will be given in convention Hall in honor of the delegates.

Fourth Day—Afternoon Session

Thursday, May 10, 1928

President Morris Sigman called the session to order at 1.45 P.M.

Secretary Baroff read additional communications and telegrams from the following organizations, shops and individuals, which were received with hearty applause:

- Executive Board, Local No. 2, New York.
- Israel Miller, executive board member, Local No. 22, New York.
- Socialist Party Local, New York City.
- Los Angeles Sanatorium, Chaim Shapiro, president.
- H. Newman, member of Local No. 12, Boston.
- Local No. 92, Toronto.
- J. Hillman, member of Local No. 46, Boston.
- Ernest Bohm, secretary, Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, No. 12510.
- Joshua Lieberman, executive secretary, Pioneer Youth of America.
- New York Deborah Sanatorium, D. Shapiro, president; Joseph Barondess, chairman.
- Alex Rose, secretary-treasurer, Millinery Workers' Union.
- Corsette and Brassiere Workers of the Nature's Rival Co., Chicago.
- R. Guskin, New York City.
- Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union, Local No. 40, Philadelphia.
- Executive Board, Local No. 41, New York.
- Boston Joint Board, Locals No. 12, 39, 44, 56, 73 and 80.
- Local No. 29, Cleveland.
- Jewish Socialist Verband of St. Louis, Mo., W. Weintraub, secretary.
- Local No. 72, Worcester.

Jewish Socialist Verband and Vecker, New York.

Executive Board, Local No. 78, St. Louis.
Benjamin Evry, member of Local No. 10 and business agent, New York Joint Board. Cloak & Skirt Pressers' Union, Local No. 71, Philadelphia.

Cutters of Isadore Weinstein, New York.
Italian Cloak & Skirtmakers' Union, Local 47, Philadelphia.

Executive Board, Local No. 3, New York. Locals Nos. 26 and 27, Cleveland.
Theatrical Costume & Alteration Workers' Union, Local No. 38, New York.

Elizabeth Christman, secretary-treasurer, National Women's Trade Union League.

J. Roberts, acting secretary, Cloth, Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers' International Union, New York.

Hugh Frayne, New York organizer American Federation of Labor.

Carl Bercovici, Downtown Office Joint Board Cloakmakers' Union.

Central Committee, Poale Zion of America, New York.

Hennie Davis and Morris Packerer, members executive board, Local No. 22, New York.

Tubercular Jewish Ex-Patients Home of Los Angeles, Calif.

Workers of Lew O. Schenker and Harry Michel shop, Chicago.

Jacob White, member of Local No. 10.
Jacob Katz, member of Local No. 35.

Executive Board of Local No. 41, New York.

Cutters of Zuckerman & Krause, New York.
Cutters of Freed Bros., New York.

Workers of Schuman Bros., Chicago.
Workers of Max Feingold.

Kreigstelu & Shane, New York.
Workers of Dorfman & Miller, New York.

Star Pleating Co., New York.
Cutters of Thomas & Marer, New York.

Workers of H. Wohl, New York.
Workers of L. Benjamin, New York.

Cutters of Kagel & Drexel, New York.
Workers of D. & G. Dress, New York.

Cutters of B. Heller, New York.
Cutters of Berman-Sussman, New York.

Workers of Jack Herzog, New York.
Workers of Willner & Pascuzzo, New York.

Cutters of Louis Cohen, New York.
Workers of Vogel & Terens, New York.

Executive Board, Local No. 10, New York.
Cutters of Henry Hornsweig, New York.

S. Cohen Pleating Company, New York.
Workers of Nobby Cloak Co., New York.

Workers of L. & B. Pleating Company, members of Local 41, New York.

Workers of M. S. Handler & Co., New York.

Samuel Rothman, member of Local No. 2.
Workers of Keller-Kohn Co., Cleveland.

Workers of Caron Bros., dress shop, New York.

Edward F. McGrady, manager, Furriers Joint Council of New York, Locals No. 101, 105, 110 and 115.

Joseph Barondess,
Workers of Pacific Cloak Co., Los Angeles.

Ella Young, member Local No. 20, Cleveland.

Local No. 44, Cleveland.

Local No. 37, Cleveland.

Workers of Spirn & Pechter, New York.
Workers of the Belmont Cloak Co., Los Angeles.

Workers of Angelus Cloak Co., Los Angeles.
Morris Damsky, representative Joint Board.

Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union, Philadelphia.
Workers of Edelman Co., Philadelphia.

Workers of Pearl Cloak, Los Angeles.
Simon Davidson, secretary, Local No. 53, Philadelphia.

The Tolerance Group.
Workers of Klein & Wagner, New York.

Workers of Arnold & Welner Dress Co., New York.

I. Bratowsky, member Local No. 2, New York.

Workers of Excell Pleating Co., New York.
Workers of Berkman & Heitner, New York.

Dr. George M. Price, director of Union Health Center, New York.

Rosa Schneiderman, Women's Trade Union League, New York.

Joseph Spielman, secretary-treasurer Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 22, New York.

D. Braginsky, secretary, United Hebrew Trades, Philadelphia.

Dennis Cronin, secretary, Local No. 63, Cincinnati.

Local No. 2, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York.

Whitegoods Workers' Union, Local No. 62, New York.

Israel Rosenfeld and William Greenberg, executive board members, Local No. 22, New York.

Wm. E. B. Batty, secretary, strike committee, New Bedford Textile Strikers.

Workers of Maurice Handler, New York.
Workers of Pion & Borowsky, New York.

Brother Bernard Shane, manager of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme was then introduced. He reminded the delegates of the fact that his publication has always worked in behalf of the International.

He stated that the paper was facing a crisis and appealed for financial aid.

The next speaker to be introduced was Brother A. I. Shiplakoff, manager of the International Pocketbook Workers Union.

Brother Shiplakoff, in part, said:

Our union and yours have much in common. In the first place, we are both subjected to the whims and caprices of the ladies, in other words, to the curse of seasonal trades. The fancy leather goods workers in that respect are even worse off than your people because our mechanics are divided in two sections: the bag makers and the pocketbook makers, and Dame Fashion has decreed that when pocketbooks are in style, bags

are out of style, and vice versa. For the past two years, the ladies have been insisting on using hand bags with the result that our pocketbook makers have had long stretches of unemployment and had to be taken care of by the union.

We, too, have the out-of-town problem. Shops are developing in small non-union centers which makes organization work extremely difficult. It would hardly be proper for me at this time to discuss the question of a federation of needle trades. Nevertheless, I will take the liberty to express the hope that before your next Convention, a strong needle trades federation will have been established. I am happy to know that your president fully shares my sentiments on this question.

We have had something else in common. Thanks to the good sense and firm stand of our members, we can speak of it in our organization as past history. I have reference to the scarlet fever known as Communism. I am not going to recount the stunts of the proverbial bull in the china shop that they have been performing, and the damage they have done. The only thing I want to say at this time is that the insane epidemic of Communism in this country has not been altogether an unmixed curse. It has accomplished one thing. It brought the progressive elements of the labor movement more closely together. Through the destructive work of these adventurers, we have learned to close our ranks and to take council with each other as we have never done before. I have known your president and many of your officials for many years, but it was in our efforts to save the labor movement from the hands of the lunatics that we have learned to know and respect each other more than ever before.

But more than anything else in common between us, is the great idea of ultimately abolishing capitalist injustice and inequity and establishing a just and decent world to live in.

There are many parallels in history to the Communist scourge that we have recently been afflicted with. The first Communist is recorded in biblical his-

tory. His name was Korah. There was poor Moses leading the Israelites out of bondage, an ignorant and unorganized crowd. Poor Moses had his hands full with them, they were unruly and still had many slavish habits that they brought with them from Egypt. Along came Korah taking advantage of the economic condition of the masses and inciting them to break up the union and throw overboard the great leader.

Of course, you know what happened to Korah. The biblical legend tells us that he was buried alive. We who don't believe in miracles explain it that after a while they were so thoroughly discredited among the masses that in a short while they were completely forgotten as if the earth had covered them. We, too, must begin to forget our Korahs! All insane movements of this kind go through several stages. First, they do damage, then they annoy, and finally they pass out into oblivion. The Communists in the needle trades are now passing from the second stage into the third. We must begin to forget them. We must concentrate all our energies first on reconstructing all that has been wrecked, and, then, to continue building the labor movement in America until the day when it shall take its place together with the labor movement of other parts of the world and march toward the final goal, the complete emancipation of the working class.

Long live the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union!

President Sigman: The man I am about to introduce now, whom I will call the father of the Jewish labor movement in this country, was among the first pioneers to bring about a better understanding and more light and hope amongst the immigrant workers in this country.

It is a great pleasure to have the privilege to introduce to you our good Brother and Comrade, the editor of the "Jewish Daily Forward," Abraham Cahan.

Mr. Cahan was given an ovation, in the midst of which a delegation representing the members of the Interna-

tional, walked to the platform and presented to him a bouquet of flowers.

Cahan's Address

Mr. Cahan, in part, said: I thank you most heartily for the reception. I come here to convey to you the greetings of the Jewish Daily Forward Association and of our editorial staff. First of all I want to greet Brother Sigman and Brother Baroff and all the friends here and every delegate present, without any exception whatever. (Applause.) I stand here as a real friend of every faction in the hall. (Applause.) There are absolutely no factions in my heart. President Wilson used to say "Peace without victory." I say "Peace without defeat." I am looking for an adjustment where nobody shall be vanquished and, after studying the situation, I am convinced that there is a way out of this muddle. I would be a most wretched man, indeed, if my point of view would triumph at the expense of engendering a feeling of resentment and defeat. I hope and trust that you, the rank and file of the delegates, won't leave this city of Boston, the city of peace and liberty, before you re-establish peace and real strength in your organization. (Great applause.) This world is a world of compromise. You must be ready to bow your head to necessity and compromise in the interest of the great cause that you all represent. (Applause.)

Nobody has the right to say "Here comes the editor of a paper butting into our affairs." All these 42 years, and, particularly during the last two years, I have been actively connected with your Union. There was not a week but that Sigman would come down to my office to consult me. Both sides consulted me. Brother Breslaw came to see me several times, and so did Dubinsky. Dubinsky and I are like old chums. We belong to two different camps today, but we will be all right when we get back to the city. (Laughter and applause.) We were together day and night in our fight against that terrible monster—"Communism." The work of forty-five years was at stake. You know their methods—smash, break, pulverize, destroy anybody

and everything. But in destroying everything they destroyed themselves.

I must pay my compliment to Dubinsky. He was as active as anybody else in the fight against the Communists. He did glorious work. The Union was in danger. The Communists had the Union under their control. Three million and a half dollars went through their hands. Did they ever give you an accounting of it? Nothing of the kind. They ruined everything. I was in the trenches with the others endeavoring to save the Union, together with Dubinsky and Sigman, and we fought it out. And now, what has happened? We have routed them. I shall never forget a certain Saturday afternoon when Sigman came to my office. We talked over the situation and he said, "Now is the time to regain hold of the Union to save it absolutely." We called in my stenographer and he dictated to her a proclamation, which we published on the front page of the Forward. It was a declaration of independence which saved the Cloakmakers' Union. (Tremendous applause.) If it were not for that proclamation, in two or three months there would not have been a vestige left of the Union. And if it had not been for the excellent work that had been done prior to that, that proclamation would have been impossible!

On the eve of the cloak strike, Hillquit, Sigman and myself had a conference. There are times when a referendum is a godsend, when you have got to have it, because otherwise it is dishonest to the cause of labor. That was one of those occasions. The workers did not want a strike, but the Communists wanted it in order to get hold of the treasury. My opinion was that we should not have a hand in that strike. But Hillquit and Sigman said that they owed a debt to the organization and they had to stick it out until the opportunity should come to do the right thing by the Union. I am not going to go over the history of that terrible strike. It was a pogrom, a riot. If ever there was a martyr in that fight, that man was Brother Sigman. It broke my heart to see the vituperation and vilification that that man had to stand for. How he survived it I don't

know. Another man would have broken down. He was a sick man, but he stood by his guns. He weathered the storm. And now, comrades, can you imagine me agreeing to a scheme to reward him for all that he has done by saying to the Communists, "You are right. He is no good. We must get rid of him." Will you do it?

(There was a tremendous cry of "No!")

There is a slogan in New York I hear to "save the union," but it seems to me that they want to "save the union" by kicking out the man who actually saved the Union. Where would you all be if it had not been for that glorious fight against the Communists? Just think of the demoralizing effect, if you do not show your devotion to the man that deserves your devotion! He has shown his loyalty to the Union, the capacity, the ability to render service, the courage, the character—everybody who knows this man knows that very few men possess his character—absolutely honest, as solid as a rock—that is the kind of a man you need now more than ever before!

I was very much grieved to hear that there was a misunderstanding between Sigman and Dubinsky. Dubinsky is no fool. He is only human and this man (Sigman) is also human. Dubinsky is a civilized enemy. He has not called Sigman any names. He is too well-mannered for that. He has another policy. He says, "Sigman is the best man in the world—he has courage and ability, but he is not the man for the present moment. We have got to 'save the Union.' But Sigman is the man that saved the Union—for you cannot deny that Sigman was the main factor in the entire situation. You know the story of Frankenstein. A man wanted to build a dummy that would be able to move and talk, but when he accomplished his aim, he regretted it, because instead of dominating the dummy, the dummy dominated him. That is exactly what has happened to Dubinsky and Breslaw. As to Breslaw, he is a man of firm convictions, but he is a bitter-ender, a die-hard, but even that does not preclude the possibility of an understanding.

I understand that both sides are willing to get together, and there is a way for peace, provided the opposition is not afraid to go back to New York and report, "First, we told you that Sigman is a holy terror, and now we want peace with him." I believe that some outside element such as Shiplakoff and Zaritzky—leaders of trade unions—ought to step in and help you to do the things that you cannot do, because you have gone too far. You must not go back to New York or Philadelphia, or Chicago or Cleveland, without a unified Union, and you can bring it about, and I tell you, friends, the "Forward," with my humble services, will help you day and night. The union is not built up yet. You can rebuild the Union by being united.

The opposition has one weapon that I am sure it will not use, and that is sabotage. That is a weapon that they cannot afford to use, without demoralizing the Union. I am not going to detain you much longer. I have known Sigman since 1913, when Dr. Hourwich was fighting the protocol. He came into my office and said, "I would like this to be printed in the Forward" and he handed me an article. I read it. It was not very well written, (laughter) but it was excellent stuff, nevertheless. It was common sense, and we were mighty glad to print it, after editing it, and it made a sensation because it came from the rank and file, and since then I have known him. And so he made my acquaintance at a time when he came to save the Union. If it had not been for him at that time, the Union would have gone to smash. And if it had not been for Sigman in the last three years, the Union would have gone to smash. The great object of the Communists is to get rid of Sigman. Boruchowitz their leader, had said fairly and squarely that their chief object is to have this man out of office because it was he who gave them the fight of their lives. They want him out in order to be able to send a cable to Moscow to the effect that the man who fought them to a standstill has been kicked out of the Union.

Now, about Local 17. There is a way of settling that difficulty. When I first heard about the dissolution of Local 17, I

thought it was just. I knew that it would be a source of trouble to Local No. 2. Local No. 2 is a great organization, yet, I am willing to admit that probably I was mistaken, perhaps, Sigman was mistaken. I would suggest that a committee, entirely to the satisfaction of Local No. 17, should be appointed to straighten this matter out. I know that Sigman would not object. We want the Union healed and all sores removed. We want a strong Union and we can solve this problem.

Now about the referendum. You know when they started the strike and everybody wanted a referendum, the Communists would not have it, for they knew that the workers would turn the strike down, if they were given an opportunity to vote on it. Now they are talking about a referendum. My friend Breslaw is talking about a referendum. You know that is very much of a joke. You are not very much of a democrat in your own Union. (Laughter and applause.) I did not say it to get applause.

Delegate Breslaw: Don't you think that I myself was elected by a referendum vote?

Mr. Cahan: Probably against your wishes.

Delegate Breslaw: You made a statement that I am not a believer in a referendum.

Mr. Cahan: Would you want a referendum if you were not sure of your machine?

President Sigman: Delegate Breslaw will please come to order. He can have the floor at the proper time.

Mr. Cahan: Let him talk. I have no objection. He is excited.

Delegate Breslaw: I am not excited, but I don't want anybody to attack me in this convention.

Mr. Cahan: I want to make my point clear. There are times when a referendum is necessary. There are on the other hand times when a referendum is not exactly what it looks like. Some people will tell me that New York represents a large number of members of the Union. That is all true, but you know, your Union is connected—your trade is

identified with the cloak and suit and dressmaking industry throughout the country. You cannot exist in New York alone. If you permit scabbing to be done, you will ruin your industry by driving it to centers outside of New York.

But you must recognize the existence, the legal existence of this convention of the International. The International is just as essential a part of your organization as the Joint Board in Cleveland, in New York, in Boston, or in any other place. Now, these people were not sent here to be made fools of. They want to have a say in the matter, and if you want to take it out of the hands of this convention and turn it over only to New York for action, what is going to happen six months later?

I have nothing personal to gain out of this conflict. I am not running for any office, and I do not want anything from you. I am not in politics, although I am making speeches for others. I have everything that I want in other ways. I mean nothing but the interests of your Union, and I appeal to all of you to drop all your personal feelings, your bitterness and not to build the future of the Union on personalities. Do not do it. Now, let me finish about the referendum.

It would not be fair, it would not be just to turn it over to the machine, no matter how excellent a machine it is. I know the rank and file of New York. They come to me from all your locals every day. Will you take away from this convention the right to elect its officers, and say that it is democracy? Will you stand for it? You delegates who are here understand the situation from the right point of view. You will commit one of the greatest crimes in history and in your activities, if you will leave yourself to be deluded and fooled by things of that kind. I know that you won't. This is one of those cases where referendum is a bluff and a fake, and I hope and trust it will go down in dust, and that nothing will be left of it.

There is a way of settling this problem. An arrangement can be brought about whereby everybody would be sat-

ished. Let us go back to New York and begin to work as hard as we can in the interest of the Union. I promise you I will work day and night, both inside and outside of the Forward, to build up your organization.

Well, I thank you most heartily for the patience you have shown in bearing with me and listening in this long talk. Thank you very much.

(Cahan was given another ovation, everybody rising).

Delegate Biella: I make a motion that this convention express its appreciation by a rising vote to Brother Cahan, and I also move that his address be spread upon the minutes.

(This was unanimously carried.)

Delegate Dubinsky asked for the privilege of the floor, which was granted him.

Delegate Dubinsky: After listening to the address of Comrade Cahan, I must express my disappointment, and I consider it not at all for peace, and I know that his intentions were entirely different from what he has expressed here and with the results that it might lead to. However, I hope that I will have a chance to say a few words at this convention about the remarks of Comrade Cahan, especially about his arguments and his accusations against some of our people.

I read this morning a statement in the Boston Daily Herald, where those that are not with the administration at the present time, are called "lefts," and they are being named as advocating the "red" proposition, and it indicated that this statement comes from the administration, which I cannot believe. I would like to know whether that reporter is here in the hall at this time, and I would ask him to commit to mind that those who are favoring the referendum vote, are never and never will be "lefts". (Applause.)

President Sigman. As to the first remarks made by Delegate Dubinsky and the impressions that he obtained from the remarks made by Comrade Cahan, every delegate at this convention will have an opportunity to express his opinion and judgment. There is no need for

making special reservations for that purpose.

As to his second statement, I, too, saw this news in the press and I, too, could not understand it, and I immediately asked our publicity man to issue a denial, as well as an explanation, that this item of news was incorrect.

I am not in a position at this time to go into the discussion embraced in the address that Comrade Cahan has made on many of its phases. I am not at all, and I trust that the delegates at this convention, too, are not concerned with every syllable of Comrade Cahan's address, but with its spirit of good will, with the thought and the desire that Comrade Cahan wanted to convey to us here, bearing on the welfare of our organization. And it is my sincere belief and conviction that the delegates sitting here at this convention, whose minds are more or less free of bitter political entanglements, will so appreciate Comrade Cahan's talk, and you can rest assured that before the convention is over, you will see it differently; you will understand it differently.

At conventions, as well as at other gatherings of human beings, you will always find differences of opinions. I believe and know that every one of our delegates, without exception, feels the great responsibility that they carry upon themselves and all have the desire to see a strong and effective International Union in New York, and all over the country, where men and women are engaged.

I have had enough of war; still, if it should become necessary to continue the war against the enemy, so far as I am concerned, I am ready to meet the task, no matter where I will find myself. I have not fought for a personal ambition in the fight against Communism; I have nothing against the people who want to believe in, or to misrepresent the philosophy of Communism. Every trade unionist, if he is a thoroughbred, will understand that the basic principle of a trade union is to tolerate everyone who works in the industry and is a part of the productive force in it. I have said this at the first convention when I was called

back to assume the office of president of the International. We are fighting people not because they are Communists; we are fighting them because their methods, their tactics are causing havoc and destruction in trade union movements.

I am not a young man, and I have made up my mind that it is too late for me to engage in any new ventures that might give me greater interest. This is my school; this is my home, the trade union movement, and I will be with it whether I am an officer in it or not. With it I live and with it I will die. To meet the enemy in an effective way, naturally, the Union must be solidified, and it is my hope that our International at this time, and after the convention, will be fully united in genuine harmony to protect the interests of the workers and to advance the ideals of sound American trade unionism.

We have here with us a representative of the Boston District Organization Committee of the Workmen's Circle. This friend of ours wants to say a few words to you, and I will, therefore, call upon Mr. H. S. Victorson to address you.

Mr. H. S. Victorson greeted the delegates in the name of the Workmen's Circle of Boston, saying that he is assured that even though the International has gone through an ordeal during the last two or three years, that it will survive all its difficulties and become again the great power in the labor movement that it has always been.

The session was adjourned at 4.45 P. M. to reconvene on Friday morning at 9.30 A.M., May 11, 1928.

The following additional resolutions were received and assigned to the proper committees by President Sigman:

Resolution No. 112

Introduced by Local No. 10 Delegation, New York.

WHEREAS, the most effective means by which organized labor can exercise its power to obtain better living conditions for its men and women is the right of a general strike, and

WHEREAS, we have experienced in a number of cases where men and women in the

American labor movement have been out on strike, that courts of justice have issued injunctions against trade union organizations thereby making it impossible for these workers to achieve their aim, and

WHEREAS, we regard injunctions of this kind a flagrant violation of the freedom of workers to express their discontent against the miserable and intolerable conditions existing in the various industries, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention vigorously protest against such court practices, which we consider an usurpation of power and detrimental to the best interests of the American working men and women, and be it further

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct the delegates elected to the next convention of the A. F. of L. to urge upon the next convention that every endeavor be made to the end that such practices be stopped in the future.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 113

Introduced by Local No. 62 Delegation, New York.

WHEREAS, there are numerous shops in the different cities and states outside of New York which are employing many thousands of workers in the manufacture of silk, muslin and rayon ladies' and children's underwear as well as corsets, brassieres and corselettes, and the conditions that prevail in these out-of-town shops are very low and are an absolute menace to the existence of the union shops in the city of New York, and

WHEREAS, the I. L. G. W. U. maintains an Out-of-Town Department for the purpose of organizing workers in the various branches of the ladies' garment industry no matter in what location, and many of these out-of-town shops are owned and operated by employers who also operate factories in the city of New York, some of which are under contractual relations with our Union, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the incoming G. E. B. direct the Out-of-Town Department to give particular attention to those out-of-town shops engaged in the manufacture of the articles above mentioned, that they organize local unions of these workers, thereby helping Local 62 to maintain union conditions and also to prevent New York manufacturers from opening out-of-town shops for the purpose of evading union control.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolutions No. 114

Introduced by Local No. 62 Delegation, New York.

WHEREAS, the agreements of the White Goods Workers' Union, Local No. 62, with the Manufacturers Association as well as with the independent manufacturers expire on January 31, 1929, and

WHEREAS, this will necessitate negotiations for the purpose of renewing the agreements, and

WHEREAS, the present conditions are unsatisfactory and may warrant a general strike by that time, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this 19th Biennial Convention endorse and approve such a general strike, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the convention instruct the incoming G. E. B. to cooperate and render all necessary assistance to Local No. 62.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 115

Introduced by Local No. 91.

WHEREAS, during the cloakmakers' strike in 1926 the leaders of the strike referred two striking shops to Local No. 91, namely, Silverman and Fuchs, and the Leonora Children's Dress Co., both of which manufacture infants' coats, and

WHEREAS, Local No. 91 after signing up these two shops launched a campaign to organize the infant coatmakers, for which the sum of \$3,500 was spent and about 350 workers, mostly girls working on infants' coats up to size six, were organized, and

WHEREAS, Local 91 has through this campaign succeeded in reducing the work week from 48 to 42 hours and obtained a flat increase of \$4.00 for all these workers and again in 1927 obtained for these infant coatmakers a five-day 42-hour week and another increase of 10 per cent, and

WHEREAS, there are close to 2,000 workers employed in shops which manufacture infants' coats, carriage covers, infants' wear, as well as infants' coats and children's dresses, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to include the words "Infant Coatmakers" in the charter of Local No. 91, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the General Executive Board stand instructed by this convention to give Local No. 91 its moral and financial support in their campaign to organize the infant coatmakers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 116

Introduced by Local No. 62 Delegation, New York.

WHEREAS, many thousands of workers employed in factories where they are engaged

in the manufacture of silk, muslin and rayon ladies' and children's underwear, brassiers, corselettes and corsets in the city of New York are not yet under the control of the union in spite of the many efforts made by Local 62 to organize these workers, and

WHEREAS, the conditions in these non-union shops are inferior to the working conditions that prevail in the shops under control of the union, a situation which causes not only keen competition but also makes the task of maintaining union conditions very difficult, and

WHEREAS, our experience in the past prove that organization campaigns against individual shops are not always effective, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct the incoming G. E. B. to make arrangements with Local No. 62 for the purpose of carrying on an organization campaign in the city of New York for all workers engaged in the above mentioned industry, and establish such working conditions in the non-union shops as prevail in the shops now under control of our union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 117

Introduced by Fannia M. Cohn, Delegate of Local No. 72, Passaic, N. J.

WHEREAS, the workers are always the victims of two kinds of unemployment, seasonal and cynical; and

WHEREAS, lately to these have been added a third kind, technological, involving much more serious and painful consequences for the well being and security of the workers, since it is caused by the introduction of new machinery and methods and the increased productivity of the industrial workers; and

WHEREAS, individual workers and the organized labor movement have always willingly cooperated in developing more efficient production to enable society to satisfy its wants; and

WHEREAS, as a result of mass production many workers have found themselves thrown out of employment and left without means of supporting their families, and thus subjected to untold misery and privation; and

WHEREAS, depriving millions of workers and their families of their purchasing power in turn leads to throwing other millions out of employment, and thus threatens the American standard of living and endangers economic and social stability; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. recommends that to keep pace with increasing productivity wages of workers be raised and working hours be lowered; that unemployment funds for our industries be further developed and extended, and also that society as a whole address itself to this problem by providing unemployment insurance by State and Federal legis-

lation; that the care of the workers who are thrown out of employment by the introduction of new methods be made a charge upon industry while they are being absorbed by other occupations; that the earnings of workers be figured on a yearly basis; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board is instructed to co-operate with progressive organizations working towards these ends; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the I. L. G. W. U. delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention be instructed to introduce a resolution calling attention to these issues and urging that a thorough investigation be made by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. of the entire problem of the relation of increased productivity to unemployment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 118

Introduced by Local No. 39, Boston.

WHEREAS, Local No. 39 is the cloak finishers' local of Boston, and

WHEREAS, Local No. 40 also accepts finishers of the cloak trade as members, and due to the fact that the finishers belong to two different locals they cannot be properly controlled; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to establish a joint membership committee to initiate new members into Locals 39 and 40, in order to establish better control of the finishers of our trade.

Referred to Committee on Jurisdiction.

Fifth Day—Morning Session

Friday, May 11, 1928

President Morris Sigman called the session to order at 10 A. M.

Secretary-Treasurer Baroff read additional telegrams of greetings from the following organizations, shops and individuals.

Italian Chamber of Labor of New York City.
Mary Goff, member of Local No. 62, and
Sadie Reich, Local 22.
Cap Makers of Boston.
Workers of J. & L., Local No. 41.
Workers of Pell Dress.
Workers of Francis End Co.
Russian Polish Workers.
Workers of J. Sacks.

The first speaker to address the delegates, introduced by President Sigman, was Mr. J. Weinberg, President of the Workmen's Circle. He said in part:

"The Arbeiter Ring in all of its years

of activity has always been ready financially and otherwise to support the International, as well as all other branches of the labor movement. Our organization is probably the only one of its kind that has a law making it obligatory on all working members to belong to a union if there is a union in his industry, and if such members betray their union, they are immediately dismissed from the organization.

"The Workmen's Circle has also had the same experience that you have had with the Communists. We have rid ourselves of that element, although it was a much easier task with us than with a labor organization such as yours. We came to your aid when you were conducting the fight against these destroyers and disrupters. During the last cloak strike, we levied a tax upon our members which brought in about \$37,000; \$25,000 was collected during the strike, which we handed over to the International, and which the international handed over to those in charge of the strike. The rest of the money, after the strike, was given to the International, so that it might continue its work in ridding the union of the Communists.

"There cannot be a line drawn between our organization and that of the International or any of the progressive, well-meaning organizations standing today with labor and by labor, as we have always stood, and as we shall continue to stand as long as we exist"

Delegate Miller: I move that we express our thanks to the General Executive Board of the Workmen's Circle for the wonderful assistance given us in the past.

(This was unanimously carried.)

President Sigman: We shall now have the report of the Committee on Organization.

Jacob Halperin, Chairman of the Organization Committee, and Secretary Reisberg thereupon proceeded to report as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Your Committee on Organization received a number of resolutions pertain-

ing to organization work in various ladies' garments trades and centers.

Your Committee also read the section of the report of the General Executive Board where the problems of organization were discussed and which deals with various centers where ladies' garments are made and organization work is required.

Taking cognizance of the duties placed upon it by this convention, your committee carefully deliberated and examined all facts in connection with the resolutions presented, and we beg leave to submit to you our recommendations for consideration and adoption on the following resolutions:

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 69 on page 9 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in spirit of this resolution, endorses it heartily, and further recommends that the incoming General Executive Board, jointly with the New York Joint Board, shall employ all means at the command of our Union to reinstate order and union conditions in New York and vicinity.

(This recommendation was unanimously carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 70 on page 9 of the third day's proceedings.

In our consideration of this resolution, we were aware of the fact that the Eastern Out-of-Town Organization Department has always served the needs of the New York Joint Board in connection with its organization work in the vicinity of New York, and we believe that this department should continue this policy. We wish to point out, however, that this Department also assists in the organization work amongst the miscellaneous branches in the out-of-town territory and has an obligation to them as well. We believe, however, that the purpose and spirit of this resolution would be met by the recommendation, which we herewith submit, that the Out-of-Town Department be ready at any time, at the request of the Board of Directors of the New York Joint Board, to submit a report of its activity among the cloak and

dress shops in the suburbs, and to confer with them on the problems connected with such work.

Delegate Ashbes spoke in favor of the original resolution, stating that if monthly reports were made to the Board of Directors it would lead to a better understanding of the out-of-town problems.

Delegate Rosenberg supported Delegate Ashbes.

Delegate Kirtzman: I am of the opinion that the resolution should be concurred in, as it would make it possible for every member of the Union to know of the difficulties confronting the out-of-town organization work.

Delegate Goldowsky also spoke in favor of the original resolution, on the ground that it would better acquaint the Joint Board and the membership with the problems confronting the Out-of-Town Department.

Chairman Halperin summed up for the committee. He repeated the gist of the report of the committee already submitted, maintaining that the resolution was impracticable.

President Sigman: I appreciate the spirit of the resolution and I am in accord with it, but from the way it is presented it might appear as if the Out-of-Town Department has no way of informing the membership as to what it is doing. Every worthwhile activity of the Department is recorded in our publications, which reach a much larger number of members than the meetings do. The procedure suggested in the resolution does not tend toward efficiency. You are trying to put a multiple management over one institution. If a report is made by the Out-of-Town Department, it should be made direct to the General Office. You might ask the General Office to keep the affiliated bodies informed concerning as many details as possible. The spirit of the resolution is all right but not the manner in which it is put.

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was adopted, 87 voting for and 44 against.

Chairman Halperin proceeded to report on the following resolutions:

Your Committee has received Resolu-

tion No. 38, on page 13 of the second day's proceedings.

Local No. 41 is one of the locals of our International that was victimized by the Communist adventurers, and we are glad to note that when the General Executive Board called upon the members of that local to gather under the banner of the International Union and to conduct themselves as befits trade unionists, the membership responded loyally, and it is now one of the loyal militant locals of our International. It eliminated the destructive element, and is now on the road to become a strong and influential body.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends the indorsement of such strike, and further recommends that the incoming General Executive Board be given full power to call such a strike when it will deem necessary.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 63, on page 8 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee indorses the stand taken by Local No. 41, and recommends to refer this matter to the incoming General Executive Board, to do all in its power to help Local No. 41 along the lines requested.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 58, on page 7 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends concurrence with this resolution, and reference to the incoming General Executive Board for action.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 59, on page 7 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee disagrees with the first proposal of this resolution for the reason that it is not at all necessary to work out a plan for the formation of a rank and file organization committee, since it is a well-known fact that in all local unions of the I. L. G. W. U., whenever organization work is carried on, it is done through organization committees formed by the members of the respective locals. Your Committee, therefore,

considers this first proposal superfluous requiring no action on the part of this convention.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the second "resolved" of this resolution.

As to the third proposal contained in this resolution, your Committee recommends that the General Executive Board communicate with the various needle trades organizations to ascertain their desires in connection with the proposed suggestion for joint organization work. If these organizations manifest a desire to join in such a movement the G. E. B. should then stand empowered to proceed, in cooperation with them, in the formation of such plans.

(The recommendation of the Committee was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 40, on page 14 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends the granting of the request, and the incoming General Executive Board stands instructed to do all in its power to aid Local No. 38 in its endeavor to organize the unorganized custom dressmakers.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolutions No. 55 and 56, on page 6 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends concurrence with these resolutions.

(Recommendation is carried.)

Your Committee has received several resolutions with regard to the waterproof industry throughout the country, particularly in the Eastern markets. These include Resolution No. 51, on page 5 of the third day's proceedings, relating to the Out-of-Town Department of the International, Resolution No. 52 on the same page, referring specifically to the work of organizing the raincoat industry, and Resolution No. 53 with regard to further organization work in the Boston waterproof garment market.

In considering these resolutions, your Committee takes the opportunity to express its gratitude and appreciation for the splendid work done by our Local No. 20, New York Waterproof Garment

Workers' Union, not only in New York City and the adjoining towns, but for the brotherly help extended to the Boston waterproof garment workers in the re-establishment of their local.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in these three resolutions.

(The recommendation of the Committee was carried.)

Your Committee has also received Resolution No. 65 on page 8 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

(The recommendation of the Committee was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 54, on page 5 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution, and further recommends that the incoming General Executive Board instruct the Eastern Out-of-Town Department to do all in its power to launch an organization campaign in the City of Camden, N. J.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Your Committee has received resolution No. 45, on page 15 of the second day's proceedings, and No. 117 on page 18, fourth day's proceedings.

Your Committee has received information from the Out-of-Town Department that this department did not limit itself to the cloak and dress industry only and from statements made by Manager Halperin of this department, and by some of his staff, we are convinced that the Eastern Out-of-Town Department did organization work wherever an opportunity presented itself, in all shops where ladies' garments are manufactured.

Realizing, however, the fact that because cloaks and dresses were always considered the chief lines in the ladies' garment industry, the department has been chiefly busy in the above mentioned trades, your Committee recommends the part of the resolution where it is stated that the Eastern Out-of-Town Department should embrace in its activities all employed in the making of ladies' garments without exception be approved.

(The recommendation of the Committee was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 66, on page 8 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends concurrence with this resolution and refers it to the incoming General Executive Board for action.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 49, page 16 of the second day's proceedings.

The Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution, and the General Executive Board, at its first opportunity, should assign such district organizers for this work as the need arises and circumstances permit.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 67, on page 9 of the third day's proceedings.

In the many years since the ill-fated and historic strike of the Philadelphia dressmakers in 1922, these women have never lost courage, and year after year, undaunted by hardships, they have continued their efforts again to organize the industry. The campaign of the Winter of 1927 was particularly noteworthy, because of the large scale on which it was conducted and the great devotion displayed by the membership. As a result of that campaign, a type of agreement was effected with the employers' association which included the large shops, but due to adverse industrial conditions and the bitter anti-union attitude of the individual employers in this association, the gains which were expected to result from this agreement did not materialize. Nevertheless, the Philadelphia dressmakers have not lost heart nor abated their efforts to reach the unorganized workers, and now again, this local, which has always been one of the banner locals of our Union, is ready to continue its endeavor to make the Union a real factor in the dress market of Philadelphia. Your Committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in this resolution.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolu-

tion No. 62, page 7, of the third day's proceedings.

Our Cleveland organization, since the last convention, has made outstanding and constructive progress, both along the lines of industrial policy and of organization work, which can hardly be matched in any other center. A model union with a model membership, militant and constructive, it deserves recognition and our attention. Your Committee heartily endorses concurrence in this resolution. (The recommendation was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolutions No. 50 on page 16 of the second day's proceedings.

St. Louis is one of the growing Middle West centers in the manufacture of women's garments, and as such, if unorganized, it is bound to become a menace which would threaten conditions not only of our organized centers in the Middle West, but also in the main Eastern markets. The committee, therefore, recommends that the incoming G. E. B., at its very first opportunity, inaugurate an organization drive in the city of St. Louis to establish union conditions in that market.

We recommend similar action on Resolution No. 60, on page 7 of the third day's proceedings, relating to organization work in Cincinnati.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Your committee has received Resolution No. 61 on page 7 of the third day's proceedings.

Toledo is another example of a city which at one time enjoyed the benefits of union conditions, only to be wiped out by a six-months' struggle against the employers in 1921. We believe that at its first opportunity, the incoming General Executive Board should, in concurrence with this resolution and with the recommendation of the General Executive Board, on page 220 of its report, make every effort to reestablish Toledo as an organized market.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Your committee has received Resolution No. 46 on page 15 of the second day's proceedings.

At this point your committee will deal

only with the proposal regarding Kansas City, as Portland, Oregon, is included in our consideration of the organization problems on the Pacific Coast. We wish to include also the suggestion of the General Executive Board on page 221 of its report that Kansas City be included in the future organization plans of our International Union. We therefore recommend concurrence in this resolution insofar as it relates to Kansas City.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Your committee has received Resolution No. 47, on page 16 of the second day's proceedings.

In connection with this resolution, we wish to call attention to Resolution No. 49, which provides that district organizers be appointed for every important center to cover completely all branches and adjoining centers within the jurisdiction of our International. Your committee, therefore, recommends concurrence with Resolution No. 47, instructing the incoming General Executive Board, at its first opportunity, to assign a district organizer for Chicago and its vicinity, and to include the raincoat industry in its plans of organization.

We also received Resolution No. 48 on page 16 of the second day's proceedings, and recommend that the organization work, under the direction of the G. E. B., be extended to the corset and brassiere industry of Chicago at the first possible opportunity and to the fullest possible extent.

(The recommendations were carried.)

This temporarily concluded the report of the Committee on Organization.

May 11, 1928.

A. Baroff, Secretary, Musicians' Hall,
22 Garrison St., Boston.

Wish to be excused for leaving convention, had to return home on account of brother's death.

Abraham Snyder, Secretary-Manager,

White Goods Workers Union, Local 62.

President Sigman: I am sure the delegates regret the loss suffered by Delegate Snyder. The Resolutions Committee will be instructed to draw up an appropriate resolution.

Judge Panken's Address

The next speaker to be introduced to the delegates was ex-Judge Jacob Panken. He was given an ovation.

Judge Panken: When I look upon this convention this morning and I see the gray-haired Rosenberg, when I look to the right and see Schlesinger, when I look to my side and I see Sigman, and when I look to my left and I see Baroff and Amdur and many others too numerous to mention, I want to say to you that these men gave of themselves to the labor movement without any expectation of reward. (Applause.) When our movement was in its inception there was in it a spirit of self-sacrifice. If it were not for that crusading spirit, it would have been impossible to build as well as we have builded. Unfortunately, in the last 8 or 10 years an attempt was made to inject a new spirit into our movement, and it is against that spirit that the men and women of toil must fight, the spirit of personal interest, the spirit of personal vindication, the spirit of personal vengeance. This must be eliminated from our movement. The important thing towards which the eyes of the working class must be focused is this interest in the labor movement! (Applause.)

At no time in the history of the American labor movement have the workers been confronted with such problems as they are today. Never before did we face the creation of an army of unemployed as we are facing it today. We have now closed the doors against new labor power; we have developed capital to a position where we no longer need any added capital for the supply of the needs of the American people, and as a result of that, what has happened? Instead of permitting additional man-power for the development of our country, we are permitting the emigration of surplus wealth, the surplus capital produced by American labor. In ten years they have sent out of the United States 16 billions of dollars of American wealth produced by American workmen. They have taken from America the possibility of further development and as a result of that, they are laying the foundation of a permanent army of unemployed in the United States. (Great applause.)

We were told that with the closing of the doors, the American laborer would be fully employed. You in the needle industry know what the conditions have been in the last few years. The same condition is true in the other industries.

In addition to that, there is another fact which American Labor must consider. In the last year the railroads of the United States used 800,000 freight cars more than they did in 1926. Let me repeat the figures, 800,000 more freight cars were used by American railroads in 1927 as against 1926, yet the railroads of the United States have dispensed with the work of 250,000 people on the railroads; 250,000 workers less, 800,000 cars more.

In the glass industry, machinery is being introduced where one man with the aid of a machine is today able to do the work of 40 men, and so it goes in every industry, in every trade, and as our workers are becoming poorer, as the ability of our workers to consume is being diminished, as our workers are unable to consume the product of their fellows in other crafts, the result is unemployment of a very vicious and bitter kind.

I address myself on this question at this time to you delegates and comrades here, because I feel that not only is it necessary for you to organize your economic strength, but it is important for you to organize your political power (applause), so that you may some day attack this problem at its root; attack this problem logically; attack this problem intelligently, and find the solution for it.

Comrades and delegates to this convention, I know that you men and you women are made of the right kind of mettle. I know you from intimate contact. I know you from intimate touch. I know you because I have worked with you shoulder to shoulder in time of stress, in time of struggle. I look down and I see Mollie Friedman; I look farther down and I see that little girl to whom you all refer as "Faijele"; I look down into this hall and there is another little girl there. I do not want to tell you how long I know them (laughter), because it may give away their age in

some respect. I remember that some years ago, and I won't tell you how many years ago, they were on the picket line; I remember when they were dragged into the police court; I remember that they were sent to jail; I remember when they were like the Joans of Arc of the labor movement.

I know the men who are seated in this convention and I know that they are imbued with a spirit of solidarity; I know that they understand what loyalty means. I know that they understand the importance of maintaining the ranks; I know that they understand the importance of the need of working, not only for a moment, not only for an hour, not only for the day. I know that they understand the importance of working for the future. I know that they have dedicated themselves to the cause of labor, and I come to you this morning in a spirit which says unto me, "Go forth to these men and women and tell them that the working class is the only class in society that has nothing to lose but its chains and the entire world to gain." That is the spirit that animates me and tells me, "Go forth to these men and women and tell them that it may be dark for a moment; the clouds may have settled for a second; the sun may have been obscured for a nonce, but out there, beyond the horizon, there is the sun which bursts through the clouds, through the darkness, auguring a day of cheer and hope for the working class."

The audience rose at the completion of Judge Panken's address and remained standing and applauding vociferously for three minutes.

Delegate Levine: I move that this convention express its appreciation to Judge Panken for his address and I also move that it be included in the minutes.

(This motion was unanimously carried.)

At 12.30 noon the session adjourned, to reconvene at 2 P. M.

Fifth Day—Afternoon Session

Friday, May 11, 1928

President Morris Sigman called the session to order at 2.30 P. M.

Secretary Elias Reissberg and Chairman Jacob Halperin continued to report for the Committee on Organization, as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION (Continued.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 43, on page 14 of the second day's proceedings, introduced at the request of Local No. 52, of Los Angeles, and Resolution No. 70, introduced by Local No. 8 of San Francisco, both requesting the aid of the International to Local No. 52 in the organization of the ladies' garment industry of Los Angeles.

From the report of the General Executive Board on pages 222-223, we note that neither of these locals has a responsible leadership, and we cannot, therefore, recommend concurrence in these resolutions. We do, however, recommend, in accordance with the suggestion of G. E. B., that at the first possible opportunity when conditions warrant it, the incoming General Executive Board be empowered and instructed to proceed with the re-establishment of our organization in Los Angeles on a sound trade union basis, extending the benefits of our Union to the unorganized portions of the industry.

(This recommendation was carried.)

Your committee has also received Resolution No. 44, on page 15 of the second day's proceedings, introduced by Local 52 of Los Angeles and relating to organization work among the various centers on the Pacific Coast. Again your committee, because of the irresponsible nature of the leadership of the Los Angeles local, and due to the wording of this resolution, cannot recommend concurrence in this particular resolution.

Nevertheless, your committee has taken note of the report of the General Executive Board on the need for organization work in the many centers on the Pacific Coast, as well as of the request contained in Resolution No. 46 of the Chicago delegation (page 15 of the second day's proceedings) for organization work in Portland, Ore. We, therefore, recommend that the incoming General

Executive Board; at the first possible opportunity, inaugurate organization campaigns especially in the more important centers of Portland, Oregon and San Francisco, California, as well as in the largest Coast market—in Los Angeles.

Delegate Schlesinger: Inasmuch as I was partly responsible for the rejection of Mr. Meisel as a delegate, I move that he be granted the floor to speak on this resolution, as it pertains to Los Angeles.

President Sigman: We tried to locate Mr. Meisel in order to have him appear before the committee, but we were unable to find him.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 56, on page 6 of the third day's proceedings, and Resolution No. 57, on the same page.

In connection with these resolutions, we have also taken into consideration the report of the General Executive Board on our Canadian organizations (pages 227-232). We recommend concurrence in Resolution No. 57 with regard to organization work in Toronto. In connection with Resolution No. 56, we also recommend concurrence, taking into consideration, however, the statement of the General Executive Board, to wit, "When the time is ripe and there are signs of a genuine desire to initiate a self-supporting trade union organization in Montreal, the International, needless to say, will be glad to do all it can to revive the standards and the organization which it had rebuilt so well in 1925."

Delegate Kirzner: I am aware of the damage done by the Communists to our organizations in Montreal and Toronto. The Toronto Union cannot accomplish anything without Montreal. We feel the time is ripe to begin an organization campaign in Montreal.

President Sigman: The Committee is in favor of the incoming General Executive Board starting a campaign to organize these two markets. As to the opportune time, if the delegates of Toronto feel that now is the proper time, they will have an opportunity to appear before the newly elected General Executive Board before they go back home and present their case.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

These resolutions complete the requests of special localities and branches for assistance in organization work.

In addition to these resolutions, your Committee has carefully studied the detailed analysis made on pages 261-267 in the report of the General Executive Board, dealing with the very special and acute problems of the organization of women in our industry, especially with the organization of the native-born and Americanized element.

From this report, we are confirmed in our knowledge that the great majority of the workers in the housedress, underwear and corset lines are composed of these unorganized native-born and "Americanized" workers. We also realize this to be the case in the dress centers outside of New York City, and the growing importance of this element in the New York dress industry. Even in the cloak and raincoat industries, which are strongly organized in the main centers, unorganized shops and unorganized localities employ in the main women and not men.

We do not wish to be misunderstood. We have in our ranks, scattered through our locals throughout the country, thousands of native-born and Americanized women. We are proud to have among the delegates to this Convention many representatives of this element, who have shown devotion and loyalty to our organization.

But in proportion to the magnitude of the problem—the thousands on thousands of women still to be reached—we have not yet made the desired progress.

The General Executive Board in its report has outlined some suggestions for dealing with this problem as follows:

"1. The formation of language locals and branches where deemed advisable by the G. E. B.

"2. The formation of women's locals or branches under the same circumstances.

"3. The encouragement of special types of activities which appeal to this element especially outside of New York,

along the lines of social and recreational activities.

"4. Renewed co-operation in smaller centers with local women's civic and welfare organizations, with leaders of language associations to which the workers belong."

The Board has also reaffirmed the suggestion made at the Philadelphia Convention for the employment of English speaking women organizers wherever possible to carry out its program.

Your Committee recommends that the incoming General Executive Board should be empowered and instructed to work along the lines of these suggestions, and specifically that it be given the power to grant charters for the formation of locals or branches on the basis of language and sex as well as crafts, wherever it is deemed advisable in an existing organization, or in order to stimulate the growth of organization in partially or wholly non-union localities or branches.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

In connection with the problem of organizing women workers in all industries, your Committee has received Resolution No. 68, on page 9 of the third day's proceedings.

We are aware of the fact that the American Federation of Labor has given a great deal of attention and effort to the organization of women in the various industries. At the Atlantic City convention, in the year of 1925, special sessions were devoted to this problem and conferences held in which our International Union participated most actively. Subsequently, special organization campaigns amongst women workers were inaugurated. We recommend concurrence in the spirit and purpose of this resolution.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Your Committee has also considered that section of the report of the G. E. B. dealing with the efforts to organize colored workers. We are happy to note that in many instances, our organized colored sisters and brothers have been active on the executive boards of their locals and in general organization activi-

ties. We endorse the methods employed in reaching this important group of our fellow-workers and trust that our circumstances will permit more extended efforts along the same lines.

In conclusion, your Committee believes that the efforts made by our organization to extend the benefits of unionism to all branches and all centers are fundamentally sound, even though our activities have been sadly curtailed by the many complex situations which have arisen within the last few years. It is our hope that the close of this convention will find our organization in a position to continue on a more extended scale the important work of reaching every trade and center under the jurisdiction of our Union.

Respectfully submitted,

Jacob Halperin, Chairman.

Elias Reinsberg, Secretary.

As this concluded the report of the Organization Committee, the report was adopted as a whole, as amended, after which the Committee was discharged with thanks for its efficient service.

Mr. Nathan Chanin, Secretary of the Jewish Socialist Verbund was then introduced, and he extended the fraternal greetings of his organization to the International.

The next speaker to address the delegates was Mr. Wm. E. G. Batty, representing the United Textile Workers of Bedford. He extended the greetings of the Bedford workers to the International, and made an appeal for financial and moral assistance in their present strike.

Chairman Harry Wander and Secretary M. Goldowsky reported for the Committee on Education, as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Mr. Chairman and delegates:

Your Committee on Education herewith submits the following report:

Your Committee on Education has analyzed that part of the report of the G. E. B. dealing with the educational activities of our International for the past twenty-nine months. The report

gives a detailed account of the significance of the activities of our educational department and we are delighted to learn of the full-hearted support given to them by the G. E. B. and officers and members of our various local unions. This attention to our educational activities was given in spite of the difficulties with which our International was confronted since our last convention. This signifies the undisputed fact that our educational department has become an integral part of our International. It seems that our members appreciate the leadership our International assumed in the field of workers' education as conducted within the labor movement.

This year marks the Twelfth Anniversary of the Educational Department of our International. Your Committee appreciates the fact that our educational activities were conducted uninterruptedly despite the seemingly unsurmountable difficulties with which we were confronted throughout this period. The vigor and persistency with which the work of our Educational Department was carried on can be ascribed to its high purpose and idealism that marked all its activities. These had a salutary effect and we succeeded in impressing the Labor movement with the need of workers' education.

We appreciate the fact that not only were our efforts for workers' education approved and endorsed by the Labor movement, but our program and method have been adopted by the various labor colleges and workers' classes conducted under labor auspices. We further appreciate, as stated in the General Executive Board report, the active participation of our educational department in the various activities within the Labor movement of a social, recreational and educational character.

Your Committee is impressed by the report of our Educational Department, which was distributed among the delegates.

From this report we learn that the program of our Educational Department was planned to provide activities for the various elements in our Union—for the

young and the old—and not for our members alone but for their families as well.

Your Committee was glad to learn from the report that the usefulness of our Educational Department was further extended by entrusting to it the management of the Unity House office in New York City, and through their efforts members of twenty-two international unions now spend their vacations at Unity.

Your Committee fullheartedly endorses the educational activities as recorded in the report of the General Executive Board because it believes that the program as planned for our Educational Department can have only one effect, and that is, to make our Union stronger and more effective.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends that the Educational Department be continued and its work extended, as soon as conditions permit.

Your Committee discussed the necessity of further extending the educational activities for members who reside outside of New York City. This was based on information received by your Committee that there is a genuine desire for such activities. We, therefore, recommend that the Educational Department should arrange activities out-of-town and render whatever assistance is possible to make them a success.

Publications of Our Educational Department

It is important that the accumulated experience, with which the Labor Movement is so rich, should be imparted to the younger generation. We are therefore delighted with the effort of our International in this direction. The start has been made by preparing and publishing the "Women's Garment Workers," a history of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. We are glad to learn from the G. E. B. report of the enthusiastic reception it received from the Labor Movement and from men of learning of various shades of opinion. We are, indeed, appreciative of the effort of our Educational Department in preparing and publishing various pam-

phlets of practical educational value to our members in particular and to the Labor Movement in general.

Workers' Educational Bureau

We are happy to know that our International, through our Educational Department, continues to support and assist in the further development of the Workers' Education Bureau. The Workers' Education Bureau of America, of which we were one of the founders in 1921, now has the unqualified support of the A. F. of L. We recommend that the incoming G. E. B. should continue to give its financial and active support in furthering the development of the Workers' Education Bureau and also that our Local Unions should join it.

Brookwood Labor College

We indeed wholeheartedly approve of the support and active participation of our International in the development of Brookwood Labor College. Many of our members graduated from there and hold important positions in our International Union. We recommend that the incoming G. E. B. should continue to give its financial and active support in furthering the development of Brookwood.

President Sigman: I want to say a few words in relation to the Brookwood School. During the last strike of the cloakmakers in New York, when money was needed for the conduct of the strike, which we found was hard to obtain at that particular time, the Brookwood School came in to help us at that critical time. The American Fund for Public Service had allotted to the Brookwood School \$100,000.00 for its functions and purposes, and the Brookwood School had an arrangement to draw on this fund, I think, about \$25,000.00 a year. The Board of Management of Brookwood and particularly our friend, J. A. Muste, its director, consented that the amount allotted to the School should be loaned to the strike in New York, and on this basis we were able to get an additional \$100,000.00 when it was most needed. I think it is worthwhile to place this on record in order to show the relations that

exist between the Brookwood School and our International Union.

Pioneer Youth

We may without conceit congratulate ourselves for having the foresight to participate in the founding of Pioneer Youth, an organization for workers' children. Our efforts in helping the establishing of Pioneer Youth, assisting it financially and actively participating in its development, are justified by the fact that this organization exists already for the last four years.

Pioneer Youth offers an opportunity to workers' children for play, self-expression and the development of initiative and self-reliance. These activities are being carried on through clubs, summer playgrounds and at its camp at Rifton, N. Y.

Your Committee wholeheartedly endorses the efforts of our International in this direction and recommends that the incoming G. E. B. continue its financial, moral support to further the development of Pioneer Youth.

President Sigman: The movement to organize camps for workers' children originated in Boston in this very hall. It was very difficult for me to secure a sufficient number of delegates to participate on the committee to deal with this question of Pioneer Youth. Fannia Cohn accepted the chairmanship of that committee. This movement has since grown to be one of the finest labor institutions. It has centers not only in New York, but in several other places and is doing a wonderful amount of good.

We should all feel proud and happy that our International was the first one to encourage and inspire this movement.

Sister Fannia Cohn: You might add that the International was the first organization to contribute \$500 towards this work.

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously carried.)

Manumit School

We do, of course, enthusiastically approve the efforts of our International in making its contribution to experimental

education by actively participating in the founding and development of Manumit School, the only resident school for workers' children.

This school is experimenting in modern education under labor auspices in co-operation with progressive educators. We gladly recommend that the incoming G. E. B. continue to support Manumit School financially and actively participate in its further development.

We heartedly approve of the active participation of our International, through its Educational Department, in the development of such activities as Labor Age, issued by a group of active trade unionists, and the Workers' Art Scholarship.

Conclusion

In conclusion, your Committee is sure that it is voicing the sentiments of the delegates and the members at large when we take pride in the standing of our Educational Department in the Labor Movement and in the community at large, and even abroad. Its counsels and inspiration are being sought after by various groups. The influence of our Educational Department is reaching far beyond the limits of our International.

Your Committee desires to express its appreciation to the Board of Education of the City of New York, for the co-operation which it has given to the Educational Department of our International, by assigning teachers to conduct our classes and for offering us the use of public school buildings.

Your Committee is glad to state that it believes that our Educational Department could not have made a better choice in its selection of instructors and lecturers. Among others, we had Professor H. G. Carman of Columbia University, Mr. David J. Saposs, Professor of Trade Unionism, Dr. A. A. Friedrich of New York University and Dr. Sylvia Kopald a member of our faculty for many years.

We appreciate them not only for their knowledge of the subjects, but also for their high character and for their interest in our International, in our Educa-

tional Department and in the Labor Movement as a whole.

Your Committee does, of course, appreciate the wholehearted co-operation of the General Executive Board and its Educational Committee.

Sister Fannia Cohn: The names of several teachers were mentioned in the conclusion. I wish to add the following names. Tom Tippet, A. J. Muste and Dr. Theresa Wolfson.

Chairman Wander: Your Committee has also received resolution No. 107, page 19, third day of proceedings, submitted by seventy delegates representing various locals of our International, and recommends its adoption.

(Recommendation of the Committee was approved.)

We wish to make special mention of the good work rendered by Sister Fannia M. Cohn, Secretary of the Department, who has devoted her whole time to the furtherance of this activity.

Your Committee received Resolution No. 101, in the third day's proceedings, page 17.

Your Committee recommends the following change in the resolve of Resolution No. 101, as follows:

"RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of our International assembled in Boston, instruct the Educational Department to communicate with the Local Unions for the purpose of arranging for Americanization classes, and assisting our members, in every possible way, in becoming citizens of the United States."

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Wander, Chairman.

M. Goldowsky, Secretary.

Delegate Morabito: A resolution similar to Resolution 101 was adopted at the last Convention, but nothing was accomplished. I hope that after we pass this resolution something will be done.

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.)

As this completed the report of the Committee, it was discharged with thanks.

President Sigman announced that President William Green of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor would address the delegates on Saturday at 11 A. M.

At 4.30 P. M. the session adjourned to reconvene Saturday, May 12, 1928, at 9.30 A. M.

President Sigman received two additional resolutions and referred them to the proper committees, as follows:

Resolution No. 119

Introduced by S. Lefkowitz, Local No. 3; Harry Wander, Local No. 23; M. W. Jacobs, Local No. 10.

WHEREAS, the Naturalization Aid League is an organization which helps workers to become citizens of the U. S. A., and

WHEREAS, through the efforts of this organization, a great number of International members have become naturalized, and

WHEREAS, there are still a great number of workers who are in need of the aid of this organization; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. goes on record instructing the incoming General Executive Board to assist the Naturalization Aid League morally and financially.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 120

Introduced by Sonia Farber, Local No. 22, Sarah Greenberg, Local No. 69, Harry Kaplan, Local No. 71, Samuel Freedman, Local No. 20 and M. Bluestein, Local No. 22.

WHEREAS, the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, the oldest weekly labor publication in the Jewish language, is a pioneer in the field of organizing the workers in the economic field, and

WHEREAS, the Freie Arbeiter Stimme has always aided and assisted the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and its affiliated organizations in all their struggles against enemies within and without, and

WHEREAS, as a radical and labor publication it is not maintained for profit but for the ideal work of educating the workers to a better understanding of their own interests and the world about them; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this 19th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U., convened in Boston, aid the Freie Arbeiter Stimme morally and financially as our organization has done heretofore

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Sixth Day—Morning Session

Saturday, May 12th, 1928

President Morris Sigman opened the morning session at 10 A. M.

Secretary-Treasurer Baroff read additional communications and telegrams from organizations, shops and individuals, extending greetings and wishes to the convention:

United Mine Workers of America, John L. Lewis, president.

Thomas Kennedy, secretary, United Mine Workers of America.

Sidney Hillman, general president; Joseph Schlossberg, secy.-treas., Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

United Neckwear Makers' Union, Local 11016, New York.

Michael Mariconda, manager Harlem office, New York.

Workmen's Circle, National Board of Directors

Jullus Liebowitz, Local 22, New York.

President Sigman: We will now have the report of the Committee on Law.

Salvatore Ninfo, chairman of the Committee on Law, and Mollie Friedman, secretary, thereupon proceeded to render the following report:—

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LAW

While the changes proposed by the delegates to this Convention are not as numerous as at previous conventions, still your Committee feels that several of them are very urgent and require a great deal of thought.

The members of this Committee do not assume to be 100% professional law-makers. We know that some of our recommendations will not meet with the favor of some of the delegates, yet your Committee would fail in its mission, if it would cater to the whim or fancy of this or that group. The aim of your Committee was, first and foremost, to advise you, delegates, of this Convention that you can render the best service to the labor movement in general and to our members in particular by passing such measures as will help and aid them.

This Convention is assembled after a hard and bitter struggle. The member-

ship has not yet fully recovered from the moral and financial punishment inflicted upon it by the irresponsible Communist regime. Your Committee, however, is of the opinion that the members, and especially those affiliated with the New York Joint Board, who were hit harder than any other center, should be given a little more consideration. We hope that because of their difficult position, you will give them your earnest and sincere attention. And while this Convention cannot formulate any special regulations or privileges for them, some emergency measures should be passed for their assistance. It is true that some of the resolutions that were submitted to the Committee have not the unanimous recommendation of the Committee. However, every expression of each and every member of your Committee, is honest and sincere.

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 89, page 14, third day's proceedings.

Your Committee in considering this resolution was mindful of the fact that our local unions are on numerous occasions called upon to assist their own members in cases of illness or distress, even when there are no special funds designated for such purposes; that the local unions are also called upon to assist labor organizations as well as friendly institutions, whose purpose it is to take care of wage-earners who are disabled and who cannot be taken care of by their families.

We feel that the provisions in our Constitution amply provide for the safeguarding of the funds in our Union as far as donations and contributions are concerned.

Your Committee therefore recommends non-concurrence in the above resolution. (The recommendation of the committee was carried.)

We have received Resolution No. 83, page 13, third day's proceedings.

Your Committee, in deliberating on this resolution, was mindful of the fact that at our last Philadelphia Convention the Constitution was so amended to give the larger New York Joint Board locals higher representation in the Joint Board.

We do not feel at this time that there is an urgent need for another change in the form of representation in the New York Joint Board. In order to satisfy the contention that the smaller locals are outvoted numerically, we feel that at this time to make any changes would warrant the re-opening of the old and very much aggravated arguments between the larger and smaller locals.

Hoping for more harmonious relations within our Joint Board, we recommend the non-concurrence in this resolution.

(The recommendation of the committee was carried.)

We have received Resolution No. 93, page 15, third day's proceedings.

Your committee is of the opinion that such an amendment is unnecessary and should not be considered, since our International has always permitted locals autonomy in decreeing by-laws, providing such by-laws do not conflict with the provisions of the International constitutions. Your committee therefore recommends the rejection of this resolution.

Delegate Ashbee argued in favor of the resolution and against the recommendation of the committee on the ground that the executive boards of the locals sometimes elect presidents without submitting it to the approval of the local meetings, even though the presidents are not only chairmen of the executive boards but also of the locals. He, therefore, urged that local presidents be elected by the executive boards and approved by the local meetings.

Chairman Ninfo summed up for the committee. He claimed that the present provision of the constitution has always functioned properly and there was no necessity for a change.

(Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 82, introduced by the New York Joint Board, page 13 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee is aware of the fact that the International has done its utmost to aid financially the New York Joint Board and all the other locals affiliated with it. We offer, therefore, as a

substitute to the Resolve included in Resolution No. 82, as follows:

"RESOLVED, that because the New York Joint Board and its affiliated locals cannot possibly meet their running expenses on dues of 35 cents per week paid by the members, and continue therefore to remain in financial straits, this convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board to assist the New York Joint Board financially as much as it possibly can, as long as the New York Joint Board finds itself in financial stress."

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 78, page 12, 3rd day of the proceedings. The section as amended by Delegate Polakoff of the Boston Joint Board is well covered in our Constitution.

Article 12, Section 2, which reads as follows:

"Each Local Union shall pay to the I. L. G. W. U. \$1.50 of the initiation fee of each new member."

We propose that it be amended to read as follows:

"Each L. U. shall pay to the I. L. G. W. U. \$1.50 of the initiation fee of each new member immediately after the applicant has been accepted as a member of the Union." Failure to comply with this paragraph shall be considered a violation of the Constitution.

Delegate Polakoff urged the delegates to adopt the resolution and to vote down the recommendation of the committee on the ground that in most cases the \$1.50 initiation fee is not paid by the locals and they wait two years until the convention comes around before they straighten out their bills.

Delegate Solomon: The constitution specifically says that any local that is in debt must pay up within 90 days. I do not believe we need any change in our by-laws.

(Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the Committee was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolutions Nos. 81 and 87, on pages 12 and 14, 3rd day's proceedings.

Your Committee, in deliberating on the above two resolutions, was mindful of the fact that the question of representation at joint boards and conventions was a matter of contention at our last convention and for years prior to it.

Our delegates will recall that after lengthy discussions and much thought at our last convention in Philadelphia, this matter was finally disposed of. Our membership has recently voted in a referendum on two propositions submitted to it.

Your Committee believes that it is inadvisable to consider any changes on the provision of referendum in our Constitution.

We therefore recommend non-concurrence in the above two resolutions.

Delegate Ashbes urged the adoption of Resolution 81. He maintained that the only change it called for was that local unions with a membership of not more than 100 should be entitled to one delegate, which provision, if carried, would not only benefit the small locals in that it would give them representation at conventions without burdening them with the expense of sending several delegates, but at the same time would prevent the "packing" of conventions with delegates representing only a small number of members.

(Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 79, page 12, 3rd day's proceedings, calling for amendment of Article III, Section 1, which reads:

"The General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. shall consist of a President, a General Secretary-Treasurer and fifteen Vice-Presidents, all of whom shall be elected from the membership in the City of New York."

The resolution calls for the striking out of number 15 and inserting 13.

The resolution also calls for the amendment of Article IV, Section 1, which reads:

"The General President-Secretary-Treasurer and the fifteen Vice-Presidents shall together constitute the General Executive Board."

To be amended to read:

"The General President, Secretary-Treasurer and thirteen Vice-Presidents shall together constitute the General Executive Board."

Your Committee, in deliberating on this resolution, realized that our International Union is extending its activities to all the branches of the ladies' garment industry and that to curtail the present number of vice-presidents would necessarily eliminate the opportunity for a greater expression of the will and aspirations of the members of our Union. We, therefore, recommend non-concurrence in this resolution.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 88, page 14, third day's proceedings.

Your Committee, in considering this resolution, recommends that it be adopted with a change in the Resolve to read "that any business agent local manager, local or joint board secretary-treasurer, district manager, local and general organizer, who are regular, full-time paid officers shall not be eligible as members of their respective executive boards or as delegates to joint boards or district councils."

Your Committee unanimously recommends concurrence in this resolution as amended.

(The recommendation was unanimously carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 92, page 15 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee, after listening to the representative of the Philadelphia delegation, in behalf of this section of the constitution, which deals with membership in more than one local union, recommends by a majority the rejection of this amendment. We feel that it is inadvisable to restrict our members to belonging to one labor union only, since they do not violate any of the existing rules and regulations of our International and do not jeopardize thereby its existence.

Delegate Amdur maintained that if a man belonged to more than one union he

could not have the interest of any one fully at heart.

(The recommendation was carried.)

The same resolution calls for the amendment of Article III, Section VI, on page 17 of our Constitution, which reads:

"No member shall be eligible to hold a general office unless he or she has been a member of the I. L. G. W. U. in continuous good standing for at least three years prior to the convention, in addition to the other requirements for eligibility for office, as provided for in this constitution."

The Resolve suggests to strike out "three years" and to insert "five years." Your Committee, in deliberating on this part of this resolution, felt that three years of active service in the Union is a sufficient guarantee that the member is qualified to represent his or her local union at a convention and that to increase it to five years would discourage the newer members of our organization.

We, therefore, recommend non-concurrence in this part of the resolution.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Resolution No. 80 was referred back to the Committee for reconsideration, upon motion by Delegate Nagler.

At this point William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, was escorted to the platform amidst tumultuous applause.

The report of the Law Committee was temporarily suspended.

President Sigman: As you already know, we have with us at this time a most distinguished visitor, the leader of the American labor movement, the chief of the American Federation of Labor. (Great applause.)

President Green is not a stranger to us. We surely are not strangers to him, because the organization which he had the privilege to represent prior to the time of his election as president of the American Federation of Labor is one of the organizations that has always been very friendly to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and we always have felt as though we were mem-

bers of one great union. The United Mine Workers, during the entire period of which President Green was its secretary, had been ready to stand by us and to help us whenever help was needed. Likewise the I. L. G. W. U., when the United Mine Workers needed any aid or assistance, would give it to them without stint or hesitancy. President Green, therefore, knows us very well. Our membership, I am sure, knows President Green and the American Federation of Labor very well.

At our Philadelphia convention we had the first opportunity and privilege to have President Green address our delegates. Those who were at that convention still remember, and will remember for the rest of their lives, the thoughts and the spirit that President Green brought to our convention then.

I know that you are all anxiously waiting; and many of you wanted to know as soon as the session was called to order whether the president of the American Federation of Labor would be here today. It gives me great pleasure, honor and privilege to present him to you at this time.

(Audience arose and remained standing and applauding for a period of five minutes.)

President Green's Speech

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers, visitors and friends:

I am happy, indeed, to come to you this morning and bring to you in my official capacity the good wishes and fraternal greetings of the millions of men and women associated with the American Federation of Labor. (Applause.) And in transmitting to you this official greeting, may I submit it with the personal assurance of my very deep interest in the welfare and in the success not only of this convention but of the thousands of workers whom you have the honor to represent.

I have always taken a lively interest in the work and in the administration of the affairs of your International. I think this interest was inspired because of my consciousness of the fact that this or-

ganization has grown out of the misery and the struggle of those who are employed in the ladies' garment making industry. An examination of the record and an understanding of your historical development shows that you had overcome obstacles which seemed insurmountable. You met the challenge of greed fearlessly and courageously. You abolished the sweat shop and child labor practically in your industry, and you rose above it all through the sheer efforts of your economic strength, out of the depths and degradation of oppression and misery and woe. And today I am happy to observe that the International occupies a position of influence and standing, not only in the great American labor movement, but in the affairs of the ladies' garment making industry. (Applause.)

I know when you meet in these conclaves, when you assemble in convention for the purpose of taking stock, for making an appraisal of your achievements, for examining the successes and failures which you have made, your mind, in retrospective view, goes back over the records of the past, and there you see the pioneers of your movement working in the sweat shop, making the garment in the home, the whole family employed in homes under most distressing conditions, or working in unsanitary workshops, each individual practically supplying the machine with which to do his or her work, working at a low wage, a miserable wage, a starvation wage, without regulation of hours or conditions of employment. And as you think over that, as you visualize it all and then make an appraisal of what you have achieved and what conditions are today, even though they may not be ideal, you realize that, after all, you may be proud of the achievements and of the success of your efforts and of your splendid organization; and if you have made progress in the past, if you have succeeded in the face of all these challenges, in the face of all these adverse circumstances, if you have really done something worthwhile for the men and women employed in the ladies' garment industry, then I ask you in all fairness, should not that be an inspiration for further

efforts, should it not serve to spur every man to intense and increased activity, determined that no power, no matter what it may be, shall stop you in going forward until you realize all of your ideals? (Applause.)

I think it would be proper if we were to consider for just a few moments the strength and power and purpose of this great labor movement. We fail many times to comprehend not only its potential power, but its active strength. It occurs to me that in order to secure inspiration for future service, we might for a few moments think about the significance, the purpose, the principles, the policies, and the actual and potential power of our great organized labor movement. First of all, it is a great cause, and I know you feel proud to be associated with so many millions of workers in the furtherance of a great cause. The organized labor movement has placed its purpose and its principles above the plane of sordid materialism. We are interested in human values, in making men and women better, in creating an environment conducive to the development of the best there is in human life. Dollars to us are merely instruments and means through which we can further the highest and best interests of the intellectual, moral and spiritual part of mankind. And is not that a great cause, a thing that pulls mightily at the hearts and sentiments and emotions of men and women? It is that very great invisible strength and power that holds this great movement together. One great fundamental principle underlying our movement is that of political, religious and racial freedom. The American Federation of Labor blends into perfect cooperation and harmony men and women coming from the remotest corners of the earth.

There are many organizations in America which cannot unite all men speaking all languages and all tongues into a compact co-operative movement. But the American Federation of Labor blends them into perfect co-operation and harmony. Men and women coming from the remotest corners of the earth, it matters not to us what language they may speak and under what conditions

they may have been born, what may be their religious views, or political creed, we ask no questions, we invite them to come into the open door, to sit with us around the council chamber, among the family of trade unionists, speaking only the universal language of trade unionism. That is all we ask. (Applause.)

So we have succeeded in bringing into this great movement in all the cities and towns and villages of our country men and women with a different outlook upon life, with different religious views, and different political creeds, and there we have accomplished what others have failed, because we have united them into a fraternity and a brotherhood. And then, my friends, we developed the economic strength of the workers, and that is a great power. I feel that we do not properly comprehend the potential power of organized labor. If we could only harness the forces inherent within the ranks of the working men and women, bring them into a perfect organization, there is nothing, in my opinion, worthwhile or anything within reason that could not be ours. We are criticized many times by friend and foe, by some who are well meaning and by others who are hypocritical, because we do not accomplish more. My friends, we accomplish just as much as the workers in America will permit us to accomplish. (Applause.)

We have harnessed and developed team work, millions of working men and women in different lines and callings, and with these forces in action we have accomplished wonderful things. We have increased the wages of workers. We have raised their standard of living. We have reduced the hours of labor. We have succeeded in securing the passage of legislation in all the States and in the Federal Congress, social-justice legislation, all of which has been of great benefit to working men and women throughout the nation.

In addition to that, we have fought for the children; we have protected the children; we have spoken for the women in industry. Our voice is never silent. We are continually protesting against any abuse directed against women em-

ployed in industry. The sweat shops in many instances have been abolished. Men have been made economically free. We have done all this with only a part, I might say a small part, of the working men and women organized into this great economic force, and I ask you, in all fairness, if we have succeeded in doing these things with only a part of the great hosts of labor in action, what could we do fairly and honestly if we could succeed in harnessing and developing all the potential strength of the working men and women in America? (Applause.)

At the present moment we are grappling with some difficult problems, and it is the great American Federation of Labor that is standing in the front line, battling for the workers of the United States and throughout the world. We are now engaged in trying to press for favorable action a legislative program that we regard as necessary to the well-being and the happiness of the working men and women of our country. You know, perhaps, that we are encountering difficulties because of the use of injunctions in labor controversies. This, to me, is our outstanding problem, because the courts, in responding to applications for injunctive relief filed by representatives of powerful employing interests, have extended the equity jurisdiction so far, until the very economic freedom of the working men and women in America is seriously menaced. In the Bedford Cut Stone Case, which was decided recently by the Supreme Court of the United States, they set up the principle that men and women could be restrained from stopping work, if these workers wished to, because of some controversy or difficulty they may have with some powerful employing interests. The men restrained in this case were ordered to return to work against their will. They were told that they must not cease work, that notwithstanding the fact that the Bedford Cut Stone Company was unfair to organized labor, notwithstanding the fact that it employed non-union workers in its quarries at New Bedford, and notwithstanding the fact that no union man could work in these quarries, the court said to the union men, "You must in-

directly serve this corporation even though it be against your will."

Labor regards this as a very grave misinterpretation of the powers of the judiciary. In the dissenting opinion, written by that great outstanding jurist, the greatest, I think, in America today, Judge Louis D. Brandeis (applause) declared that if this interpretation of the statutes was correct, then Congress had enacted legislation that in its application to labor borders on involuntary servitude, and when a distinguished jurist tells Labor this, when he speaks so solemnly and warns Labor against it, then Labor must be aroused; it must protect itself against this encroachment upon its economic rights, its liberty and its freedom. (Applause.)

So, my friends, we feel that we can offer the dissenting opinion of Judge Brandeis, an opinion concurred in by Justice Holmes, as the case of the American Federation of Labor in opposition to the majority opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States. (Applause.)

We filed this decision as representing our views. We accepted it, and we stand squarely and fairly upon the great legal principles laid down in this minority opinion. And because these great judicial minds have expressed themselves in this way, warning us against the impending evil, the American Federation of Labor is resolved to never cease its efforts until this wrong is corrected. (Applause.)

We have introduced into the Congress of the United States an injunctive relief measure. Hearings were held. I appeared before the proper committees, day after day, for more than ten days, presenting the view of the American Federation of Labor, and appealing to Congress to give labor relief. The measure is now pending. The fight has been started; it is on. We are not going to stop, but we shall continue to press and press and press until we secure the passage of legislation that will give us relief.

Then, we are behind other legislation. We are attempting to secure the passage of a law that will prevent the shipment of convict-made goods in inter-

state commerce to be sold in competition with free labor. (Applause.) Perhaps you will understand this, when I make just this brief explanation. Many states have enacted legislation prohibiting the manufacture and sale of convict-made goods in competition with free labor within the confines of their respective jurisdictions. That applies, however, only to intra-state commerce. For instance, in the State of New York, convict-made goods manufactured in the prisons of the State of New York cannot be sold in competition with free labor in the State of New York, but under the interstate commerce section of the Statutes of the United States, convict-made goods manufactured in the State of New York could be shipped out of the state and sold in competition with free labor in other states. And, in like manner, notwithstanding the fact that you have a splendid convict labor law in the State of New York, there is nothing now which prevents prison-made goods manufactured in Connecticut from being shipped and sold in competition with free labor in the State of New York. And it is common knowledge that many thousands of dollars' worth of goods manufactured by convicts in states outside of New York, are being shipped and sold in the State of New York, in competition with goods manufactured by free labor, and convict-made goods are exported; the volume of this business has grown to such an extent that the state legislation enacted by the different states today serves very little purpose in preventing the shipment and the sale of convict-made goods in competition with free labor. Shirts, overalls, wearing apparel of different kinds, all of it is being manufactured in many prisons throughout the country and sold in competition with free labor in other states. This is a serious question to all of you and to all of those who are associated with the needle trades industry, because just in proportion as the business of convict-labor manufactured goods increases and is sold in competition with free labor, just in that proportion are you injured, perhaps not you directly, but many other thousands employed in the garment making industry.

Now, in order to remedy this situation, we have had introduced a bill known as the Halls-Cooper Bill, which, if passed by Congress, would confer power upon each and every state to adopt supplementary legislation, not only prohibiting the manufacture and sale of convict-made goods manufactured within the state, but preventing the shipment of goods manufactured in other states to be sold in competition with free labor within the state. (Applause.) We have the votes in Congress to pass this measure. Hearings have been held, and committees have reported the bills in both branches of Congress favorably, but for some reason or other, particularly in the House, the Committee on Rules seem to be determined to thwart the will of a great majority of the members of the House of Representatives. We have more than 300 Congressmen pledged to support the Halls-Cooper bill. We have been endeavoring to persuade Congressman Snell of New York, the Chairman of the Rules Committee, to give us a parliamentary rule so that this bill may be voted before the present session of Congress adjourns. We hope yet that we may succeed, but I know from a canvass of the situation that if the will of the people may rule in this instance, if the crystallized opinion of Congress may be properly registered, then the Halls-Cooper bill will pass at this session of Congress by an almost unanimous vote. (Applause.) Labor will be protected against the competition coming from the sale of convict-made goods in interstate commerce.

I am not going to take more time this morning to dwell upon all of our legislative programs. We are also grappling with the problem of unemployment. I think that this subject is of great interest to you, because I am familiar with the seasonal character of your industry. We have suggested to Congress that it adopt a systematic and scientific plan of spending public monies in Government construction and Government building work. It seems that there has never been a systematic and definite unemployment policy pursued by the Government of the United States. We have suggested a per-

tial remedy for the problem of unemployment, that Congress appropriate six million dollars for public construction, and that this money should be used only when the business cycle tends downward as it has been tending during the last few months, and that this money be spent in the different sections of the country where unemployment is noticeable and acute. In that way the money of the Government would be available when periods of unemployment come and thus men and women would be given work.

This flood control legislation—a bill which provides for the construction of levees in the great Mississippi Valley for the doing of an immense amount of work, will mean the expenditure of millions, yes, perhaps of more than a billion of dollars, in construction and in the purchasing of material.

Now, that is going to help the unemployment situation. It will do wonderful things in supplying work to the unemployed. Army housing, naval construction, road building, all this is part of our legislative program. Then we are trying to benefit the Government employees. Through the enactment of the Welsh Bill we hope to raise the wages and the salaries of Government employees, so that they would receive a decent wage in return for the faithful service they give their Government. We are endeavoring to amend the retirement legislation, so that Government employees, when they reach the age of retirement, would be able to retire upon a basis of pay that would take care of them in reasonable comfort during their declining years. I thought it might be of interest to you to refer to these matters this morning so that you might know some of the activities of our great American Federation of Labor.

And when those who are critical, those who ridicule, those who condemn our movement assert that we are inactive, you can tell them that we are not only backing a definite economic policy, but that we are supporting a definite legislative program and that we are carrying on organization work in the remotest

sections of our country, day and night, and that we are ceaseless in our activities in trying to promote the common welfare of the working men and women of our land. (Applause.) We have constantly endeavored to make the conditions of life and labor more satisfactory and tolerable. We have constantly fought for a reduction in the working hours, and, as a result, we have reduced the hours of labor from 14 to 8 in practically every industry, and in some even less. But now we have moved forward toward another definite demand, and are definitely committed to another greater reform: We are determined to secure not for a part of the workmen and women of the country only but for all who toil upon the American continent—the 5-day work week. (Great applause.) It is my judgment that within our own day we shall see the 5-day work-week universally established in every industry in America. (Applause.)

I know something about the recent struggles of this organization with the forces of destruction. In every line of the needle trades that same force has made a special drive to capture control of the organization. They seemed to pursue a deliberate policy, attacking where conditions seemed most unfavorable, where men and women were discontented because of unemployment. They would have succeeded, perhaps, had it not been for the heroism and the devotion of the American Federation of Labor. (Applause.) But they failed, as they were bound to fail. The American Federation of Labor interested itself in the International Fur Workers' Union, reorganized their influential local unions, expelled those who were the leaders in the Communist conspiracy, and established that organization upon a sound trade union basis. You know, of course, what happened in your own organization, and the very fact that you are meeting here today, shows that you are devoted to trade unionism and to the principles of Americanism rather than in the principles of Lenin and Moscow. (Great applause.) You are here representing an organization saved from the destructive influence of these forces, and it is my

opinion that it will remain saved forever. (Great applause.)

I want to emphasize the attitude of the American Federation of Labor. It represents the real sentiment of the working men and women of America. We have our dreams. We realize that oppression is rife, that men and women are being exploited. We realize that the millennium is not here. We realize that we are living in a practical world, and because we know these things we follow a practical course. We fight each day to secure something better than we had yesterday, and when we do, we are determined never to give up anything we have ever gained. (Applause.) And so, the American Federation of Labor, following that policy, is moving progressively. And I want to assert now that the American Federation of Labor will always stand guard over its children. It will always exercise a watchful care over the organizations it charters. You can always count on the American Federation of Labor using its power and force on the side of trade-unionists and against the Communists. (Applause.) And following that line of thought, if in the struggle between trade unionists in any organization with this destructive force it reaches the point where the destructive forces gain control in spite of all we do, then the last step will be taken: The charter of that union will be revoked. (Applause.)

I cannot bring these remarks to a close without referring to that great industrial struggle now going on in the coal mining fields of our country. There is an economic and industrial relationship as well as a fraternal relationship between that great militant organization, of which I am a member, and your great Union. We are both of us identified with organizations functioning in a seasonal industry. You have much idleness and unemployment and so do the miners. You can produce more than the public can use, and so do the miners. We are suffering from an unsound economic situation that presents to us a grave problem. The miners since the war have worked in the bituminous coal fields only part time. They developed a pro-

ductive capacity of a billion tons per year with a market that will only consume 500,000,000 tons. That means that 50% of the bituminous coal-producing mines in this country must be idle all of the time and men employed in producing 50% of the coal consumed in this country must remain idle. Somewhere, some place, miners are idle all the time, and this, of course, along with the greed of the powerful coal corporations increases the difficulties of the miners and makes it hard for them to fight. Today, they are out striking and fighting.

How long have they been fighting? Do you know? Well, when Memorial day reaches us, the miners in Ohio, Central Pennsylvania, Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia will have been fighting on the industrial field for 14 long months. Imagine the drain on their financial resources, on their morale and on their spirit! It requires courage to fight for months, but it requires more courage to fight for years. They have been thrown out of their homes—the miserable homes for which they paid rent sufficient during the time they lived there to pay for all that the home cost. Picture, if you can, the distress and agony written in the lines of every face of man, woman and child as in rain or snow they gather about their belongings, thrown out into the street, little children with anxious faces, looking inquiringly into their parents' eyes, their emaciated forms telling the story of hunger and want, in pathetic language more eloquent than words—the distress of the mother as her heart-strings are torn because her children are hungry—the lines of anxiety in the face of the heroic father, who knows that the sufferings inflicted upon his loved ones was caused by his devotion to the Union! The schools in Hocking Valley have been closed, not because they did not have school teachers or buildings or books or equipment, but because the children were so underfed and undernourished and emaciated that they could not go to school. That is a devotion that challenges our admiration, and we have appealed for help and support.

The Executive Council issued two appeals at a meeting last week in Washington. It authorized that we issue the third. It is in the mails, appealing to the men and women of labor to give as they never gave before in support of these starving thousands. Give as you never gave before, even though your conditions may not be ideal! Remember you are not as badly off as those living in barracks and without homes, suffering the pangs of hunger. Shall this conspiracy succeed? Shall the standard of life of these militant workers be lowered? These are the questions we must answer, and we must answer them to our conscience. I am proud to be associated with such a organization. I have lived with it all my life. I went to work in the mines when I was a boy. I grew up in the mines. For more than 20 years I worked in the mines with my fellowmen. I know their language, their heartbeats, their psychology. I am proud to be a member of an organization where men and women will fight for 14 months, because that is the stuff out of which trade unionists are made, and my heart will be broken if these brave miners shall be forced because of economic circumstances to modify their position. And so I ask you, when you go home, to tell to those whom you represent this story. Tell them of the need of these people. Do the best you can to assist them, for their fight is your fight, and their cause is your cause, and if they win you will be helped and the great cause of labor will be advanced. (Applause.)

I am deeply concerned about the future success of your movement. If I could have my way, you would go back to New York and Philadelphia and Chicago, Cleveland and all the cities whence you came, more united as trade unionists in a common cause than you ever were before. (Applause.) I trust that no personal ambitions or petty bickerings will divide you. It would be a reflection upon our movement and your movement if we were compelled to confess to the world that the seed of destruction is still within us. Shall it be said of the International that the poison within accomplished what the powerful

enemy combinations without could never do? I have no fear of outside opposition as it seems only to solidify your forces, but I am apprehensive over the internal situation which might develop in your International. The organization should be above and beyond everything else. Individuals count for nothing in this great movement. It is the movement itself that is superior and paramount to all other things. (Applause.) Let us keep that thought in mind, and let us be determined that we are going to find a basis on which we shall all stand shoulder to shoulder, where we can compose our differences, look each other in the face and go home and say, "We are going to fight the common cause of the members of our great International Union. We cannot afford to waste our energy in internal warfare."

Where a family difference occurs as between tried and true trade unionists, the American Federation of Labor occupies a position of friendly helpfulness. We are not going to assume any dictatorship, because we must not abuse the power conferred upon us. When we charter an International Union, we clothe it with autonomous power, and while we are willing to be helpful in every way we can, it would be an abuse of power to attempt to dictate to you to find here at this Convention the settlement of any internal strife that may develop among you. Surely you cannot go back to your constituency claiming that your work is well done if you carry back the seeds of dissension and strife.

May I say in conclusion, that I have talked to you in this simple fashion out of the earnestness of my heart and soul. I was deeply touched by the cordiality of your welcome, and I assure you that I shall go back from here carrying with me only the most pleasant memories of my delightful visit with you. I wish you success in all your undertakings. I wish to assure you that we will cooperate with your organization in promoting your common welfare in every possible way. I leave you with my best wishes for your future success and your prosperity. I thank you.

At the conclusion of his address, President Green was given an ovation.

President Sigman: Delegate Mollie Friedman requests the floor at this time.

Delegate Mollie Friedman stated that she was emotionally too much stirred at the present moment to give full expression of the deep enthusiasm and feeling that President Green's speech had aroused in her. She referred to the encouragement and the assistance that "Bill" Green, as she called him, had given the International during the last two and a half years, when she had gone to Washington on different missions of importance for the organization. She also thanked him for the co-operation that the United Mine Workers had given to the I. L. G. W. U. at the time of the cloak strike in 1926, and that President Green, at that time, when asked for assistance, communicated at once with the Secretary of the United Mine Workers, and financial assistance came forth in two or three days. In the name of the I. L. G. W. U. she thanked President Green for his personal co-operation and the assistance and support he had rendered in the past. (Great applause.)

Delegate Dubinsky at this point presented the following resolution:

Resolutions No. 121

Introduced by Delegate David Dubinsky, Local No. 10, New York:

WHEREAS, after listening to the eloquent address of President Green, in which we were told of the great struggle being conducted by the miners in the bituminous fields throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, their heroic struggle is for the maintenance of working standards, for which they fought and obtained after many years of misery and privation, and

WHEREAS, we are in fullest sympathy with them and have on many occasions pledged our moral and financial support to aid these splendid and courageous members of the United Mine Workers of America whom we consider our brothers, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention decide to levy an emergency tax, the amount of which should be recommended by the Committee on Resolutions in its report to the delegates—this tax to be collected immediately after the adjournment of this convention, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the money collected thru this tax be forwarded to the United Mine Workers of America, who are conducting this

brave fight in behalf of the miners until they have obtained satisfactory results for these brothers of ours.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. President, I move you the adoption of this resolution. (The resolution was unanimously adopted amidst great applause.)

Mr. Mereminskky, who spoke in the name of the United Workers of Palestine, stated that he was so enthused by the remarks of President Green of the A. F. of L. that, on behalf of his organization, he would donate the sum of \$200 to the striking members of the United Mine Workers of America.

Delegate Jacobs moved to have the speech of President Green printed in pamphlet form by the I. L. G. W. U. and distributed and mailed to every member of the International, so that they could read it and become familiar with its message.

President Sigman at this juncture took occasion to express once more his appreciation of the whole-hearted support and co-operation that President Green had given the International, reiterating that if it were not for such cooperation he was very much in doubt as to whether this convention would now be in session.

President Sigman, on motion, then declared the convention adjourned at 1:15 P. M., to reconvene at 2:30 P. M.

Afternoon Session—Saturday,

May 12, 1928

The session was called to order at 3:00 P. M., Vice-President Ninfo temporarily presiding.

The first speaker to address the delegates was G. August Gerber in behalf of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, which is operating station WEVD, New York as a living memorial to the life and work of Eugene V. Debs, in the interests of the trades union, civil liberties and Socialist movements. On behalf of the Fund, Mr. Gerber extended greetings to the convention, and thanked the International and its Gen-

eral Executive Board for the studios donated to its use in the International's building at 3 W. 16th Street, New York City.

Mr. Gerber urged the need and importance of radio broadcasting for the labor unions, and suggested that the Union contribute financially to keep up the work of Station WEVD.

Chairman David Dubinsky and Secretary Julius Hochman were then called upon to report for the Resolutions' Committee.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Before proceeding with the report of our Committee, we feel it incumbent on us to draw the attention of the delegates to a few tragic losses sustained by the American labor movement in the past two years, losses which robbed it of invaluable leadership, of matchless inspirational forces and has wrested the standard of our cause from the hands of three great pioneers.

Three indomitable captains of Labor's army have left our midst since the Philadelphia Convention—Eugene V. Debs, Meyer London and Max Pine. Little did we dream two and a half years ago that these great figures in the Labor movement of our land, whose names had for a generation been inseparably linked with the destiny of our cause, would not be with us today, lending counsel, hope, inspiration and sagacity to our activity and to our efforts to chart a sound course for the advancement of our workers on the path of progress and success.

But fate, blind, inexorable fate, had decreed otherwise. It struck at us at a time when the precious guidance of these departed leaders was most needed, at an hour when their loss was felt most keenly. Debs, London and Pine are no more at our side; Debs, London and Pine already belong to working class history. They occupy a glorious niche of immortality hallowed by the unforgettable contributions they had made to the cause they loved most, to the mission they had devoted all their great

gifts—the mission of the emancipation of the working class, our own class.

Yes, sisters and brothers, Debs, London and Pine are gone from our mortal sphere; physically they are no longer with us. But who is here to deny that the souls of these departed heroes of our movement, that the spirit of these fighters and pioneers is not with us, everywhere on the fighting lines of our daily struggles, in the midst of our never-ceasing activity, in this very hall where we are assembled to mould our future—always inspiring us, always urging us on, always blazing a way for militant, uncompromising working-class action?

Let us, Brothers and Sisters, with heads bowed in the evergreen memory of our fallen leaders, rise to pay them the tribute of comrades in arms and of fellow workers in a great cause. Debs, London and Pine are not dead. And as long as the human family survives, as long as men and women will continue to fight for a better world, for a world free of both slaves and masters, so long will the names of these leaders of ours not be forgotten, forever leading us on, forever shining in the glorious firmament of our wonderful movement.

(All the delegates thereupon rose in silence for a moment in tribute to the late Comrades Debs, London and Pine.)

Delegate Bluestein: I move that we pay a tribute to these three comrades by sending flowers to decorate their graves.

(This was unanimously carried.)

Tariff

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 9, which appears on page 8 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends that the incoming G. E. B. make a study of the extent of competition caused by the importation of handkerchiefs from Europe into this country and consider ways and means of meeting this situation.

(This was unanimously adopted.)

Campaigns and General Strikes

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 114, which appears on page 19 of the fourth day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Campaigns and Strikes

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 116, which appears on page 18 of the fourth day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends the concurrence in this resolution.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Fascism

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 4, which appears on page 7 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee wishes to bring to the attention of this Convention that the American Federation of Labor has taken a definite stand against Fascism and that the President of the A. F. of L. has never missed an opportunity to attack Fascism, the enemy of democracy, within the organized trade union movement.

(This was unanimously adopted.)

Campaigns and Strikes

Your Committee has received Resolutions Nos. 19 and No. 36 which appear on pages 10 and 13 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of these resolutions.

(The recommendation was unanimously adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 7, which appears on page 7 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

(The recommendation was unanimously adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 3, which appears on page 7 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

(The recommendation was unanimously carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 6, which appears on page 7 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

(The recommendation was unanimously adopted.)

Italian Chamber of Labor

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 14, which appears on page 9 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

(The recommendation was unanimously adopted.)

Il Nuovo Mondo

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 15, which appears on page 9 of the second day's proceedings.

The Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

Delegate Antonini: This paper is having a severe struggle to maintain its existence. The delegates should go home to their respective centers and actively support it.

(The recommendation was unanimously adopted.)

Political Prisoners

Your Committee has received Resolutions Nos. 18, 23 and 42, which appear on pages 9, 10 and 14 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends that Resolution No. 42 be substituted for this group of resolutions and be adopted by this Convention.

(The recommendation was unanimously adopted.)

Recognition of Soviet Russia

Your Committee has received Resolutions Nos. 30 and 41, which appear on pages 12 and 14 of the second day's proceedings.

The Resolutions' Committee recommends that these two resolutions be amended by substituting the resolve of

Resolution No. 41, which reads as follows:

"Resolved, that this Convention go on record as demanding that the Government of the U. S. give immediate and complete recognition to the United Socialist Soviet Republics."

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this substitute.

(The recommendation was unanimously adopted.)

Chairman Dubinsky: This temporarily concludes the report of the committee.

The next to report was the Committee on Officers' Report. A. Katofsky, chairman, and Manny Weiss, secretary.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORT

Chairman and Delegates:

Your Committee has been charged with the important duty and grave responsibility of passing upon the activities of the highest officers of our International Union for the past two and a half years as well as on the suggestions and recommendations for future activities contained in the report of the General Executive Board. No committee on officers' report at any convention in the history of our International has had a task equal to ours. More than ever before we realized the significance of this report as our deliberations upon it concern not only the future of our own organization but have a bearing on the entire labor movement. As has been pointed out in the report, our International Union has been singled out for one of the most vicious attacks in its history. For this reason the detailed and vivid account of that attempt to destroy our Union should be carefully read and should have the earnest attention of every one of the delegates. We believe that no more dramatic and important document has ever been put forth to any convention of our Union. Before we proceed to a discussion of the many vital problems touched upon therein, we wish to comment on the fact that the report of the General Executive Board is not only an account of its activities on behalf of the Union, but it contains the names of hundreds and hundreds of our

members all over the country, who served faithfully and devotedly during this great crisis in the life of our organization.

In order to bring clearly before the delegates the subject matter of the report, we have divided our discussion into three parts:

1. The work of our General Executive Board since the 18th Biennial Convention.
2. The industrial situation in the various markets.
3. The present status of our Union and our problems.

At this time, we submit that portion of our report which deals with:

THE WORK OF OUR OFFICERS SINCE THE 18TH BIENNIAL CONVENTION

New York Cloak Industry

You will remember that the Philadelphia convention decided to submit all points in controversy during the negotiations for agreement renewals in the New York cloak market to the membership of the New York Joint Board, and of its affiliated locals, to decide for itself. This action was taken as a reply to a charge—the charge continually made by the Communists, then in control of the Joint Board—that the International was forcing the membership of the New York locals, against their will, into "class collaboration," and into a course of action which the rank and file did not favor.

Notwithstanding this decision which placed all the responsibility for the conduct of the Joint Board upon the Communist officials, we find that our General Officers have constantly expressed a desire and manifested the will to help and actually did render assistance, whenever it was needed or requested. This was done because of the realization of a grave responsibility which always rests with the General Officers of our Union, particularly in such periods of distress in which our membership found itself under the dictatorship of the Communists. It was not done in order to strengthen and perpetuate Communist misrule in our Union; in the face of continued attack and slander on the part of the Communist

officials of the Joint Board, our General Officers and especially President Sigman, have done all in their power to assist in maintaining and strengthening our organization.

The delegates will remember that in spite of the decision empowering the New York Joint Board so to act on its own responsibility with the approval of its own membership, the Communist officials were by no means sufficiently sure of the support of the membership, and were frequently at a loss as to what course to pursue and what steps to take. As an example of their bewildered and uncertain state, we wish to call your attention to the fact that, immediately after the close of the eighteenth convention in Philadelphia, the Communist officials, at the first meeting of the new General Executive Board in January of 1926, proposed that a strike be called at once, in the middle of the season, without preparation, and prior to the expiration of the agreement. This proposal was so absurd and so full of danger to the very existence of our Union that President Sigman advised against such a course. He was supported by the General Executive Board and even the Communists themselves did not press the matter any further.

We wish to call attention also to the fact that the Communists were openly reminded that they were given power under that convention decision to depart from what they chose to call the "class collaboration" policies of the International. President Sigman openly suggested to the Communist officials that if they really believed in what they said at the Philadelphia convention, they were free to refuse to appear before the Governor's Advisory Commission when its hearings were resumed in March of 1926. This suggestion was a clear and emphatic answer to any claim which might be made that they were still being driven into "class collaboration."

When it became clear that the Communist officials were not pursuing the policy which they set forth at the Philadelphia convention but were going to appear before the Governor's Commission, President Sigman again reminded them

that they were free, in accordance with the announcement of the Commission, to add to or modify the demands presented by the G. E. B. to the Commission. Again, the Communists were unable to improve on the original demands of the G. E. B. and, in fact, made lengthy speeches in their support at the hearings before the Commission.

When the Commission finally rendered its recommendations, many of which were favorable to the Union, and met the fundamental and most important points of the Union's program, President Sigman suggested the acceptance of these recommendations, not as a final, binding decision but as a basis for negotiations. This left the Union free to negotiate for more favorable terms on certain of the recommendations. Of course, his advice was not acceptable to the heads of the Communist Party had already decided that the Cloakmakers' Union must be thrown into a general strike, to start in this way, perhaps, the revolution in the United States. The possibility of securing genuine gains for the cloakmakers through negotiations without a strike was completely ignored.

When, thereafter, the majority of the Joint Board had been manoeuvred into the approval of a Communist scheme for a strike, formulated at a meeting of which the membership did not know, and this majority rejected these recommendations, President Sigman suggested that the final decision as to the calling of a general strike be made by the membership itself through the procedure of a secret referendum vote. This suggestion was likewise rejected, notwithstanding the fact that these leaders of the Joint Board have continually harped on the "will of the people," and have used the referendum as a stock argument against everything. The only opportunity the membership had to declare itself on so vital a proposal was at a mass meeting which merely approved a pre-arranged resolution.

Again we wish to call your attention to the fact that once the ill-advised strike was called, the General Officers, as responsible union leaders, undertook to do everything in their power to make that

strike a success, realizing that its failure would mean untold sufferings to our members and the destruction of the Union. President Sigman, although advised to the contrary by some of the responsible leaders in the organization, was even willing to assume the leadership of the strike and ran as a candidate for the chairman of the strike committee. He was, of course, defeated by the hand-picked strike committee, from which there had been excluded all non-Communist leaders of experience and ability and which was loaded with docile tools of the Communist Party. Some of the Communist leaders themselves admitted that President Sigman was more fit for the position than any one of them. The walk-out of the workers was complete, their readiness to serve with devotion, as always, never having been in doubt, and they had the complete support of the General Officers. But the mismanagement, the inability, the inefficiency, in fact, the open criminal betrayal of the strike by its leaders under Communist domination, resulted in the defeat of the strike. Time and time again, the welfare of the membership was ignored for political ends, time and time again the advice of the International Office and of President Sigman was cast aside. The International pledged its support to the workers and did support the strike for the sake of our membership and the Union—morally, financially and with every ounce of energy and devotion. Moreover, the entire labor movement of the country, upon the appeal of the International, came to the aid of our workers. Nevertheless, the disastrous and criminal tactics of the Communist leaders brought about the defeat of the strike after six long months of suffering.

We must again stress the importance of the attitude and activities of the General Officers and of the President. It was largely due to the open suggestions of President Sigman, to his untiring efforts in the face of great difficulties, to his constant pointing out of effective and union-like ways of conducting the strike, that the workers of New York discovered that the real menace to the existence of the Union lay in the continuance of Communist misrule. When, finally, through

the worst possible form of secret negotiations, the settlement was reached with the Industrial Council, which settlement gave the workers far less than the original recommendations of the Governor's Commission and even far less than could have been obtained in the earlier period of the strike, the Union suffered the first defeat and the most disastrous settlement in its history.

At this time, in addition to this unsatisfactory settlement with the Industrial Council, and the failure to reach an agreement with the most important factor in the industry—the jobbers—the workers were confronted with another calamity in the form of a lockout in the shops of those sub-manufacturers who had settled during the strike. When the demand of the sub-manufacturers, either to be given the same terms as the Industrial Council got or else to go before a Board of Arbitration, came up before the General Executive Board at its meeting held from November 30th to December 3rd, 1926, the Communist strike leaders, in answer to the inquiry of President Sigman, revealed that they were willing, first, to permit the lockout and then to permit the workers to go back without any recognition, and so to drag along until the season began. It was then that President Sigman and the G. E. B., realizing that, for the first time in the history of our Union, the workers might have to return to the shops after a strike without the recognition of the Union, decided to issue the proclamation that the G. E. B. would take over the conduct of the strike and bring it to a satisfactory conclusion. The open defiance of union policy by the Communist officials, together with the great revolt of the membership against them, were important factors in this decision.

Your Committee considered those portions of the report which dealt with the manner in which the strike was brought to a close and the Union saved from complete destruction during the winter and spring of 1927. We wish to express our admiration of the courage, ability, fearlessness, and the tact with which the officers of our International had handled that situation, and we also wish to record

our respect for the work of the Provisional Committees, which under the guidance of President Sigman and the officers of the International, had served so faithfully and so well at that time. The manner in which the case of the Union was handled in the arbitration proceedings, involving the lockout of the American Association shops, the ability shown in the negotiations with the cloak jobbers, which resulted in an agreement and the wind-up of the strike, the remarkable and devoted work of the various committees which functioned at the time of the reconstruction period, all contributed toward the saving of our Union. The tasks which confronted our General Officers, the Provisional Committees and the membership, were numerous and complicated and the circumstances resulting from the misrule of the Communists were most trying and adverse. The entire New York cloak and dress union, with the exception of two or three locals, had to be built up anew. The registration of members ordered by the G. E. B. and the Provisional Committees was the only logical means of finding out who were the persons who wished to aid and take part in the rebuilding of the Union. We find, from the records that the Communist officials and their followers were not expelled from the Union, but by their refusal to register and by their unscrupulous obstruction of the work of the Union, had expelled themselves and thus rid the organization of an element which by its very nature and by its subordination to an outside political group had proven itself to be most destructive to unionism.

The record of the accomplishments in the eighteen months since the G. E. B. and the Provisional Committees stepped in to save the Union from complete destruction, confirms what we already know—that the Union was not only saved, but that the sincere and devoted efforts of our membership, of our officers, and particularly of President Sigman, have again made our International a living, constructive body for the benefit of the workers in our industry and again placed it in the vanguard of the American labor movement.

(This section was unanimously adopted.)

The New York Dress Industry

Until the time of the reconstruction of the New York Joint Board in December of 1926, the dressmakers, as part of the Joint Board had suffered just as much from Communist mismanagement, especially in Local 22, the administration of which was completely under their domination. The work of Local No. 89, which was comparatively free of Communists, was hampered by the tactics and neglect of the Communist officials in the other local. At the close of the cloakmakers' strike, the dress industry was almost completely demoralized, and in order to save the dressmakers from a contemplated "general strike," which was to be ordered by the Communists, as well as to include them in the reconstruction work within the Union, the order for registration was extended to the dress locals. The response of the dressmakers was so encouraging that it was possible to avoid the calamity of a general strike at that time. We commend our general officers on the able negotiations leading to the renewal of the agreements with all employers' groups in the dress industry in January, 1927.

(This section was unanimously adopted.)

Other Markets

In spite of the great task before our International Officers involving saving the union in the cloak and dress industry in New York from complete destruction and rebuilding it—a task in itself sufficiently great—we find that they had given much attention and effort to the other important centers and branches of our Union. We cannot, of course, describe in detail the work of our officers in all these branches and centers, since to do so would require a lengthy report. We wish briefly to comment on some especially significant developments in the principal centers.

Chicago

We wish to mention, first of all, with special praise, the reconstruction of our

organization in Chicago which, during the epidemic of Communism, has also fallen into the clutches of its dictatorship. We consider that the situation in Chicago was handled in the most tactful and effective way, for it eliminated the Communists completely, has brought back into the organization the loyal union members and has placed Chicago on a sounder basis than it had been in many years. The devotion and sacrifices of our Chicago membership deserve the commendation of our entire organization.

Philadelphia

The history of both the cloak and dress locals in Philadelphia shows that both these branches of our Union are on a sound basis. In the case of the cloak locals, which are almost entirely free of Communist interference, the main problems have been industrial ones. The leaders and members, with the aid of our International officers, have met their problems well under the circumstances. So far as the dress local is concerned, in spite of a small but noisy Communist group and unusually trying problems in connection with the large open shops the Union, with the aid of the International, has carried on a brave struggle and has made whatever progress was possible.

Boston

In Boston, as in New York and Chicago, the Communists have made desperate efforts to capture our organizations and destroy their usefulness as trade unions. For a considerable time much of the good work done by the Boston organization in the period before the Philadelphia convention under the leadership of members of our G. E. B. was nullified by Communist sabotage within the organization. When, after the order of the G. E. B. in December of 1926, some of the local Communist officials had openly defied the Union and aided the former Communist officials of the New York Joint Board in their union-wrecking activities, the G. E. B., at the request of the Boston locals, appointed a special

committee to supervise their elections. Again we commend the work of this committee and of the loyal trade union members. We feel the present leadership with the aid of the International has made considerable progress in the new agreements in both the cloak and dress markets, and in the organization campaigns among the dressmakers. We are gratified to note the progress made by the Boston Italian local in organizing several large open shops. We feel that with the continued assistance of our General Officers, our Boston locals will continue on their road to progress.

Cleveland

Our Cleveland organization is an outstanding example of the progress which is possible when a labor union is free from harmful outside interference. In spite of many difficulties, due to a decrease in the cloak trade and some inherent industrial problems, and to only a partially organized dress trade, our Cleveland Joint Board has not only maintained its strength; has not only renewed the important time-guarantee provisions which it had won some years ago, but has in addition gained a provision for an unemployment fund maintained solely by the employers for the benefit of those of its workers who do not derive the full benefit from the time-guarantee. These two provisions are significant because they establish and reaffirm a principle for which we are fighting—the full responsibility of the industry to its workers.

Other Centers

The delegates will note that our General Officers have also devoted much energy and thought to the problems of the Canadian organizations and to those centers throughout the United States which are constantly growing in importance. We regret to note that despite the many years of hard work and despite the generous funds contributed by the International to build up a strong and sound trade union organization in Montreal, Communist destructive endeavors have all but wiped out our lo-

icals in that district. Your Committee on Officers' Report notes from the section of the report dealing with Baltimore, that at the present moment, in spite of the extended aid of the International, no organization exists in that city in the cloak trade, Local 4 having been wiped out of existence as a result of Communist disruption. We believe that an energetic organization campaign should immediately be inaugurated in this important eastern center.

Miscellaneous and Auxiliary Trades

Our Union consists not only of cloak and dressmakers. We have in our International locals consisting of trades which are auxiliary to these two main branches, as well as locals in the underwear, children's dress, bathrobe, custom dressmaking and other branches. Each of these has had its own industrial and organization problems, and to each of these the General Officers of our International have given such attention and assistance as was possible. Needless to say, in a number of these locals, inroads were made by the Communists and the administration of some of these locals was temporarily captured by Communist officials.

In this connection, we wish to mention especially the condition in the Bonnaz Embroidery Workers, Local No. 66, the Tuckers, Pleaters & Hemstitchers, Local No. 41, and the Custom Tailors & Dressmakers, Local No. 38. As a result of Communist misrule, these locals were for a time considerably weakened. In Local No. 66, two of the Communist executive board members were expelled on charges of corruption, and its Communist administration had in general neglected the interests of the workers. This local, however, in the election of December, 1927, held under the supervision of the Central Office, repudiated the Communist officials and now has a loyal trade union administration, which has already made progress.

In Local No. 41, charges were brought against the Communist officials for grave violations of the Constitution, and, after investigation, these

charges were found true and were not denied. They were then removed from office, and the General Executive Board appointed a temporary supervisor who, together with an elected provisional executive board, effectively carried on a campaign of registration and organization. When, shortly thereafter, regular elections were held under the supervision of the International, a loyal trade union administration succeeded to office and has since made commendable headway.

The Communist officials of Local No. 38, in the fall of 1926, deliberately misled their members and the unorganized dressmakers with whom they claimed to be concerned with, by winding up a costly and useless campaign with a strike, in the settlement of which they circulated one set of demands amongst the membership and another set of demands in actual negotiations, demands which completely ignored the dressmakers of the larger shops. When this fact, which was discovered by President Sigman, who was present at the conference, was revealed to the members, they rebelled against Communist betrayal and in the subsequent two elections elected loyal union members to administer their affairs.

Delegate Torchinsky: "In addition to what has been mentioned in the report it should be mentioned that what brought the membership of Local No. 38 to the conclusion that Communists cannot conduct a trade union for the benefit of the workers were the following facts: They had a union shop in the Metropolitan Opera House. A man named Zack, who is no longer a member of the International, and who is a prominent man in the Communist Party, went to that shop and stirred up a strike. He pulled out 28 of the workers engaged there and kept them out for 18 weeks, expending all the money of the organization, and the strike was lost. There was no reason from a union point of view for that strike, but the Communists wanted a "revolution" and they started it in this shop believing that it would spread throughout the United States and that the Soviet sys-

tem would be established in this country. I want this to go on record"

In general, while the conditions in these miscellaneous trades are not entirely satisfactory due to the disruption and mismanagement which existed for a while as well as to the especially difficult problems of organization, we are satisfied that under the circumstances, the International did everything it could to improve their condition and in some cases to save them from destruction.

Before we close this section of our report, we wish to praise the members and the leadership of the Waterproof Garment Workers, Local No. 20, on the able method in which they have conducted their affairs. Not only have they been able to carry on their work in New York without asking for aid from the International Office, but they have handled their organization problems in the territory surrounding New York and have been instrumental through financial aid and continual attention along with the international, in the reestablishment of an organization amongst the waterproof garment workers of Boston.

(All the recommendations of the Committee relating to this section of the report were adopted.)

Eastern Out-of-Town Organization Department

The Eastern Out-of-Town Organization Department, which is under the direct supervision of the General Office, has had, according to the report of the General Executive Board, a very difficult and trying task since the last convention.

During the 1926 cloak strike, in addition to its regular work, this department was placed at the disposal of the out-of-town committee of the general strike. Genuine efforts were made to check non-union production in the outlying territory in spite of the sabotage of the Communist strike leaders. In general, this department has done good work, considering its many difficulties and the financial strain upon our international. We are of the opinion that this department is of great importance

to New York and to the other eastern centers.

In summing up this part of our report, we wish to commend very highly the entire line of activity of our General Officers from the last convention to the present time. We think that the Officers have displayed exceptional devotion and loyalty to the membership and to the organization especially during the crisis in New York.

We are of the opinion that our organization was served by their courage. We hold that it is due to the courage and fearlessness of our leaders that the organization in New York, as well as in other cities, has been reconstructed and revived. We are proud of the leadership of our International, and we approve of every step they have made in the direction of saving our Union. We know the difficulties they had; we know the obstacles they met with; we know the abuse they had to stand for; we know the slander they were subjected to, especially in the case of President Sigman, who carried the brunt of this gigantic battle with the destructive forces and so much more, therefore, is our appreciation, so much higher is our praise.

This concludes the first part of our report.

Delegate Mollie Friedman: We are meeting in the city where during the last year two men active in the Labor movement were executed for their uncompromising belief in the greater principles of humanity. I would suggest that this convention send a wreath of flowers to be placed on the graves of Sacco and Vanzetti and that the delegates be requested to visit the cemetery tomorrow when they have an opportunity to do so. (Applause.)

This suggestion was unanimously carried.

Delegate Nagler: All cutters representing cutters' locals in the different cities are invited to attend a dinner to be given this evening by the cutters' delegation of the City of New York. If they will see me personally after the session, I will give them the time and place of the dinner.

The session adjourned at 4:50 P. M. upon motion by Delegate Amdur, to reconvene at 9:30 A. M. Monday, May 14, 1928.

Seventh Day—Morning Session

Monday, May 14, 1928

President Morris Sigman called the session to order at 10 A. M.

Secretary-Treasurer Baroff read the following telegrams:

Workmen's Circle, National Board of Directors.
Julius Liebowitz, Local 22, New York.

The appearance of Mr. Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, on the platform at that moment provoked a storm of applause among the delegates, who rose to greet him.

President Sigman called upon the Committee on Law to continue with its report. As the Committee is divided on some important resolutions, President Sigman asked Vice-President Mollie Friedman, Secretary of the Committee, to present the majority opinion and recommendations first.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW (Continued)

Your Committee has received Resolutions Nos. 84, 90, 91, 106 which appear on pages 13, 14, 15, 18 of third day's proceedings, introduced by the delegations of Local No. 22, of the New York Joint Board, and by delegates of Local 2 and Local No. 35.

These resolutions are all alike in form and contents. We invited before our Committee a number of delegates who signed these resolutions. Some of these delegates frankly stated before the Committee that they were not so much interested in the referendum as a permanent method for electing chief officers of our International as in its use as a means of strategy or political expediency to eliminate certain International officers who, in their opinion, ought to be eliminated at the present time for the best interests of the Union.

On the basis of this admission alone

the members of the Committee who signed the majority report, nevertheless, would feel justified to ask the Convention to reject these resolutions. We desire briefly to enter into the merits of the resolutions themselves as such.

A few of the "whereases" in these resolutions deal with the question of disharmony prevailing at present in our Union, stressing the point that it is generally argued that there prevails a widespread dissatisfaction and discontent among our members with the present form of electing our General Officers at conventions. Your Committee is not ready to argue if it actually exists as alleged; nor is your Committee ready to enter into the causes of this discontent; but the fact that the introducers of these resolutions find it necessary to say that "it is generally argued that there prevails a widespread dissatisfaction and discontent among our members with the present form of electing our General Officers at conventions," is in itself an admission of their uncertainty that there exists such a discontent with the elections for general officers of the International. As a matter of fact, the signers of this report know, as everybody else knows and, as we suspect, the introducers of these resolutions know, that the cloak and dressmakers of New York are very little interested in the method of electing general officers. The fact that a few officers of a few locals had originated this "referendum" idea, spent a great deal of time and energy in agitating among the members of their own locals to endorse such a resolution, is by no means proof that there exists a genuine desire on the part of the members to change our method of electing general officers.

Furthermore, your Committee very strongly rejects any implication that our present method of election of officers is not progressive or democratic. The convention method of electing officers is recognized as a true democratic method of election. It is known as representative form of government. There are many outstanding democracies where chief officers of the nation are elected by parliaments. A large number of the outstanding labor organizations elect

their officers at conventions, and the American Federation of Labor, our parent body, against which no accusations of lack of democracy have ever been made by any honest person, elects its general officers at conventions.

We are especially opposed to the introduction of this method of election of officers, as propounded in the above resolutions, at this time. We are certain that the agitation and the issues raised in such a referendum would only tend to bring more disharmony, more misunderstanding, more antagonism, more division in our ranks and would hamper in the great task of solidifying the forces of our Union in New York; of starting organization campaigns in the many places where such campaigns are absolutely necessary and urgent. If there are misunderstandings, it is the duty of the delegates who were sent to this Convention for the very purpose of going into these questions and bringing about understanding, to unify our forces and to come back after the adjournment of this Convention with a united leadership.

It is because of our desire for harmony; it is because of our desire for a strong, solidified Union that we recommend the rejection of the above resolutions.

Signed:

Mollie Friedman, Local 100, Chicago; Samuel Freedman, Local 20, New York; Marco Durante, Local 51, Passaic, N. J.; Max Bluestein, Local 22, New York; Al Stein, Local 50, Philadelphia, Pa.; Philip Kramer, Local 73, Boston, Mass.; Becky Stein, Local 67, Philadelphia, Pa.; Morris Levine, Local 41, New York; Phillip Malnella, Local 91, New York; Morris Fishman, Local 66, New York; Harry Ruffer, Local 59, Chicago; Samuel Rudin, Local 40, Philadelphia, Pa.; Samuel Otto, Local 53, Philadelphia, Pa.; A. Crivello, Local 89, New York; Josephine Fanelli, Local 44, Cleveland; Nathan Solomon, Local 26, Cleveland; S. Gollnsky, Local 92, New York; Morris Lynsky, Local 46 Boston.

President Sigman: I wish to call upon one of our comrades and friends who needs little introduction to you.

His standing in our movement is in itself a sufficient introduction. It gives me great pleasure to present to you Comrade Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President of the United States.

(Audience rose and applauded for several minutes.)

Speech of Norman Thomas

Comrade President, brothers, sisters and friends:

There may be some apology due to the officers and the members of this Convention for interrupting you at this time, which is so highly important to you. I am only too glad to give you a blessing, but I understand that what you want is to get work done, rather than to get words of blessing. Nevertheless, I should be ungrateful for the opportunity before me and before my party and your party, if I did not thankfully accept this opportunity to speak to you for a few minutes.

I come to you on my way to New Bedford, where I will be this afternoon to address the mass meeting of the textile strikers. I should like to take to them some sense of the power of labor, some sense of the wisdom of labor, some sense of the solidarity of labor, underlying whatever difficulties may exist, which I have received from this convention. You have already gone over some part of the road which these textile workers must walk. You have won for yourselves, for the time being at least, some measure of the conditions that these men and women still have to struggle for. I should like to tell them that I bring to them some note of confidence and some hope of victory. I do not wish to give you any advice about your internal affairs. With all my heart and soul I am persuaded that it is the business of the union as a union to arrange its own affairs. No self-respecting organization can consent to outside control, or to the dictates of another organization. No labor union desires that.

As a man and as a candidate of the Socialist Party, looking out over our country and your country, and looking out over the world of labor, I can speak to you of things that are close to my heart. I can tell you how much I hope

that this convention would have the wisdom and the courage to advance the whole cause of labor in the United States. It is a thing which we need at this time. There is no rule of life—I am not sure that there should be any rule of life—that would prevent differences of opinion from arising, but there ought to be a rule of life in the labor movement which somehow or other would assert, in spite of differences, that solidarity in the face of an enemy which is always ready to defend it to the last ditch. (Applause.)

You have a very great task before you. It is, I am persuaded, the first task of every union to conduct its own affairs. I do not believe for a moment that men and women can make a new world who cannot manage their own union.

But it is the problems of the industry that you have to cope with and they are an integral part of the problems that confront your own union at this time. I do not believe, to be brutally frank, that unless you can solve with some degree of increasing skill the problem of the making of clothes, you will solve the problems of the making of a universe. It is not true that we can do great jobs unless we can do the immediate jobs in our hand.

I would not for a minute take your attention from the task before you. That task is to assert again the principle that men and women who make clothes are the men and women who are primarily responsible for seeing that the industry that makes clothes does not unmake men and women. It is the industry in which you earn your living. You have to face the problems of the industry as it is. You have to win back some ground that has been lost. You have to go on to win ground that hasn't yet been won. If you cannot do that, nothing else will matter very much. If you can do that, it will be an inspiration to wherever labor struggles forward and we need that sort of inspiration. Let me repeat, therefore, your job is to consider the affairs of your union, to consider them not in terms of personal ambition, not in terms of some of those human emotions that all of us have, but to consider them as men and women who are charged with a mighty responsibility.

I have emphasized the importance of your immediate task in your own union. Now, may I say another thing. We shall not accomplish our immediate tasks in our own unions if we lose sight of the great goal we have set before us. Courage comes from vision. Unless we steer our course by whatever stars we see, we shall go astray—go out of our course. It is our job, therefore, not to neglect in the name of realism the great realities, and these great realities are matters of human freedom, of plenty, and of peace in the world.

It is not true in this nation of ours that unions are organized to meet the needs of political exigencies of our day. But I am convinced that the problem of the organized workers in America is made immensely difficult by certain political drawbacks. Let me name them briefly:

Injunctions are controlled largely by the political arm. The injunction habit in America threatens the right to organize, and labor that wants to organize has to fight and fight and fight against the judicial tyranny which is typified by the injunction, by such decisions that we New Yorkers have recently become familiar with. This is a new struggle, if you like, but it is a struggle that comes home to us as workers, to win the right to organize means to end judicial tyranny. The injunction which you have suffered from over and over is illustrated by the injunctions in the mine region, where they have injunctions against miners going to their own church. I never know it took an injunction to keep people away from church.

Take another illustration. Some year or more ago there came to this country a delegation from Australia. On that delegation were representatives of labor. They were not, I suppose, very radical, otherwise I doubt if they would have been on the delegation. They expressed unbounded surprise at the situation in America. "Why," they said, "we have heard that America is a paradise of prosperity. We have never been to a country where labor is so insecure. You have no protection against old age. You have no social insurance whatever." That is not merely a tragic incident. It gets into the very vitals of the labor movement.

Now, the business of organized labor is your business. It ought to be possible to organize your trade 100 per cent. If you are an island in the midst of a great sea of unorganized workers, there is no Chinese wall you can build around yourselves to protect your trade. The textile workers, for instance, remain so miserably paid that they are in a condition which is an affront and an insult to this so-called prosperous country. I ask you also to think of this. What shall it profit you to organize your industry if all the while capitalism marches on—marches on the road to empire, if all the while there is the danger that your sons and brothers and mine may be called somehow or another as into such miserable little wars as this affair in Nicaragua and later into those big wars that inevitably come out of little wars. We cannot save ourselves by organizing one industry and letting the world go on its own way.

I do not believe that out of the chaos and blank despair, out of the ruin of our civilization, out of the wholesale destruction that modern methods of war make possible—I do not believe that you will easily get some glorious utopia. Not at all. I believe that every victory for the workers is in a true sense a revolutionary gain, and I am asking you to help in this struggle by the political means as well as by the industrial means, because I want for your friends and mine, for your children and mine, peace and plenty and freedom, and we can get it if we fight intelligently and with a will and with courage. I am not going to talk about the Socialist Party. I am going to ask you to look at the world, to look at our means and our resources, and to look at the chance we have got to abolish poverty. I am asking you to look at the world with so much in it that is beautiful, with so much that may be fine, and then to see our bitter poverty, to see our four million or more unemployed, to see the insecurity of those grown aged in toll.

For the sake of your class, and for the sake of mankind, for the sake of the present and the future, we have to go on with new strength and vigor and wisdom into a labor party, into the

Socialist Party. Everything we win is to the good, and we shall build for ourselves a tool—an instrument to use in erecting that city of our dreams. We might not live to see it, but it lies in our vision. The struggle will be made easier for those who come after.

And so I am not ashamed to be introduced today at a union convention as the candidate of a political party. I am not ashamed because that political party is your tool, one of your tools, and it will stand or fall as men and women like you, with a mighty rush of hope and courage, press onward to win success. We will then end poverty; then will be the end of war, the coming of freedom. We can be free. Every fight we make will make us freer, and I wish you now the happiness of all who have struggled in an honorable cause. I wish for you the happiness of fighting men and women shoulder to shoulder with your comrades in your union and your party for the emancipation of the workers of the world. (Continued applause.)

Delegate Rieff: I move that this convention express its appreciation to the standard bearer of the Socialist Party. (Applause.)

President Sigman: I just want to tell you we are all very glad to have enrolled Comrade Thomas as honorary delegate to this convention by placing a badge on him, and in view of the fact that we know that Comrade Thomas is going to address the New Bedford strikers, I take the honor and privilege to delegate him also as a representative of this convention to bring our greetings to the textile strikers. (Applause.)

We will now settle down to some convention work. I will call on the Chairman of the Committee on Law to submit the minority report.

Minority Report of the Committee on Law on Resolutions Nos. 84, 90, 91 and 106

Delegate Ninfo:

Your Committee has received Resolutions Nos. 84, 90, 91 and 106. Introduced by the New York Joint Board and by Locals 2, 22 and 35 affiliated with the

New York Joint Board. Your Committee, however, has failed to reach a unanimous decision on these resolutions and has brought in a majority report recommending its rejection and a minority report for adoption.

Resolutions demanding that our general officers be elected by referendum vote have been introduced at previous conventions, held in 1914, 1922 and 1925. All these resolutions came from local unions. It is now the first time in the history of our International that such a resolution comes directly from the New York Joint Board. What is of greater importance, the resolutions introduced at the conventions of 1922 and 1924 were sponsored by Left Wing delegates at the behest of the Communist Party, while this time the referendum resolution is sponsored by the recently reorganized New York Joint Board at the popular demand of the membership of the large locals.

It is also the first time in the history of our Union that I, as first vice-president of the International and as chairman of the Committee on Law for several conventions past, feel obligated to submit a minority report contrary to the opinion of the present leadership of the International.

In submitting the minority report, we of the minority wish to state the reasons for favoring the adoption of the referendum resolution. We firmly believe that the present conditions in our Union call for a change in the form of electing our general officers by referendum vote. Within the past few years our Union has undergone several internal conflicts with the Communist element, and has passed through a long and desperate general strike which virtually resulted in defeat for the members. As a result of these struggles the structure of our Union has been shaken to its very foundation. The factional struggle with the Communists has sapped the vitality of our leadership, has divided our membership into hostile groups, has created a condition of disharmony in our Union and has almost completely undermined the morale of our members, and the sad result of the general strike has not only depleted our treasury but has imposed heavy

debts upon our Union—debts which have become a crushing burden. For the past year and one-half, since the Communist leaders were eliminated from our Union, desperate attempts have been made to reconstruct and to rebuild our Union, but so far with meager results.

Because of these conditions, I consider it my duty as a leader of my local union and as a leader of our International, well realizing the great danger our Union is facing, to submit to you our minority report.

For, with the Union demoralized, with the industrial conditions undermined, with tens of thousands of our members suffering and hoping for improvement, with the financial conditions ever becoming ever more critical, the thousands of members who have responded to the call of our International and registered are losing hope and daily becoming more and more passive. The thousands that have registered, hoping thereby to obtain some relief from their economic misery, have been dropping out of the Union. They are not only failing to meet their obligations as far as dues are concerned, but they are showing an ever greater indifference to their Union.

Under these conditions we feel firmly convinced, having the fate of the organization at heart, that some radical change must be made in order to imbue our members with confidence in the Union and to ameliorate to an extent this demoralizing situation.

In order to solidify our ranks, to coordinate our forces, to rebuild the morale and to regain the confidence of our members, an opportunity must be given to the wide membership to elect officers of their own desire and choice in whom they might have full confidence. Such an opportunity can only be made possible providing the present method of electing our general officers is substituted by the referendum vote.

We feel convinced that the present conditions in our Union are of such a character that unless the general officers of our International do enjoy the confidence and trust of the large membership and the cooperation of the

leadership of the various local unions, they will not be able to maintain the dignity and prestige befitting their offices, and they will, therefore, not be able to perform useful service.

Because of these reasons we feel at present impelled to recommend to this Convention that the resolution asking that the Constitution of our International be amended in order to provide for the election of general officers through a popular vote, should be accepted.

Respectfully submitted,
Salvatore Ninfo, Local 48,
Louis Goldstein, Local 9,
Max Cohen, Local 35.

Delegate Benj. Kaplan: Brother Ninfo has read in the minority report that the resolutions were introduced by several locals, including Local No. 2. I wish to state here that as far as the decision of our local is concerned, the Executive Board decided against it, and I want to go on record and state that Local No. 2 has not approved this recommendation.

Delegate Dubinsky: I would suggest that two hours be allotted to each side in support of both reports.

President Sigman: I would ask that you give me a list of the speakers that will represent either side, so that I may call on them in proper order.

Delegate Kirtzman: The chairman of the Committee on Law has made the remark that the resolution had been presented to the convention in the name of the Joint Board. I want to say that Local No. 9, which is also affiliated with the Joint Board, has rejected the resolution presented by the Joint Board, by a majority of 18 to 3.

Delegate Eglto: I also want to say that Local No. 89 never passed that resolution. We rejected it at our member meeting, so you cannot include Local 89 in favor of this resolution.

Delegate Harry Warden: I am for the adoption of the minority report that the officers be elected by the members for the reason that I believe this is the only measure whereby we can regain confidence of the members of our union, which is a very important thing at the

present time. We are interested in doing everything that we can do to regain that confidence and in that way to rebuild the Union, which is in a bad condition.

We cannot go back to our membership in New York and tell them that we have failed to show a vote of confidence in our officers. I tell you that the little confidence that we still have among our members will be entirely gone when they learn that the will of the majority of members is not to prevail in the election of our officers. I, therefore, urge upon you, delegates, in order to save the union, in order to give it a chance, to vote for this referendum.

Delegate Crivello spoke against the resolutions and in favor of the majority report of the Law Committee.

Delegate Miller (in Yiddish) I am for the referendum. We signed the resolution because we thought that we expressed the opinion of the majority of the membership. I tell you that the New York Joint Board is not a machine. We from New York represent the members' views on this measure. I have no selfish reason, because I am one of the rank and file that was referred to before, and when I talk here I can express the sentiments and earnestness of the members there, and when you give the opportunity to the general membership to express its wishes and elect its officers, I hope a new era and a new light will be seen in the labor movement, and, therefore, I tell you that we not only need a president and vice-presidents for our Union, we need a union which will take care of us daily in the shop, and at no time do we need a union more than we do at this time. These locals expressed their wishes that the General Executive Board, the President and the Secretary should be elected by a referendum vote of the members. (Applause.)

Delegate Katofsky: I arise at this time to speak against the referendum, not because that I do not believe in the democratic expression of the great mass but I sincerely believe and I am convinced of the fact that this proposal is not democratic. I believe that the intro-

duction of this resolution is a menace and a scheme devised to serve a certain purpose today, disregarding what effect this will have upon the membership in general at some later day, and I say it again, that I would have more sympathy with a resolution of this kind if it were introduced by men who have always advocated this form of election than by the sponsors of the resolution at this time. (Applause.)

I want to answer Delegate Miller of Local No. 2. If the question of the referendum would actually solidify the members of the Union, God in heaven, delegates of Local No. 2, you have the referendum, you have this expression of electing officers by the democratic form in your own local,—where is your solidarity in Local No. 2?

I expected the sponsors of this resolution to come here and state that they want a change in the form of election that would place people in office who would represent a certain program to meet the present industrial problems. Nothing has been said about that, but they have told us that this form of election will solve all the problems of the New York cloakmakers. They can tell that to somebody else; they can tell it to passive members of the Union, to those who are not in the midst of things as I am, but I desire to tell you that no matter what form of election you will decide upon, you cannot solve those problems by election.

I speak in the name of all delegates from Cleveland, and as far as they are concerned, they are not ready yet to turn over to you the election of our general officers. We are entitled, and I think it is the opinion of all the other cities,—Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago,—to have a say in the matter of electing the general officers. (Applause.)

President Sigman: I want to introduce one who has been for many years past associated with us most intimately in meeting our problems and needs. He has helped us in an advisory capacity; he has helped us in a legal capacity, and, heaven knows, there was much to be done in both fields. I consider it a real privilege to present to you our legal and

spiritual advisor, Morris Hillquit. (Applause.)

Morris Hillquit: Mr. chairman and delegates to this convention. As I look over this convention, it reminds me very forcibly of the last time I had the pleasure of addressing your convention in Boston four years ago, and the contrast between the situations that confronted both conventions comes to my mind. Four years ago the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was at the height of its triumph and vigor. The convention was joyous and full of buoyant hope, full of confidence in the future. It had a large portion of your great and variegated interests organized. It operated under collective agreements in the largest centers of the country. It had a well-filled treasury. It had a seemingly efficient organization, and your two weeks' gathering was at the time a festival from first to the last. And yet, as it appeared subsequently, even then the germs of disunion and discord—the germs of disease—were already in your body, and they spread. They spread right after the adjournment of the convention with destructive rapidity.

I recall another convention, the emergency convention called in Philadelphia in December, 1925, and if ever there was a sad, tragic page in the history of the labor movement, it was that Philadelphia convention, when your officers and your organization were practically compelled to surrender to that virulent disease in the labor movement called the "left-wing," or Communism—.

We returned home from that convention—those of us who came from New York—full of sad forebodings, and these forebodings did not wait long to materialize. The strike of 1926 ensued. And as Brother Sigman has told you, I had in some way been a participant in that strike. I recall the many, many anxious hours when, together with Sigman and others of your leaders, we were talking over the situation, watching the tragic drift of it and finding ourselves absolutely helpless to stop it. I have never had an opportunity to express my opinion of my experiences in that strike, but I will say to you that if there ever was a de-

liberate crime committed on a large body of working men and working women, an orgy of waste and destruction, it was that strike. You all know the facts, but it does not hurt on this occasion to go over the high spots of it.

About three years before your officers had elaborated a certain program, which was to affect the cloak industry in the city of New York, and to relieve, if not cure, some of its worst evils. The program contemplated greater control of the working forces, greater and more comprehensive unionization of the shops, greater responsibility of that new element that had arisen in the industry to ruin working conditions—the jobber and the sub-manufacturer—greater security of employment for the worker, better wages, shorter hours and a system of unemployment insurance, which in this seasonal industry is so vitally necessary. We struggled a long time in formulating this program and we succeeded finally, and after great difficulties, in having a Governor's Commission appointed with authority to make recommendations. We appeared before that Commission. We sat with them for days and days. We had conferences besides, between such sessions almost uninterruptedly, and we made headway step by step. There was one decision, which gave us a modest part of our demands, and there was another, and there was a third and the final one, and this final decision, while it was by no means enough to come up to our expectations, while it did not grant 100 per cent of our demands, represented a very substantial concession to the workers and laid the basis and foundation for further negotiation. It was an acquisition and a very substantial one, but just before that time, the so-called "left wing" administration had come into power in the New York Joint Board, and I want to say to you here and now publicly, that I was not at the outset altogether unsympathetic to this new regime. I knew that the Union administration before had become a little lax, a little over-confident, a little neglectful of its duties—a little old, if you want, and I thought that through this new element—extreme as its political views might be—your organization might, at least, acquire the enthusiasm, the en-

ergy, the spirit of self-sacrifice which had characterized it in its early years. I watched them with a certain degree, if not of sympathy, at least of benevolent neutrality. I had occasion to watch them and I want to say without political bias that if there ever was a group of people that proved themselves more devoid of a sense of responsibility, that proved themselves more reckless, and at the same time more madly incompetent than this group, I haven't seen any such body of men inside or outside the labor movement at any time. (Applause.)

We started out before the decision was rendered by the Governor's Commission, and I told these men, the new leaders: "We may have a chance to talk it over with the members of the commission. I know that the majority of its members are friendly to us. Is there anything that we can get short of 100% which will avert a strike? You know a strike at this time would be a very risky proposition considering the condition of your finances, considering the state of your organization." And they said: "No, we must have a strike, regardless of any decision, whatever the decision might be." I asked them again: "Tell me frankly, is that a political move or an economic move?" They were frank enough to tell me that it was a political move, "We are expected to carry on warfare and not to make compromises with employers." And then the strike came on. Absolutely criminal in itself, it was conducted from the very first day in a way which sealed its doom. They had defied public opinion. They had defied the opinion of the labor movement, of their national officers, and, to make things worse, when they had, at least, a chance of getting public sympathy by permitting the jobbers to be the first to reject the Governor's commission, they would not do even that. In a haste they publicly rejected the recommendations before the jobbers had a chance to read them. And then the strike was declared, and about three men conducted the strike from the first day to the last; three men without any experience; three men without vision, three men without any care of the welfare of their constituents, three men who at all times considered themselves as the whole

situation. Months passed, and I asked them finally: "Tell me, are you doing anything to settle the strike? What are you doing about the strike?" They said, "Why, we are striking." "Well, you are striking, that is well enough, but are you making any moves of any kind to bring about a settlement? You cannot be striking forever. It is not the business of the cloak makers to strike. That is not their way of earning a living." And they said, "We will strike until the bosses surrender," and they struck and struck in this way. They made individual contracts and never took the slightest step to enforce them. They saw non-union shops springing up all over the city. They saw the entire industry turning non-union, turning scab. They did not do a thing about it. They continued striking until they could continue no longer, and then they surrendered on any terms the employers were willing to offer, and even then they would not have settled, if your national officers had not taken things into their own hands and tried to bring some order into the situation.

The Union then came back to the present administration. The Union came back to its legitimate management, but in what form? If a hurricane had passed over it it could not have left a greater destruction. When the Belgians returned from the battlefields to their ruined country, I imagine, they could not have found more complete ruin than your national officers found after taking over the affairs of the Union. Everything that was gained in fifteen years of struggle was practically lost. Everything that had been gained from the Governor's Commission was lost. The unemployment insurance, such an important measure of assistance, was gone. There was no Union to keep it up. Above all, the membership was gone. Scores, hundreds of scab shops all over the city with no one to check their growth. All the money the Union ever had was spent. Sacred trust deposits amounting to about three-quarters of a million dollars and belonging to the employers, were spent. The Union was left in debt for about \$2,000,000, and how that money was spent! You talk about

union graft, you talk about union corruption! Let those "left-wingers" get at the till, and they could give any old-style corrupt union leader cards and spades as to how to squander money!

Now, my friends, we have been busy in the task of rebuilding the Union. It is very much easier to destroy than to rebuild. It takes but a short time to destroy the greatest, the most magnificent thing. It takes years and years of patient labor to rebuild, and you are in this position today. You have the Union again in your hands, but, my friends, you have but a half empty shell to make the Union the effective weapon in the struggles of the workers in the industry. You will have to rebuild it from the bottom up. You will have to replenish your treasury. You can't expect your officers to do any work while they have to struggle daily with accumulated debts which take all of the attention and all of the time they have. You will have to rebuild your membership. We are not here to utter boasts. We know your membership has been cut almost in half. You have to get back that membership. You have to do more than that. You will have to increase your membership beyond the point at which it stood, and you will have to start out regaining your economic advantages step by step, fighting every inch of the ground, and you will not be able to do that until such time as your own strength, your solidarity will impress employers with the might of your organization. And that, my friends, it seems to me, comes to the point I had in mind.

I am, after all, not an outsider to you. I am not here to make general inspirational speeches. You have heard plenty of that. I consider myself one of you, and I consider it an act of poor grace on my part to evade the issue which is in all of your minds, and in mine as well. I know you are engaged in a certain fight now among yourselves. I know what these theoretical speeches about the referendum mean. I know what is behind them, and I know you also have to face an election, and I know what is behind that, and I want to talk to you about that frankly, as you have a right to expect it.

I know both leading candidates for the principal office in the Union, and I know the fight for the one and the other. I have known both of them many, many years. In the heat of discussion, in the heat of the campaign charges and counter-charges will be made by you. Let me, as an outsider, testify that I have hardly known two men in the labor movement for each of whom I had greater respect and more intimate personal friendship. I know they have some faults—both of them. You probably know the story of the New England farmer who was sitting down with his wife and was discussing philosophy generally, saying: "You know, the whole world really is more or less crazy except thee and me, and thee art a little queer also." And this is also the case with us. The whole world, as it is, is more or less crazy except you and I, and as to you, I wouldn't vouch for it either.

There is, however, one thing that I want to impress upon you, my friends, and it is this: Have your contentions as much as you want. Discuss referenda and make your appeals in support of one contention or another, but when you are through, when you have passed your resolutions, leave this convention hall as one man to start anew. (Applause.) Don't be carried away by bitterness! I will tell you that the moment you have a real job on your hands, the moment you have a real fight on your hands, there should be no such personal division as confronts you today!

I think the episode in my professional career which is most deeply engraved in my memory, in my consciousness, is the court fight in which the lives of seven men, young men, noble characters, were at stake. The days and days that we worked in preparation for the trial, in 1915, knowing that these comrades of ours were the victims of a dastardly plot concocted by two of the worst employers,—there we were battling not knowing what perjured testimony they would bring forth, and there were our men facing the alternative of life and death day after day, not even knowing exactly what the charges against them were, but knowing that their lives were at stake! And my daily, or almost daily,

visits to prison and my conferences with Brother Sigman, my daily conferences with Schlesinger at my office in an effort to help and to save these men—I tell you, my friends, that convinced me that when a crisis comes, all of you work for the same cause.

There are about 250,000 workers in your industries, organized and unorganized, who are looking to you at this time. You are their chosen leaders. You have the responsibility for their welfare. The Union may have its ups and downs, management and leadership may come and go, but after all the industry continues. Cloaks and skirts and waists and corsets and what not will continue to be made, and the labor of human beings will be required for it, and there will remain that struggle, that eternal, perennial struggle between the workers creating all these commodities and having the natural desire to live, and the employers having the one desire to convert this flesh and blood into cold dollars and cash.

There is one other point. We speak of the devastating effects of the left-wing leadership, which fortunately lasted but a short time. It was ravishing; it was like a disease. But how did it come to grow? You know that a disease does not usually develop in a healthy body. If a disease spreads within such a short time to such tremendous proportions, the body in which it operates is not sound. Let us try to see what was wrong with our body at that time, and tell you what it was. It was the "too-much prosperity" the heritage from the years when your Union had gone from one victory to another with little fight, with little exertion. In the years of prosperity that followed the war, in the years of general spiritual indifference that had taken hold of the whole country and of all movements, your Union—and yours was not the only one—had become lax in its leadership—had lost part of the idealism which created it and under which it has grown up. The Union began to conduct itself too much as a business enterprise. There was not enough soul in it, and your membership particularly cannot be kept together on a dry business basis. Your membership particu-

larly must feel that the struggle which the Union is waging is a little more than the immediate bread-and-butter struggle. Your membership has emotions, has a soul that should not be neglected any more than your body.

My friends, when you go back to your organization, when you go back to reconquer your positions, bear in mind that you are not merely an organization for the purpose of securing a little better wages, a little shorter hours, but that you are part of the whole great labor movement of the country and of the world, which has on its shoulders the task of building a new world, a better world, a nobler world, a world to which all of us in various fields aspire. Bear in mind, my friends, that yours is a part of the greatest, most idealistic movement ever known in human history. When you bury the hatchet as to little personal differences, when you have in mind the interests of the quarter of a million people whom you represent, and when you have in mind particularly the great goal of the movement of which you are a part, then I say you will have accomplished something worth while at this convention. (Applause.)

Delegate Friend: I move that this convention extend its hearty appreciation to Comrade Hillquit for the work he has done for the International Union, and also that his speech be incorporated in the minutes of the convention.

(The motion was unanimously carried.)

At 12:40 P. M. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2 P. M.

Seventh Day—Afternoon Session

Monday, May 14, 1928.

The session was called to order by President Morris Sigman at 2:30 P. M.

The discussion on the referendum resolutions was resumed.

Delegate Dashkoff: I come from the local which is the sponsor of this resolution, and we are desirous that this convention should approve this resolution for a referendum. The question of the referendum is not a new one in the International. On the other hand, the question is a very old one. This question

has been brought up at our conventions for the past sixteen or seventeen years. I say to you that if you will vote for a referendum, it will cause the elimination of many of the serious problems that now confront our Union, and will bring us to a new light and to a new order of things. While up to this time there may have been reasons for holding elections in the old way, at this time we must have a referendum.

If you don't do this, our organization will suffer. That is the thought of the workers in the shops, and I know what the true sentiment is because I am right there, and I think that we, the members, should have the right to say who shall be our officers and who shall have the right to control our destinies in the future; if you give us the referendum, we will have a strong and powerful organization. (Applause.)

Delegate Otto: I am against the referendum. I am somewhat in a better position than some of the others of the country delegates that may speak to you, as I am from Philadelphia, in close proximity to New York for one thing, and for the other thing, I think that I am almost a New Yorker, and, therefore, can speak for that city as well as for the country delegates.

I want to tell you that on this question of referendum the law committee was 100 per cent impartial, even more partial to those who favored the referendum than to those who were against it.

Brothers Bloom and Breslaw and Ashbos were the outstanding spokesmen for the referendum and were given every opportunity by the Committee on Law. Brother Bloom said that the main thing was not democracy, but the will and preference of the members. In my opinion, this resolution was introduced not to help or to satisfy the masses of our workers. The question of a referendum is here because some individuals hope that through the strength of their group they will be able to carry out their object and do what they set out to do.

The point of view of the Law Committee—and this by the way includes the view of the country delegates—is that the parent body, the International did

not come into existence before some of the other markets were organized. Had there been no necessity to organize any market outside of New York, there would be nothing like the International. The need for a national body came after some of the country markets were organized. There was a demand for equal expression and an equal voice in one body. We created the most democratic form of government in that body, known to us as the International, composed of each and every market, regardless of how big or how small it was.

Just imagine, if we adopt this resolution, what the result would be a few years hence? For, as President Sigman said to you before, the cloak and suit industry is of such a nature, that while 90 per cent of garments are being made in New York today, tomorrow New York may only make 40 per cent of it. Furthermore, let me tell this to the staunch defenders of the resolution, not to those that have spoken thus far, but to the big guns that are to follow. It seems to me that within my own heart and soul they are hoping and praying that we are strong enough to reject this resolution of theirs. (Applause.)

As a country delegate I wish to conclude by saying that I am not only against this measure of so-called democracy for the present time, but also for the future, as I consider it a measure that would enable any two or three large locals to run the whole Union. We want at least one body where we should be able to have equal representation. (Applause.)

Delegate Perlmutter: I want to state at the outset that we did not come here for the purpose of winning an argument, or for indulging in empty phrases. I am not going to pose as a great democrat and lecture to you in general on the benefits of the referendum. I come here as a New Yorker, as one who holds an important position, a district manager of the New York Joint Board, representing about 650 shops in which over two-thirds of the workers in New York are employed, and I think I have a right to stand here and talk to you for the referendum.

I will also let you in on a secret, and that is that from the very first day that we came to Boston, the only important thing that was being discussed was the question of the referendum. (Applause.)

I say that the resolutions that have already been adopted,—the one about levying a tax in the city of New York in order to rebuild the organization is important; the proposition of granting a charter to a reefer local is important; but I say to you here that these resolutions that you adopted and are going to adopt in reference to all these matters, will mean a mere nothing if you do not solve this proposition of the referendum in a sober and sane way. (Applause.)

You are not going to solve this proposition by cracking jokes. I do not want to reflect upon the ability or the intelligence of Brother Katovsky. He made a very good impression upon me, but when he thinks that he can solve this problem by cracking a joke at the expense of Local No. 2, that there is no solidarity in there, in spite of the fact that there is a referendum, I tell him he is mistaken, because if he had known the history of Local No. 2, he would have felt differently.

I am convinced that no matter what kind of schemes you are going to propose; no matter what kind of resolutions you are going to adopt, unless we have the means by which we can gain the confidence of our workers, I want to tell you right now, we will not be able to do a thing. I am very much surprised when I hear you say that the committee was absolutely impartial. There were 18 votes against the referendum from the very first moment you started to discuss this issue and there were 18 votes when you finished it; do you call that impartiality?

We cannot leave this convention and we must not leave this convention a divided convention. (Applause.) We must have one solid front when we go back to our respective locals. I do not want any one to get the impression that this is a scheme on the part of someone to oust some general officers. This is not our scheme, and you have no right to challenge the sincerity of our locals.

And I say to you, when you come here

and challenge our motives and our sincerity, that you are wrong and are assuming the wrong attitude. The people that advocate the referendum are the people that have the confidence of the workers of New York and are the very people who have sacrificed their lives and health in the fight against Communism. (Applause.)

Brother Kurtzman insinuated that four locals voted against the referendum. That is incorrect. The Joint Board of New York by a vote of 34 against 13, including 5 or 6 members of Local No. 89, voted for it, so that there could be no four locals. Furthermore, Local No. 2 is not against the referendum. The very fact that out of its delegates seven are in favor of the referendum shows that the membership is for the referendum. I say this to you: The most active members that you need in order to keep up your organization are for the referendum. The most loyal members want a referendum. If you want to get their confidence, if you want to get the leadership to maintain an efficient organization, then we should have the referendum.

I have the greatest respect for all the members of the present General Executive Board. I have high admiration for all those that stood with us in the fight against our common enemy, but I say that the time is ripe to go through with a referendum so that we can come back to the cloak makers and say that we have a representative organization, and the only way to do that is by a referendum. (Applause.)

Delegate Antonini: I am very glad that Brother Perlmutter improved the atmosphere of this convention that looked so tragic since this morning. I want to keep up such a spirit.

At the beginning I want to dispute the fact that the people of New York want a referendum. The people of New York want shops. The people of New York want conditions in the shops.

Just three or four months ago we went through with a referendum. It was a referendum for proportional representation, and we carried that referendum at that time, and now, three months later,

a new referendum is before us. We had no idea of this new referendum. The fact is that every one of you knows it is a referendum-trick; people who want to go through the door should not use a window for an exit.

I will say that the speech of Cahane was the best speech of the convention. It is very painful when some people tell the truth. At all of our conventions we have become accustomed to put on a little camouflage. We have to add some sugar in order that the taste would be sweet in the mouth, and when you tell the truth naturally some people jump up. If the leaders of our International want a referendum legally they have no right to enact such a law here. You have to ask the members first if they want a referendum. I will give you a way out of this entire situation, ask the members if they want a referendum for the election of the general officers. To me this scheme is simply throwing something in the eyes of the people to blind them.

History is repeating itself at the present time. The "lefts" are now out of it. Now this referendum trick is coming up in order to split our ranks, and I call upon you at this time to look the matter in the face in order to guide your future because after all I want to tell you, friends, if you do not care for the Union—the Union is in my heart—if you do not care for the Union, and if you make the Union weak, the Union will be weak in your hands just as well as in our hands. If you have the referendum it will be the same thing. If you want the ruin of this Union at this time, the responsibility will be yours.

I want to picture something to you. You can be swayed by a nice word, by a nice excuse, by nice camouflage. Every one of you likes to go into a nice restaurant and have a good meal. You know that. And when you go into such a restaurant you find there a proprietor, you find there a waiter, you find there a cook, you find there a cashier. This restaurant they want to bring you in at this present time they claim is a restaurant of "democracy." The proprietor, the director of that restaurant is a man called Dubinsky. You come in and find there

Cashier Spielman, and you go further and you see Walter Ninfo, but the Cook is in the back and it is Breslaw. And the waiter, the Chairman of the Law Committee, is bringing to you on a silver platter the cake of the referendum trick, and you will want to eat some. It has poison inside. Watch yourself, because if you eat it, you will die. (Applause.)

Delegate Sorkin: It is needless for me to come here and repeat again the situation that exists in New York at the present time. I know you are all acquainted with it. You have read about it. The report of our General Executive Board pictures it correctly and fully.

People come here and speak about the referendum. They say it is not a good referendum because it comes from Breslaw. It is not good because it was voted down at the previous convention. I say, what of it? If, assuming that a good many of us voted at the previous convention against that referendum, if, assuming that some of the people were not in agreement with it before, is that a reason why we should not discuss the merits of the referendum at present?

We want to go on and rebuild this organization. We want to go back and tell the members of our Union in New York that this convention wants them to participate in the work of their Union. I know that the people who come from New York appreciate that I am not a politician, and certainly I have no grudges against any of our officers. On the contrary, I have the fullest confidence in and respect for our officers. When I was called upon to do my duty I think I did my duty.

When I come here and speak for the referendum, I have in mind simply this: I have in mind the workers of New York, who I believe, want this referendum. Don't forget that the New York Joint Board, which represents a big majority of the members of New York, almost unanimously voted for the referendum. The local that I come from, No. 9, with a membership of 6,000 members, sent a majority of delegates who favor the referendum.

We know that the brothers and sisters who are against a referendum have a majority of votes. At least, please, don't

discuss it in the way it has been discussed. Do not discuss it in the manner of Brother Antonini and some of the others who talked to you. Don't come and tell us that we are not democrats enough. Don't tell us that story.

We come here and we ask you in the name of those members whom we think we do represent, to vote for this measure, if you really think that you want to help us build up the Union. Naturally, I do not know whether I will impress you much with my speech. I am not much of a speaker, but when I speak on this platform for the referendum I speak with all the sincerity in me. Now is the time when we want every loyal unionist to come into the fold of the organization. We want them to come and vote for their officers, and no matter who is elected will get the confidence of the entire membership.

Delegate Breslaw: I am not accepting any challenges, nor do I throw any challenges, fellow delegates. I appreciate my importance at this convention. I knew that I was to be made the center of attack at this convention. I knew that officially and unofficially Breslaw is the point of the referendum. I was made the cook and the baker and everything else. There are many delegates with whom when you speak privately will admit that the referendum is O. K. Your arguments are O. K., they tell you, but Breslaw is the one that wants it and that is the reason why we can't accept it. Well, I will say I have some standing here in this International Union. I was a member of the General Executive Board for quite a few years. I was the manager of my local, No. 35, which had been also, through me, the center of attack.

Even the President of this International Union, of whom I am supposed to be a very strong opponent, was the one who invited me to come back to the Union. The Secretary-Treasurer wanted me to come back too. And when I had my talk with the President, I told him that I will never come back to this Union so long as the members of my local would not express the willingness to have me back in the Union.

All those who know the situation of the Joint Board, all those who are trying to rebuild the Union, knew that, although I disagreed with the policies of the general officers of the Union, wherever we were called upon we were given the hardest task to perform in this Union. Where were you then? Did you ever come around? Yes, at conventions. You talked very sweet and you talk wonderfully when it comes to attacking a person, but when it comes to work of the Union, where do we ever see you? In our conferences? At a time when there is a financial crisis in the Joint Board, and at a time when we need your help? You always avoided the issue.

We did not come here to look for any bargains. We came here to express an opinion, how this Union should be managed.

On the referendum question I want to say this. You claim that we came here to play the part of big democrats. I do not pretend to be that and I do not claim that I am a democrat. With me democracy is not a dogma. I will not fall for it. I think that at times it serves a good purpose for the Union and at such a time you have to make good use of it.

I discuss the resolution not from the point of view of democracy, but I discuss the referendum from the industrial point of view of our industry. We have many things to discuss here, and I think that we should come to the climax now. If we succeed in that, we will succeed in everything. So I say to you, don't look at the referendum from the point of view of Breslaw, or from the point of view of Sigman, look at it from the union point of view, and I am positive that you are interested in the rebuilding of the Union in New York which plays a big part in our International in general, and it will have its effect not only on New York but everywhere, and you have got to vote for that referendum.

Delegate Bialis: The introducers of this resolution came to this convention to tell us that only through a referendum could we realize democracy and again unite and mobilize the forces necessary to bring about peace and unity.

The Chicago delegation will vote against this referendum, not because we

do not want unity, not because we do not believe in democracy, but because we do not believe in autocracy. That's why we are going to vote against this referendum. We believe in democracy, and we also believe that if this resolution is adopted the country delegates will receive autocracy and not democracy. (Applause.)

We do not want to have one or two locals in the City of New York shape our policies; we do not want them to select our International officers and to present them to us on the plate, ready cooked and prepared. We are not step-children here, and we believe that their scheme is not democracy. As far as uniting the forces is concerned, I am not willing to believe that only through a referendum will you unify and solidify the forces.

We, of Chicago, feel that this entire matter of referendum was created by the leaders of some locals and not by the members themselves, and that is why we feel that the referendum will not unify the forces, and we feel that those who have created this issue, if they would actually combine and unite, that they could bring about peace and harmony. (Applause.)

We need a union. We want a union. Why don't you forget your politics that you are playing here on the question of referendum, and all work for the unity of the organization? (Applause.)

As to giving consideration to those brothers and sisters that have been on the picket line of New York who are supposed to be for the referendum, what about those in Chicago, who have bled and suffered there, who are against the referendum, are they not entitled to some consideration for their work?

Chicago is against the referendum for the reason that it believes that this issue was brought in for no good purpose, and Chicago is against it with no politics in view, but just because it believes that it will do no good to the entire organization, and that this is not the proper time for such an issue. Go back to your local organizations and bring to them peace and unification, so that the next convention will find us with a good and solidified union. (Applause.)

Delegate Nagler: Off hand I want to state that I am speaking for the minority

report, for the simple reason that this referendum means the life of our International Union, so far as we delegates who come from New York are concerned.

We come to you and place our case before you. I have no doubt that when we get through with these speeches and the roll call is taken, that the referendum is going to be defeated, not that it pleases me to say that. Yet if I were the only delegate on this floor to vote for it, I would do so with the firm conviction that the referendum is the life of our organization at this time.

You are attempting here to bring in other resolutions, too, and I suppose that they will be passed, because they have our consent, because we understand that they are needed very much, such as the tax resolution, so that some of the debts of our International may be cleared up. Merely introducing resolutions at the convention, though, is not enough. Every local and every center in the United States will have to give its support to the work of rehabilitation, but the city of New York will have to meet eighty per cent of this obligation for the tax. Don't you think that in order to gain those 80 per cent from the city of New York we must have their good will and confidence? We don't come to you here and say that you must swallow something that you cannot digest. We see our duty clear at this time. We say that the morale of the workers in that great center of our industry—New York—is about to go down to destruction, and we, representing here the 80 per cent of our International Union, say that no union can exist with 20 per cent out of 100. We say to you that we need your co-operation, your good will. We need the good will of the towns outside of New York City, but we want you to understand us.

Up to this time we have not heard one good reason why the referendum should not be adopted. It seems to me that no matter from whom a good suggestion may come—may it come even from the devil, if you are convinced that it is good, take it and argue the question out on its merits. Everything that you have set forth until now showed merely that you fear the referendum.

Delegate Julius Hochman: The previous speakers have announced the places they come from; so I will also tell you that I come from New York.

There are a few things that the Communists left with us, and among these are stereotyped resolutions, expressing the sudden, unanimous desire of the people for certain changes and certain rules. We have brothers here that will tell you that we cannot have a strong Union unless we have a Local 17; they want a Local 17, and that is therefore, their only way to "save the Union." Other delegates will tell you that the only way to "save the Union" in New York is to make peace with the Communists. Now everyone speaking for the referendum tries to impress us that it and it only can "save the Union."

I am not so naïve as to believe that everyone really believes it. Permit me to tell you that a referendum is not necessarily democracy. There are great democracies which do not elect their chief officers by referendum, and that in the trade union movement there are great unions where referendum votes are practically unknown. The American Federation of Labor does not elect its officers by referendum. More than two-thirds of the outstanding unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. do not have any referenda. And many Internationals which tried a referendum were later disappointed and disgusted with its operation and they are changing it as fast as they can. I have here with me a list of the Internationals in the A. F. of L. which have referenda, and a list of Internationals that do not have a referendum; 58 have no referenda, and only 35 out of the 93 Internationals that I communicated with practice referenda. Amongst those that do not have the referendum, I find some of the most outstanding unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.

I want to tell you that in the year 1912 there was a resolution introduced for a referendum in the A. F. of L. President Gompers personally opposed at that time the referendum. The Cigarmakers' Union is one of the oldest Internationals in the A. F. of L. This organization had a referendum for thirty-five years, until final-

ly last year they gave up the referendum after submitting this question to the membership, and the membership decided against it. (Applause.) The Cigar Makers' Journal of September, 1927, has presented the argument against it as follows:

"Your committee finds that the referendum is not a true expression of or by the membership at large. Only about twenty per cent exercise the right and privilege to participate in matters or questions of vital importance, sent to the so-called popular vote unless there is a fine attached for failure to do so.

"In substituting the representative form of government for the complex, unworkable and cumbersome referendum we shall substitute the most approved and up-to-date form of democracy. Capital is well organized, skillfully handled and acts quickly. Labor to be successful must change its laws that will bring about stability and security in the transaction and the doing of things that have to be done in this evolutionary and progressive age. In conventions we have delegates, elected by the membership at large, it is fair to presume and we believe it is true that in the great majority of cases that we select those who are best qualified to judge conditions confronting the industries. These admittedly best informed chosen representatives are in a better position to exchange ideas, to understand and grasp the great questions with which labor is confronted. The membership at large has no chance and no opportunity for a discussion and understanding of these great questions between members who are scattered to the limits of our country, Canada, and other possessions. This is no reflection upon the membership at large. It is a plain statement of facts which seem to be indisputable."

Also the International Association of Machinists. They, too had the referendum. They still have it. But I have here a letter from the editor of their journal, which reads as follows:

Dear Sir and Brother:

Yesterday I sent you three marked copies of the "Machinists' Monthly Journal," containing articles on the Referendum as it has affected the International Association of Machinists.

We first adopted the Referendum as a means of electing officers in 1905. Our twenty-three years' experience with it has been anything but satisfactory. Indeed, in several elections it has been the cause of controversy to such an extent that not only was the morale of the organization lowered, but in some localities the bitterness engendered was so great that a number of our local lodges were almost disrupted.

Our experience with the Referendum has been so unsatisfactory that some of the lead-

ing spirits in our Organization intend advocating change to the convention system of electing officers, and resolutions to this end will undoubtedly be presented for the consideration of our next convention, which meets in Atlanta, Georgia, next September.

I regret that I am unable to comply with your request to send you copies of the circulars distributed by the various factions in our last presidential election, which, by the way, were most temperate when compared with those distributed during the Anderson-Johnston contest in 1925.

It is my understanding that very few international labor organizations now use the Referendum to elect officers. Certainly, after the experience the International Association of Machinists has had with this method of election the undersigned would, under no circumstances, recommend another organization's adopting it.

As you will note in the editorials contained in the marked copies of Journals sent you we have rarely ever succeeded in getting out a fifty per cent vote in any election. Sometimes the vote has been as low as twenty-five per cent of our membership, which, of course, is far from being a representative vote.

It is difficult to eliminate politics from any organization, but I am firmly convinced that it is for the best interests of all concerned to elect officers at conventions. Sentiment for different candidates can, of course, be worked up prior to convention, but the whole matter is settled in a short time when the convention method is used, whereas under the Referendum mode of electing officers several months elapse from the time nominations are made until the successful candidates are declared elected.

I sincerely trust that the information contained in the Journals sent you, together with that contained in this letter, will be helpful to you and your associates when this matter comes up for consideration at your convention, which you state starts the week of May 7. May I take this opportunity to express the sincere wish that your convention will be harmonious, constructive and most beneficial for your organization as a whole.

With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

FRED. HEWITT.

From which you will see that they are considering the changing of their referendum. I think that this will show you that the question of referendum is nothing new in our International. It is an old, old issue and in 1914 we had a resolution introduced to that convention on the referendum, and the minutes read as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 100

Amendment.

Article IV, Section 11:

Strike out the word "elected" after the words "shall be" and insert the word "nominated."

Strike out the word "ballot by" and insert the word "referendum."

M. SHUR, Local 14.

Vice-President Kleinman: The committee recommends the following: That this convention go on record favoring the election and recall of officers by referendum. In view of the fact that the adoption of this recommendation requires careful study, the preparation of a set of rules and by-laws governing said election, and a reconstruction of a large part of the constitution, we, your committee, recommend that the Incoming General Executive Board work out a set of rules and by-laws governing the election and recall of officers by referendum, and submit such rules and by-laws to the next convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

They tell you, those that favor the referendum, that the building up of the New York Union depends on the passing of the referendum. I, too am a member of the N. Y. Joint Board, and I say so you here, that it has nothing to do with the International. I say that the building up of the New York Union is the job of the Joint Board, and in that I, too, share the responsibility. (Applause.)

I want to say this, we have a constitution; we have laws; we have a form of government, and as long as leaders are elected under our constitution and form of government, everybody must obey, whether it is a referendum or not, and the one who does not is not a union man. (Applause.)

I am just as anxious for peace as any one else in this convention, and I say that to have peace you must endorse the leaders who have taken us successfully through the last fight. There is room for everyone in our Union. Not all of us can be presidents, or officers. Let us get down to business. (Applause.)

Remember that legislation is easily adopted, but it is very hard, often dangerous and injurious to carry out. Take for instance the 18th Amendment, think only how hard it is to get rid of it. Let us not foolishly jump into legislation that has been found wanting and destructive in every other International. Only through the convention method can you have a unified administration. Here

at this convention we come together, here we can get into caucus, and here we can straighten matters out, and only through that method may we know that the man who is elected from this floor is the unified candidate. (Applause.)

Delegate David Dubinsky: You have reached the climax of the convention, in my opinion, when you concentrate upon the issue of referendum, call it "referendum-trick" or whatever else you may choose to call it. The sincerity of this proposition has been questioned, and also the sincerity of those proposing it. It is not how I say it, but it is what I say. You cannot come into my heart and I cannot enter your heart. You have got to take it upon its face value. We realize that much feeling and much bitterness is centered around this resolution, but we must put our feelings aside and face the concrete facts.

I feel ashamed of the majority report. I had more respect for them. I thought that members with the intellectual capacity that they have would bring in a more intelligent report. They doubt whether discontent among the members really exists. They tell you that the members are very little interested in the question of referendum or in any other question.

We are all interested in getting down to the task of rebuilding the Union, in order to unify our forces and to go back with a united leadership. To that they say: "If you want to get this united front, we recommend the rejection of these resolutions." That is the biggest joke I have ever heard. I do not know who wrote this opinion, but I have very little respect for the intelligence responsible for that. When the one that wrote it dares to say that the rejection of this resolution would solidify the ranks; that the rejection of this resolution would enable us to get the required co-operation and results in the building up of the Union, I am entitled to doubt the common sense of its signers.

What does the minority report present? It presents to you not any one particular individual. It represents the actual prevailing conditions in New York. The economic, industrial conditions are demoralized. It is true, this is due to the

strike. It is true it is due to the fight we had to wage against the Communists. But the number of scab shops has increased greatly. Wages, even minimum scales, are being lowered and have been ignored day in and day out. Legal holidays have been eliminated. Even the associations cannot force their members to comply with their decisions, and the morale of the membership is at the lowest ebb. They have no confidence in the ability of the present administration to rebuild the Union.

I say to you frankly I admire the ability of Breslaw. I know that he is a good man and we need good men, but with all his ability I will tell you it would have been much easier for him to force the workers of New York to work on Saturdays than not to work on Saturdays. That is the condition.

Now, about the one-day wage tax. In normal times such a tax would bring in a quarter of a million dollars, but our last one resulted in only \$46,000. I started a drive for dues. I came to President Sigman and I told him that I saw the collapse of the Union and that I could not see how it would survive a month. We must do something, I told him and I proposed that I leave my local and go into the Joint Board and start a drive for dues. I met with some success. We collected some money, though very little. The morale of the membership is demoralized in a way that only few could imagine. Even in my local, our strongest organization, the finances of the Union have been considerably weakened. Once upon a time when we needed money we used to go to Philadelphia. I made an appeal to them, and they gave us some money, more than once, and then we went to other markets. We went to the "Forward" and to other labor organizations to get money, but you know it has been far from enough to keep going until now. We were fortunate. There was an unemployment insurance fund with \$400,000, and nine months ago we borrowed part of the money there. Six months again we also took money from it, and three months later we found some additional money there, but there is no more money there now. We borrowed. We signed notes. We mortgaged

ourselves to the roof. There is not the slightest thing to mortgage any more. This is the situation now.

We say to you that the situation is bad. I have come to the conclusion that something big, something extraordinary must be done in order to put us over, because we are stale, and we haven't got any more the workers' confidence. They used to consider us as good fighters; we could fight bitterly and with courage, but now, when it comes to results, they realize that the process is a painfully slow one.

If you will not change the form of election of officers, I insist that the prevailing situation will create even more disharmony. For God's sake, if the leaders of the minority haven't got the confidence of the membership, they ought to leave their places for others. That is my claim. (Applause.) If this convention will reject the referendum, I will consider this convention has no confidence in us and we are ready and willing to leave the place to others. (Applause.)

You will understand that if it is legitimate to dominate, who has a greater right to dominate—a membership of 80% or a membership of 20%—though I agree that domination should not prevail. I want to point this out to you, that during the last two and a half years, 3,160,000 International stamps were purchased by New York locals as their per capita contribution. This comes from the financial report submitted by the General Office. They paid the amount of \$474,000, while Boston, Chicago, Cleveland and Philadelphia combined bought only 632,000 stamps, contributing \$96,000 to our International, which means that New York locals bought stamps and paid per capita five times the amount of all those four markets combined. Now, whom do you want? Whose voice and whose desire should be heard louder at this convention? The desire and the wishes of these people that contributed one-fifth or of those that contributed five times the amount? (Applause.)

We should ask the membership whether they want a referendum first before we give them a referendum. You say that this convention has a right to

decide everything, that this convention even has a right to elect officers.

I say that your decision today, in my judgment, will call for a special convention in the very near future. I see what you are creating with your decision here today. I see why you are ignoring New York, because you have the votes.

Let me say in conclusion, the prevailing industrial conditions, the prevailing financial crisis, the shattered morale of the workers, the split in the ranks of the leadership and of the active membership, the lack of confidence as to the ability of the present administration to revive the Union, the positiveness that unless a change of great importance is made at this convention our union will collapse—all these motives prompt us to support the referendum as a means of reviving the Union and changing the attitude on the part of the members for the purpose of saving the Union from bankruptcy and collapse.

Yes, we propose this referendum proposition in order to enable the membership to make a change in the present administration if they so desire, or to retain the present administrators, if they have confidence in them. By defeating the referendum you will admit that the leaders of this administration do not represent the membership, and it will be a further admission on your part that they are afraid to go to the registered membership for an endorsement but that they insist on representing them even against their will, contrary to your preachings of democracy. (Applause.)

This proposition cannot and will not be decided by a majority of convention votes. The administration may have enough convention votes to defeat this proposition, as we know it has, but it may as well realize that it cannot overcome by a majority of convention votes the hopes and desires of the tens of thousands of cloak and dressmakers of New York and elsewhere who are praying for a united Union with a leadership of their choice. (Applause.)

Delegate Kirzner: When those who are for the referendum come here and tell you that unless we vote for it they will not be with us and will not be able

to hold up their part in the International, I say that that is not so. Those are mere threats, and they do not mean it. We have experienced the same condition before, and we overcame every difficulty in that respect.

If you have such thoughts in your mind, you cannot and will not build up the Union. The referendum maybe good, but we cannot build on "maybes". We might believe in experiments, but we cannot afford to make one at this time. As country delegates we are pledged to elect our officers by the convention method. Why leave it to the membership in New York, with the majority there? We are all democrats here and we should vote against the referendum.

Delegate B. Kaplan: It seems that the convention cannot decide on the referendum. Then I ask you, isn't the best way, if you cannot come to any decision, to leave it to the members to decide? I think that you have no alternative. If you decide against the referendum, the leadership will be split, and you will increase more dissension than we have now. The workers of the city of New York have lost confidence in the Union, and to regain this confidence, in my opinion, it is necessary to have this referendum.

In this matter of referendum, individuals do not count. Even if a few individuals would go, what does that matter? The Union will survive, and the Union will not die, and the only thing that we want is that the Union shall not die.

Delegate Greenberg: While there may be some locals that need the referendum, the International as a whole does not need it and does not want it. I am also a New Yorker and I know the conditions there. I have been on the picket line as well as anybody else, and I want to say that the question of referendum has been maliciously created by the people that are sponsoring it here today. I know that Dubinsky in his heart and soul means nothing bad by sponsoring this referendum. He has started something, and he must go through with it. I have no fear that there is going to be a division in New York. I plead to the delegates of this convention to vote accord-

ing to their belief, their conscience, their honest understanding of trade unionism. (Applause.)

Delegate Benj. Kaplan: I only want to call your attention to the fact, that all of you, when you speak here of Local 2, know actually nothing of conditions in Local No. 2. I want you to leave us alone. I want to say that while you all talk about Local No. 2 as the place of war and trouble, you are the ones that are causing the trouble to Local No. 2. Local No. 2 pays its per capita to the International and pays twice and four times as much as any other local in New York and we do not expect that our local should be always given a black eye on the floor of this convention. I protest against it, and I want it to go on the record. (Applause.)

Delegate Rief: I am what you term a reactionary "left", because of the fact that I come from Local No. 35, and because of the fact that Local No. 35 discussed this revolutionary referendum, and brought you the thought that it has a practical mission to fulfill, that would help solve the problem in New York. This is the first day in eight days of any constructive work. I believe that if the true picture of the situation in New York could have been presented here to the delegates, that there would have been no occasion to have all this talk on the floor today. We might as well be frank. New York is opposed to the administration at the present time. I want to say right here at this convention, that we ought to go right through with the question and let us get through with it. (Applause.)

Delegate Mollie Friedman: I cannot get up and speak as hotly as some of the other delegates. I have sat with Ninfo on the committee, and I have been in the fight with Dubinsky, and I cannot get up and speak with animosity against any of these brothers, because I have worked with all of them, and I cannot have any animosity towards anyone who has worked for our International. I cannot speak with animosity about Breslaw; I was in the picket line with him in 1916 or 1918, when we had to go out, and many of us remember 33 East 33rd Street, in New York, when he and I took

a genuine beating, and had to come back and send other pickets out. That is why I cannot speak with hatred.

A speaker has made the statement that we fought the Communists and drove them out of the Union. He says that we have no Communists today and we have no Union. My first reaction to that statement is, "Whom in God's name are you representing here?" What kind of a convention are we having here, and what are you talking about? Who got the 2,300 votes; who bought the three million stamps? Somebody must have done it. It was not an abstract body in New York that did it, it was human beings that did it; the cloak and the dressmakers did it. The white goods workers did it, the raincoat makers did it.

We all know that the Union is not strong at the present time in New York. We all know and admit that, due to numerous conditions, the Union has been weakened. But pray tell me, why begin "reforming" from the top?

The New York Joint Board is at present divided on the referendum. I know that in one local there are two for the referendum and two are against it, so that you cannot fairly say that the New York Joint Board is for the referendum. But you have a situation in New York that does not require political legislation.

They tell you that you will "pacify" the people in New York with a referendum, and that it will serve the purposes of the International; that it will bring harmony. I say to you that our strength is not built on "maybes". We should not gamble with political legislation within the Union.

I know some of our members in Chicago, in Cleveland, in New York, and I think I know what they are doing and what they want, and they surely do not want a referendum at this time, which would throw our whole International into a chaos from which we would never be able to emerge. You will come to the New York people and say—here, we give you the referendum, try and see what broth you are going to get out of it. (Laughter.) They do not want any referendum. If they do, there is a division,

as I have indicated to you before. That is why I have not rendered such an intellectual report, because we have people on the committee who may not be very intellectual, but who have some darn good common sense.

It is a situation that requires every bit of energy and every bit of logic and fine thinking, every bit of wholesome cooperation. The discontent among our members is not clamoring for blood, but clamoring for bread, and if they are clamoring for bread, they elected you to articulate their desires and to legislate for them. Those delegates who were elected to this convention were elected to legislate and lay plans and policies for the International for the coming two years, for the work of construction, for the work of building. Your committee know it, and that is why we brought about this majority report.

Let us get together on one common understanding, that our Union is everything to all of us, with the exception of those who are still flirting with the scoundrels who had dragged our Union through the sewers. All of us have contributed equally to the building of the Union, some a few years more and some a few years less.

I, therefore, suggest, appeal and beg every one of the men and women who have in the last 15 years shared suffering and misery in order to keep the banner of our Union aloft, let us for heaven's sake stop dickering and begin to make our Union what it used to be, and what we want it to be, powerful, inspiring and an influence for great good. (Applause.)

Delegate Ninfo: I would not take the floor of the convention at the present time, for I know that everyone of you is tired of listening to speeches. We just speak in this assembly, I suspect, because we want to be recorded in the minutes, but I specially have to take the floor to defend myself and the local of which I am the manager.

I was very much satisfied with the speeches made by Brothers Blais, Hochman and Sister Friedman. They spoke as they felt. They told you what they thought it is best to be done. They spoke from the point of view of trade unionists without insulting and without trying to

hurt any individual personality. But I resent the speech of Brother Crivello. I resent the speech of Brother Antonini, and I resent the speech of Brother Katovsky. Just in order to grasp some applause from you, they had to nail a man down or they had to nail a local down. I am not going to nail anyone.

Brother Crivello said we cannot be in favor of the referendum because the sponsors of the resolution are enemies of the Union. I am one of the sponsors of the resolution. The delegation of Local No. 48 is sponsor of this resolution. The delegates of Local No. 10 are sponsors of the resolution. Some of the delegates of Local No. 2, of Local No. 9, of Local No. 35 are also its sponsors. These people have been in the battlefield just as good as you or anyone else. They have defended the Union against Communism just as good as you, Brother Crivello. These people have been in the trenches, on the firing line, defending the Union and preserving the union against all our enemies. (Applause.) And the same thing applies to Brother Katovsky, who claims that the sponsors of the resolution are not honest and sincere in their contention. Well, Brother Katovsky had no struggle in the city of Cleveland. We had an awful battle in the city of New York, and, please Brother Katovsky, don't throw any stones at us because you are living in a glass house!

I have been pictured as a waiter in a restaurant. I am awfully sorry, but I don't want to tell you that while I may have been a waiter, Antonni was the dishwasher. No, I won't tell you that. (Applause.)

I am not in accord with some of the advocates of the minority report. I feel in this convention that it was my duty to take that stand, but I feel that I cannot and will not permit anybody to insult me for what I have done in the past, for I believe that no matter how many mistakes I have made, no matter how many times I did not do what was right, I have always felt that I am a human being, and as such I am liable to make a mistake. But if I do ever make any mistakes, if I do ever disagree with someone else, please correct it and convince me, but do not

insult me because by insulting me you will not gain my confidence.

I hope that after making this statement there is no bitterness left in my soul, and in the souls of my colleagues from my local. I feel, as my colleagues feel, that it is best to gain the confidence of the workers. The majority are, perhaps, of the opinion that we must not give to the membership the referendum. I realize, just as you do, that this particular measure has two edges. Perhaps, we will get the benefit of it, today, but tomorrow it may hit us just as hard.

We do not say that we impose upon you to take it. You may reject it, as I know that the majority will be opposed to it, but we will say this to you, that it does not make any difference how much we differ, when tomorrow we are called upon in New York to perform a duty. It will not make any difference whether we were for or against the referendum, we will go down in the trenches just the same as anyone of you.

I hope that these few words will be taken in good spirit by you delegates, and I hope that, while there may be misunderstanding among us, that we only have one common aim, the aim of preserving the Union, and no matter who is right or wrong, we would forget the differences and work for the benefit of the Union as a whole. (Applause.)

President Sigman: I suppose you are all anxious to get through with this proposition. The list of speakers is concluded. I must, however, make a few remarks which I believe I am entitled to, and which may be helpful in the future. I hope you all appreciate, just as I do, that in the heated discussions, prompted by strong feelings and differences of opinion, some speakers have indulged in terms that were not at all applicable to the situation. But those who have attended conventions before know that all this hot blood disappears as soon as discussions are over and the matter is disposed of.

I want to say that at the last convention in Philadelphia I expressed a definite opinion with regard to the question of having our officers elected by a referendum vote. Now I want further to re-

mind the delegates that the proponents of the referendum resolution have made, at least in one case, use of an assertion that this the very much disliked and disreputable Mr. Sigman had himself favored at the Philadelphia convention such a referendum. They are telling the members: "Just see, even President Sigman is favoring a proposition of this kind: then why should you not vote for it?" This argument, at least, had been used at a Local 22 Executive Board meeting, as well as at membership meetings, where delegates, after being elected, were instructed and made to vote in the manner as some of the representatives of the local had deemed it best. Human beings are peculiar, and most of us are inclined to lean towards the easiest way out of a situation. We quite frequently try to evade the full force of a task and meet it sideways, if we possibly can.

I said at the Philadelphia convention, and I repeat my statement here again, had our organization not have gone through the experience it did, and had it found itself at this time in an absolutely normal state, I might, perhaps, join in the effort to carry out an experiment in the system of elections as proposed by this resolution. At this time, however, I advise strongly against it. I, too, come from New York. I have spent a good portion of my life in the New York labor movement. I haven't lived my entire life yet. I still have some years to give to the movement, if it should demand it. I have had experience with local elections as far back as 1916. When I was called back to the Union to take over the management of the Joint Board at a time when the Union was shattered to pieces, I did not ask any one to call me back. That is not my idea or practice. This will be the first time in my connection with the labor movement when I shall run and shall insist upon being a candidate for the office, and not because I have a desire to hold the job. Ask the meanest type of Communist, and even he will not dare say that the job has held me here for five and a half years and that the job is the object of my running again.

I want to come back to the elections. If there is any one in our circles in New York who has been charged with seeking to impose too much democracy, I was the one—too much democracy in the locals, too much democracy in the Joint Board. Every one of the proponents of this resolution has charged me with wanting to have too much democracy, and none of them can deny it because, even in normal times, I never failed to emphasize that local elections were, in my judgment, and to my knowledge, not as attractive to me as they should have been. I have heard some say during the discussion that it has become suddenly important to satisfy the masses with a change in the election of the International officers. I was confronted with this problem of change of administration all the years that I was connected with this International Union, and I held every office in this Union beginning with 1909 or 1910. I resigned more than once. I would not wait for invitations.

One of the grave objections that had been made against an International president in this union was this: Why must a president of the International give so much attention to the functions of the New York Joint Board? Are not the Joint Board officers able and competent enough to lead? They represent the masses of our locals. To them these masses will listen. Why should the president butt in?

Not one of these delegates from New York can deny this fact. You all remember when the fight started. We did not start the fight; I want you to bear this in mind, delegates. The fight was started by the Communists after they had misled and lost the strike. We only defended ourselves, and in defending ourselves we defended the position and the policy of the labor movement in this country. People came to me and said: "Take in this one and take in that one. Through his personality and standing the masses will come to us." I want to say to you here, delegates, that when some of the leaders had come into office—and you will understand that this does not include Local 10 and Local 48, but rather some of the locals that were re-organized—we handed over to them

thousands upon thousands of members. Why did they lose some of the members? Was it because of the great confidence that the masses in New York have in them, or the lack of confidence in me, to put it properly?

I will not charge that the masses have no confidence in them. It would be petty, small, unfair. This is not exactly the cause, but a smoke screen to elect International officers by referendum will not cure the condition that has brought about this lack of confidence on the part of our members of which they are complaining. Perhaps, under the circumstances, you cannot see farther. Perhaps, under the circumstances, you cannot think better, and that is why some of you are grabbing at this smoke screen as the medicine to save the union.

I tell you here, delegates that I have as much love, as great an interest in the welfare of our union to be ready to go to any sacrifice if that would really be the case. But I have not lost my thinking ability as yet. We have discussed at great length before the Committee on Officers' Report many of the causes which produced this present state of affairs. You should have spent most of your time at this convention seeking and finding solutions for these evils, instead of raking up political grievances which have suddenly become the panacea for saving the union. The trouble is that we have spent a week's time here hoping that this political mixup many somehow be solved. I understood some of the remarks of our first vice-president, and as you look at me you will appreciate that I was not born yesterday. "We will meet again in four or five months from now," he said. Put this in your pipe and smoke it. I hope the delegates will understand. If he said it unconsciously, let us hope that it was an error, that he did not mean it. Your generosity, Brother Ninfo, in sacrificing yourself not to be a candidate for re-election as first vice-president, is marvelous. But if you are ready to submit to the judgment of the delegates present here on this question of a referendum, and work harmoniously the next day on the battlefield in meeting the enemy, as you say, why do you buy-

cott us, why do you say you will not run? Personally, I appreciate that we are all human. Once we represent a certain viewpoint, we want to carry it through and win, and I hope that all will understand that even when threatening expressions are frequently made that they are just being made for the purpose of carrying a point. And I say here that, no matter what side of the question you represent on this referendum, if, because you lose or win, you attempt to sabotage the union, the attempt will be regarded by our own men and women, and by the labor movement in general, as a deed of destruction.

I have reached the highest office in this union, and before that I was secretary of my local, manager of my local, business agent, district manager, general manager, secretary-treasurer of the International, and, peculiarly, it has always been my good fortune that when I came into an office I was pleaded with, begged and asked by the very leaders who are opposing me now to come in and do the work. I never imposed myself upon anyone. This is the first time that I will try to impose myself as a candidate, but whether I will be elected or not, it will make no material difference to me personally, and you shall be good witnesses to that. I will serve this union. I always did, and for the balance of the years that I have to live I am not going to part with it. It has made me what I am, and I owe it a priceless gratitude.

I hold that a referendum vote at this time would be an irresponsible act committed against the union. It would bring just the reverse of what the proponents of the resolution suggest it might do.

Have you seen elections? Have you compared the elections of 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919 and 1920—when I left the management of the Joint Board—with present elections? Some speakers here became excited over one great occurrence. Why, they told in one local No. 2, 2,300 cloakmakers participated in the recent election. Why do you not consider that if similar efforts were made in every local election that we would have large numbers participating in all the affairs of the union and of the locals?

Someone said something here about raising the morale of the members. Another one has remarked—I think Brexlaw—that it was the manner of fighting Communism that we adopted that was wrong. If I could read to you a few pages that I have in my room from the G. E. B. minutes of the Bridgeport meeting—we started in Montreal and finished in Bridgeport—those who were on the board then remember—I am certain your mind on this subject would be changed. If the morale of our union in New York, as it is alleged, has collapsed and sunk into mud, don't lay all the blame on Communism, because there is a good portion of that demoralization that can be traced to our own kind in New York. The present condition did not come only from Communist causes, but also, because there was something wrong in our own house, and because we did not meet our problems in a regular manner; secondly, we have gone through, in recent years, a period materially different from the period between 1914 and 1921. In the last seven years our industry has gone through a severe industrial revolution—which has brought misery and suffering to the workers in our industry. We have had at times conditions during these years in the N. Y. market when two persons would strenuously compete for one job. At a minimum there was one-third more workers than what the industry required. A struggle for existence was on, and it is still on, but it is these conditions that have largely destroyed or helped the Communists to destroy the faith and the belief in the competency of our union.

So you come here with a patent medicine. There are some patent medicines that even doctors prescribe for patients. But medical science tells us that if some patent medicines help a patient in some way they hurt him even more in some other way. And your referendum that you brought here is such a patent medicine. I do not say that you do it intentionally. You may be very sincere, and I assume that you are, but that is my judgment of it. That is the way I took at it, and I say to you delegates from all sides if you should pass this referendum proposition at this time, it would

become logically a law thirty days after the convention. Your resolution, the way it is now, is not complete. But if you carry this referendum, bear in mind that you would then have to prepare for an election for your officers of this International. I don't know how many candidates you will have for each office. Our people are great aspirants, and that is the only thing I respect in them. They want to rise. A union that has people who are content with themselves isn't worth a thing. You will turn your union into a greater campaign market than it was in New York during this last season, and if the union hadn't regained more strength than it did during this season it was just because you forgot the union on account of the elections.

I say it would be a great wrong committed, if at this time you would indulge in such a "democratic" reform as you propose. As I told some delegates from other sections, "If it is a question of my person, and if in your judgment you are convinced that my continuing as an officer of this International will cause the organization damage, vote against me, but, by God, meet your affairs like men and women and do not try to go in a roundabout way. I think we've had enough of that." I hope you will use your best judgment and vote on the question as your convictions tell you. I thank you. (Applause.)

The vote on the minority and majority reports of the referendum resolutions was then called for, and a roll call was taken with the following results:

For the majority report: 134.

Kaplan, Benj.; Lefkowitz, Samuel; Graffman, Max; Goldstein, A.; Novack, Max; Grabler, Carl; Welas, Manny; Greenberg, Dave; Kirzner, Nicholas; Halperin, Jacob; Kravetz, Max; Schatz, Chas.; Cavalleri, Tessie; Elsberg, Morris; Levine, Abe; Sudin, A.; Eaton, Albert; Freedman, Sam'l; Gingold, David; Polinsky, Meyer; Bluestein, Max; Farber, Sonia; Moskowitz, Max; Shapiro, Fannie; Goldberg, Sol.; Cohen, Julius; Solomon, Nathan; Friend, Louis; Finkle, Sam; Stein, Morris; Silverstein, Jack; Lapez, Nina; Gallagher, Carrie; Feijke, Irene; Bliss, Nathan; Korainick, Julius; Turk,

Sam; Tolchinsky, A.; Banash, J. L.; Rea, Luigi; Benchman, Goldie; Snider, Jacob; Egelnick, Louis; Lubroff, Rubin; Rudin, Samuel; Goldin, Abe; Levine, Morris; Grakin, Max; Greenberg, Harry; Pockofsky, Jack; Kreindler, Chas.; Berkman, Meyer; Majistro, J.; Janelli, Josephine; Posen, Isaac; Lynsky, Morris; Miller, Morris; DiGirolomo, Danato; Reisberg, Elias; Kalish, E.; Stein, Albert; Einbinder, A.; Biagoli, S. W.; Durante, Marco; Otto, Sam; Cohen, Abe; Bornstein, Jack; Rabinowitch, A.; Lederman, Isidor; Finkelstein, A.; Jasicki, Dorothy; Siegel, Bertha; Ruffer, Harry; Gold, Pearl; Sher, Aaron; Snyder, A.; Shapiro, Fannie; Friedman, Clara; Dachman, Sophie; Fishman, Morris; Klein, Sol; Reisel, Nathan; Stolberg, Louis; Greenberg, Sarah; Stein, Beckie; Rubin, George; Kaplan, Harry; Bornbaum, Jenotto; Cohn, Fannie, M.; Kramer, Phillip; Spiegat, Samuel; Brown, Chas.; Spiegel, Issie; Domiano, Kate; King, Bossie; Gilbert, B.; Morabito, Joseph; Lederman, Sam; Schwartzberg, A.; Turner, Hattie; Antonini, Luigi; Iandoli, Ca.; Crivello, A.; DiMaggio, M.; Eglitto, John; Cablati, John; Licausi, Peter; Berkowitz, M.; Mainella, Phillip; Stein, Esther; Galinsky, Louis; Oretzky, Phillip; Dinola, G.; Sigman, Morris; Baroff, Abe; Friedman, Mollie; Terry, Meyer; Musicki, Helen; Kinney, Josephine; Faroll, Madeline; Maggio, Louis; Thamos, Esther; Cirrincione, Chas. R.; Shaffer, Nathan; Ollver, Helen; Grossman, Jacob; Rosenberg, A.; Harris, David; Polakoff, Sol.; Amdur, Max; Katofsky, Abe; Kirzner, Abraham; Blalla, Morris.

For the minority report: 56.

Schlesinger, B.; Kaplan, B.; Ashbess, M. J.; Goldstein, L.; Belson, A.; Leventhal, M.; Stankewitch, J.; Snyder, J.; Miller, J.; Pick, Otto; Rubin, David; Kaufman, Louis; Amislofsky, Sam; Sorokin, Isidor; Goldstein, Solomon; Dubinsky, David; Nagler, Isidor; Perlmutter, Sam'l; Fruhling, David; Stoller, Max; Zaslavsky, Harry; Jacobs, Maurice, W.; Weiner, Joseph; Levine, Barnett; Arch, Leo; Rabinow, Joe; Spielman, J.; Daskoff, Aaron; Cooper, Jacob; Fremed, Sam'l; Wander, Harry; Rabinowitz, Harry; Cohen, Aaron; Rothstein, Israel;

Goldowaky, Morris; Cohen, Max; Eisenberg, Sam; Berland, Benj.; Relf, Louis; Breslaw, Joseph; Aronsky, Chas.; Mollisani, Ed.; Desti, B.; Carotenuto, C.; Mancuso, P.; LaRusso, G.; Piccione, G.; Spina, G.; Muccigrossi, B.; Brick, A.; DiGiralamo, Anthony; DiMaggio, Anthony; Greifer, Morris; Rosenblatt, Leon; Heyer, Matilda; Ninfo, Salvatore; Wardcn, Mary.

The session adjourned at 9 P. M. to reconvene on Tuesday, May 15, 1928, at 9.30 A. M.

Eighth Day—Morning Session

Tuesday, May 5, 1928

President Morris Sigman called the session to order at 10.30 A. M.

President Sigman called on the Committee on Unemployment, Labor Life Insurance, Sick Benefit Insurance, and Old Age Security to render a report.

Morris Blais, chairman of this committee (Faania M. Cohn, secretary), submitted the following report:

Report of Committee on Unemployment, Insurance, Labor Life Insurance, Sick Benefit Insurance, and Old Age Security.

Your Committee has divided itself into four sub-committees,—on unemployment, life insurance, sick benefit insurance, and old age security. We are going to read first the preamble on unemployment.

Your Committee gave much consideration to that part of the Officers' Report which discusses these important problems (pages 270-7).

We approached these questions with that seriousness and earnestness which their importance to our members and to the Labor Movement as a whole deserves.

Unemployment. Your Committee wishes to restate what the same committee had said at our last convention, that one of the strongest indictments against the present social order is the unemployment of workers who are able and willing to work.

Since our last convention unemployment has increased considerably, and the

problem has been more serious than ever. Unemployment is rampant among us in the midst of prosperity, when the country is boasting of its wealth, when our banks and corporations have in their possession fabulous sums of money, much more it seems than they are willing to invest in industry.

We believe that an earnest attempt should be made to solve the problem of unemployment, the greatest indictment of our industrial civilization, and in the meantime the suffering which falls now upon the worker because of unemployment should be relieved in every possible way.

We attempted to make suggestions that would be of a practical nature. The Labor movement is not any longer content with fighting for wages, hours and improved working conditions alone. To the worker, his union becomes more and more the social institution through which he functions on the social, intellectual and partly on the political fields.

The organized workers are more and more turning toward their union for protection, council and guidance, not of working conditions alone, but they, the workers, expect their union to protect them and their families against sickness, when as bread winners they are unable to support their families. They expect their union to protect them as aged dependents against old age insecurity. And finally, the workers expect their organization to protect them against unemployment, with all the misery and tragedy that it spells.

All these impose upon the Labor movement a great responsibility, the responsibility that is vested in an agency which aspires to a position of a paramount social force in our industrial society.

The Labor movement is beginning to respond in an even greater measure to all the momentous problems of our times, and we are firmly convinced that the organized labor movement that refuses to be any longer on the defensive and increasingly realizes its strength and responsibilities, will courageously demand for the workers, the producers of wealth of the nation, that which belongs to them, including a wage high enough for an

American standard of living, enough leisure for rest and for intellectual and physical development, and, above all, the right to work and earn a living.

Your Committee cannot fully discuss the unemployment situation that is mainly caused by the seasonal character of our industry without touching upon the entire problem of unemployment both cyclical and technological, caused by increased productivity. In our modern, complicated form of society no one industry can stand alone without being influenced by conditions and development in all the other industries. The general economic conditions of the country, of course, influence the conditions and problems of our own industry, and ultimately the lives and happiness of our members.

Unemployment

For the past few years the most popular idea dominating industry has been mass production. In the realm of business—among merchants and manufacturers—as well as among economists and efficiency engineers—it has been a constant topic of discussion. The labor movement, too, has had a great deal to do with the new industrial slogan. Wherever the consumer's complaint of the high cost of merchandise has been heard or wherever a complaint would come forth from the workers against low wages which made it impossible to meet the high cost of living, or a demand was voiced for shorter hours to counteract the monotony of increased mechanization of industry, one answer would come forth to quiet both: "Increase productivity. Increase mass production. Industrial efficiency and elimination of waste is the only remedy, the only salvation from all social evils."

Every intelligent labor man and woman is for elimination of waste, for efficient management and for the attendant increased productivity. And how otherwise? Who but the worker pays in the end the penalty of waste? We of the labor movement have always wanted society to consume more goods. We are for more improved machinery and increased productivity. Of course, we were assured that we would share in its bless-

ings. Our quarrel is not all with mass production, but rather with the way it is distributed. The result of mass production would be excellent if this national economy was conducted on the basis that all those who share in the production of wealth would share equally in its distribution.

Modern business is, as far as the interests of capital are concerned, quite efficiently organized. Not only does the manufacturer provide a depreciation fund to replace worn out equipment, but he also has a replacement fund in anticipation of new inventions of machinery. To meet competition he is compelled to replace his equipment even if it is in perfect order and to substitute for it new and more efficient machines. He also believes in unemployment insurance for his managerial staff—as they are engaged for 52 weeks a year. And his own interest is protected by a fixed income, that is determined not so much by invested capital as by the productivity of the plant. So far, the manufacturers are efficient. But they fall down sadly in one instance, namely, in doing anything to protect the interest of their workers who are the main source of their income.

What has resulted from the universal eagerness for increased productivity as at present administered? The answer is simple: "Unemployment." The worker began to realize that the promises that he would share in the benefits of mass production were not being realized. He began to understand that he is the victim of mass production. It dawned upon him that the more he produced the less safe his position became. In a word, he felt the pinch of unemployment in the midst of prosperity. With this feeling of insecurity, he discovered that the improved technique worked to his detriment. The worker began to ask questions. What did the new system of production hold for him?

Our present era of unemployment is quite different from previous periods of depression as it is due not only to cyclical causes but also to technical improvements of machinery and of business management.

Factory statistics show that where

there are 5 per cent fewer employees than were engaged a few years ago, 7 per cent more products were turned out and the index of factory employment compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows an alarming situation. According to this index, factory employment has dropped nearly 15 per cent since 1923 and over 5 per cent since the fall of 1926. At the same time since 1923, the population of the country has increased about 5 per cent, despite restricted immigration. The figures of the United States Department of Labor show that the number of workers employed in the manufacturing industries was almost 12 per cent less in 1927 than in 1923. The wages paid were nearly 8 per cent less. Many industries now meet the needs of the market with a smaller and smaller labor force. While the present unemployment started as a result of technological development in the midst of prosperity, it assumes now a cyclical aspect.

In a word, mass production can only be successful if followed up by mass consumption, and this can be achieved by higher wages.

The labor movement sponsors improved technique which leads to industrial progress, but it insists that the economic interest of the workers shall be protected during the period of adjustment.

It was in this spirit that Resolution No. 3, page 152, was adopted at our 18th Convention.

Unemployment Insurance Funds

a) Cleveland

Our International has the distinction of establishing the first Unemployment Insurance Plan in the United States under a joint agreement with employers. We refer here to the Time Guarantee provision adopted in the Cleveland market by our Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union in 1921. This unemployment plan is the only scheme of its kind in America. The introduction of this plan marked practically the beginning of the movement for unemployment insurance in the United States.

It was natural that a demand for unemployment compensation should be in-

stituted by our International. This, in our opinion, was influenced by two considerations: First, by the fact that our industry is highly seasonal and the dull periods between the various seasons are long and the workers are practically left without means of subsistence. Second, because our International always pioneered in social activities that were later adopted by the labor movement. So it was, for instance, with the establishment of our Union Health Center, where attention is given to the health of our members and their families by specialists at a minimum cost. So it was with the establishment of our Educational Department, which provides activities for our members with their families that lead to their intellectual, mental, spiritual, physical and artistic development. So it was with the establishment of our Unity House, our beautiful vacation home in Forest Park, where our members and their families can spend their vacation at a minimum cost in very wholesome and inspiring surroundings.

The Cleveland plan, as stated in the agreement between the Manufacturers' Association and our Union is "a united effort to promote all interests by increasing continuity of employment."

In its original form the plan obliged each manufacturer to guarantee to his regular employees twenty weeks of full employment in each six months, or to pay two-thirds of the minimum wages in the period during which he fell short of such twenty weeks. The agreement of 1922 substituted a guarantee of forty-one weeks per year for the original agreement. But in 1924 the rate of benefit was reduced from two-thirds to one-half of the minimum wage scale. The Cleveland plan is on a shop basis. Therefore, each manufacturer was refunded at the end of the yearly period the balance which remained after his workers had been paid for unemployment time.

The benefit payments to the end of 1926 totaled \$169,834.06.

We are glad to know that the Time Guarantee Plan in the Cleveland market is working out satisfactorily, and that our members are appreciative of the benefit

they are deriving from it. We also commend the efficient management of it.

We are glad of the successful effort of our International and the Cleveland Joint Board in providing in their agreement with the manufacturers for the establishment of an unemployment fund, in addition to the Time Guarantee Fund. This means that the workers employed by the contractors, who do not benefit by the first fund, become the beneficiaries of the second fund.

The introduction of unemployment insurance should do away with the dissatisfaction that exists among many of our workers. The fact that the owners of the inside Cleveland shops, too, will contribute to the new fund assures its success.

We congratulate our International and Cleveland members with that latest achievement. We are sure that all our workers and officers in Cleveland will cooperate in an effort to make the fund a success.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the report thus far.

(The recommendation of the committee was carried.)

b) New York Cloak Industry

We deplore the action of the Communist administration of the Joint Board in undermining the unemployment insurance fund in New York City, supposedly on the ground that the employers were not the sole contributors to it. We note that the Report of the Committee on Unemployment at our last convention went on record favoring that the financial burden of assisting the unemployed be placed upon the industry. But this was no sound and honest reason for destroying the fund, regarded as the first constructive step toward holding the industry responsible for the subsistence of its workers during the period of unemployment.

The Communist administration ostensibly was opposed to the fund on the ground that it was "class collaboration." But our International has always held the opinion that the industry is responsible for its unemployed workers. And we consider it a sound and just contention

that relief to unemployed should be made a charge against industry.

Employers took advantage of the chaotic conditions in the Union during the Communist administration to ignore their responsibilities. The unfortunate cloak strike left our unions too weak to insist on the continuance of the fund in the face of its sabotage by the Communist Joint Board.

This destruction of the fund is especially regrettable when we consider that its scope was much superior to and its foundation far more rational to benefit plans existing in other industries and markets because our agreement provided for the pooling of the contributions of all firms and of all the members instead of segregating the contributions to separate houses.

We deplore the short-sightedness and narrow-mindedness of the employers in taking advantage of the chaos that existed in our industry at that time, and in helping in the destruction of the unemployment fund on the ground that it could not be enforced in all the shops. We would, instead, expect the leading spirits in the industry to have hesitated to become a party to such a deplorable act. They should have had imagination enough to realize that some day such efforts of the industry to lighten the sufferings of the workers and their families during periods of unemployment would have placed the leaders of this industry in a favorable light before the community.

But we are glad to record that the giving up of the fund is temporary and that the reestablishing of it is planned for the early future. But we do realize that this can be achieved only with the cooperation of the workers and also of the leaders of the industry.

Even during its short existence its administrative committee was successful in effecting all the suggestions for improving the management of the fund as suggested by the elaborate Report of the Committee on Unemployment at our last convention. For this we commend the Board of Trustees and the administrators.

During the three seasons of its exist-

ence since 1925, \$2,270,000 had been collected by the fund. To this the employers have contributed two per cent of the total payroll, and the workers one per cent of their earnings.

It is significant that during the cloak strike of 1926 \$654,740 was paid out by this fund to 17,637 workers. Of course, this payment was due to them for the period of unemployment.

We are sure that a sufficiently fair trial has been given to convince every side concerned of its value to the workers at a comparatively low cost to the industry.

We recommend that our incoming G. E. B., together with the Joint Board, should use all their efforts to re-establish the fund.

Your committee appreciates the efforts of our members on the Board of Trustees, President Sigman and vice-presidents Dubinsky and Hochman, who were tireless in the attempt to save the Unemployment Fund.

(The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.)

c) New York Dress Industry

We regret, indeed, that the establishment and functioning of the unemployment fund in the New York dress industry was not realized. We were all particularly interested in this fund, because the bulk of the workers employed in the industry are women.

We learn from that portion of the Officers' Report (page 276, 6), which deals with this question, that in this case, too, as in the case of the cloak and suit industry, it was due to the neglect and opposition of the then Communist officers of the Joint Board to the fund. But since the Board of Trustees of the fund still exists we are reasonably hopeful that the fund will be reestablished.

We recommend to our general officers, together with the Joint Board, and to our trustees on the board, Brothers Hochman, J. Spielman and Max Moskowitz to make an effort to re-establish the fund.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

d) Chicago

We regret that the functioning of the unemployment fund in our Chicago market, as provided in our agreement with the employers of February 25, 1925, was hampered by the then Communist administration of the Joint Board. We are here confronted with the same situation as existed in New York. A Communist administration of the Joint Board deliberately sabotaged the fund, by entering into an agreement with the manufacturers' association that they, the employers, contribute three-fourths per cent instead of one and one-half per cent as provided by the original agreement of February, 1925. The result was that the sums collected by the fund were not sufficient to pay unemployment insurance that was due to the workers. And even the three-fourths per cent contribution they had made no effort to collect. Three payments were made by the Chicago fund to the workers from money collected by the administration before the Communists came into power.

Your Committee was informed that the Chicago Joint Board is planning to resume the fund as soon as it will be possible.

We recommend that the general officers, together with the Joint Board spare no effort to have the fund reestablished as soon as it will be possible.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Insurance Benefit for Our Membership

Your Committee has examined the portion of the officers' report dealing with insurance benefits for our members (page 270), and presents for your consideration a few facts. But first we want to state that we cannot over-emphasize the importance of the problem of assisting our sick and weak members and their dependents who, due to illness, are rendered economically helpless.

We cannot, of course, over-exaggerate the helplessness of a worker's family when its breadwinner, its supporter, is cruelly taken away from it at a time he is most needed, and the widowed wife

and the orphaned children are compelled to resort to charity, or the children are being neglected while the widowed mother is making a strenuous effort to support them by her labor. It behooves the union, of which he was or is a member, to stretch out a helping hand to him and his family and thus save him or his widowed wife and orphaned children from the humiliation of resorting to charity.

The labor unions, therefore, as soon as some of their energies were released from the strenuous task of the long and protracted struggle for recognition, began to think how to extend further their activities that would most benefit their members, and the first attempt was in the direction of providing sick and death benefits for their members and their families.

Sixty-one international unions paid last year benefits for death or sickness disability, old age, etc., amounting to more than ten and one-half million dollars. Payment of insurance of various kinds amounted to more than twelve millions. Since these unions began paying benefits and insurance, more than \$300,000,000 has been disbursed.

We are sure that it will interest the delegates to know how the benefit funds are being administered by some of our own locals. Therefore, we will present to you the Cleveland plan.

In Cleveland the sick benefit fund is administered by each local individually, and is raised in the following manner. From the weekly dues paid by the members, four cents per week is deducted and deposited in the sick benefit fund. From this fund each member, after contributing to it for a period of six months, is entitled, in the event of illness, to \$8.00 per week of benefit, for a period of ten weeks.

Their Tubercular Fund is composed of contributions of \$1.00 from each member per year. Any member afflicted with tuberculosis, having received first his full allotment of sick benefit, and upon being ordered by the doctor to go away for recuperation, becomes entitled to \$100.

The Family Protection Fund is com-

posed of contributions of \$2.00 a year, made by each member, which entitles the family of a deceased member, after belonging to the union for a period of one year, to the sum of \$400.

The Relief Fund is made up of contributions of \$1.00 per year per member, and is used for the further relief of members who, after having exhausted the ten-weeks' benefit allotment, are still in need of assistance. The amount appropriated in such cases to members depends upon the circumstances surrounding each individual case.

All of these funds have been in operation for a number of years, and not only have they proved to be self-sustaining, but they are also succeeding in carrying a reasonable surplus in each fund large enough to meet any emergency that might arise in the future.

The Cleveland members are thus paying \$4.00 a year for the various funds, in addition to the four cents deducted from the weekly dues, and are protected in many ways; otherwise they would have been compelled to resort to charity and leave their families helpless in case of death.

The report of the G. E. B. does not indicate which of our other locals have benefit funds. But from information given to us we understand that quite a number of our local unions have such funds. We found that, while in Cleveland the sick benefit funds are being administered by the locals individually, the other funds are being administered by the Joint Board. But in Chicago the sick benefit fund is administered by the Joint Board and a death benefit fund is maintained by Local 81.

We are, indeed, glad that ten locals, in addition to our Cleveland, Philadelphia and Chicago locals, are recognizing the necessity of providing the various funds for the protection of their members.

We recommend to all our locals to make an effort to establish similar funds.

1. We recommend that the G. E. B., jointly with a committee composed of our local unions, should make a thorough study of the various benefit funds that are being established by our locals.

This committee should make an effort to unify the administrative methods of such funds and should also secure expert advice to place them on a more solid basis should keep a detailed and up-to-date record of the various funds that are being maintained by our local unions. This should include an index of the number of cases handled by the funds and the sums paid out to the beneficiaries, the age of the members applying for benefit, and the method of administration.

(The recommendations of the committee were adopted.)

Your Committee expresses its gratitude to Brothers Kreindler and Friend of the Cleveland Joint Board; M. Goldstein, Chicago Joint Board, and Charles Jacobson of the New York Joint Board, for the information supplied by them to this Committee.

Benefits for Our Women

There is an impression that our women members are not interested in benefit funds. This is being explained on the ground that women are only temporarily connected with trade unions.

It seems to us that this attitude of the working woman toward her labor union is rapidly changing. The number of women that remain in industry for long periods is increasing, along with the growth of the number of women that return to industry after marriage. We agree that our women members do not as yet show the same interest in old age and death funds as our men members do, but we are sure that our women members appreciate the importance of sick benefits not less than our men do. This is best illustrated by the existence of sick benefit funds in our dress locals 22 and 50.

We recommend that the incoming G. E. B. make a strenuous effort to acquaint our women members with the various benefit funds and convince them of their importance.

(The recommendation of the committee was carried.)

The members and officers of the Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union,

Local 10, are to be congratulated upon their earnest and successful attempt to establish an old age fund. This will enable the Local to assist its old and needy members who had, in their time, served loyally the labor movement.

Your Committee is convinced of the importance of unemployment insurance funds in every industry, and especially in our industry that is highly seasonal and where the workers are subjected to long periods of unemployment and to all the privation that it brings along. We think that it is inhuman to let workers be merely a casual expense in industry, while capital, management and rent are a fixed charge against industry. It is the opinion of every advanced economist and socially-minded men and women that it is immoral for the leaders for industry to let their workers suffer without means for subsistence during the dull seasons. Besides, this is regarded as very bad economics. Sound economy requires that every citizen in our community should be provided with means to retain his purchasing power. It is the ability of the community as a whole to buy goods that brings prosperity to the country.

We, therefore, recommend that our International, wherever and whenever it enters into an agreement with employers, should make every effort to have an unemployment fund included in it, and that the plan of the fund should be, wherever possible, on a pooling basis.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

We wish to restate what appeared in the report of the same committee at our last convention, that we are of the opinion that the responsibility for employment must be fastened on the employers and that the unemployment insurance fund must be operated and controlled by our organization. We are also of the opinion that the unemployment insurance office, where the unemployed workers are to register, can be successfully utilized for the creation of a labor bureau, through which the employers shall be obliged to employ workers.

We recommend also that our International should educate our members con-

cerning the importance of having an unemployment insurance fund in every market and in every branch of our industry.

We want our members to realize that the first important step toward holding industry responsible for its workers is unemployment insurance, and that this is also the first attempt to make labor a charge against industry. Once our members will be presented with the facts and ultimate objects of unemployment insurance—that to make society as a whole, through legislation, responsible for the unemployed—they will, then, we are sure, full-heartedly support and agitate for the establishment of unemployment insurance in our industry. The success of our efforts will then not depend upon a casual administration but upon the support of the rank and file of our membership.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Union Labor Life Insurance Benefit

Nor can we overestimate the pathetic condition in which the worker and his wife find themselves when old age approaches. Especially is it pitiful now, when medical science is accomplishing such strides in the field of prolongation of average life.

We believe that society owes to the worker, who creates its wealth, a decent living in his old age, when he is no longer able to work.

While we believe that our unions should provide various benefit funds for our members that would be of assistance to them during illness and would be helpful to their families in case of death, we are not unmindful of the fact that unions are in no position to maintain adequate funds to support aged members or widowed wives and orphaned children of deceased members. 4

We realize, therefore, that, in addition to the various important and useful benefit funds maintained by our local unions, members would still have to depend for their security on various insurance policies as issued by the Workmen's Circle and by regular insurance companies. The only way for the worker

to put aside something for a needy day is through compulsory saving, and this means to carry an insurance policy. Nevertheless, investigations show that the amount of insurance carried by the workers is still small in a country where insurance is so popular and where insurance companies are the wealthiest corporations in the land. This, of course, can be traced to the fact that regular life insurance is still prohibitive to the workers even in our country of plenty.

Labor unions in America have long been accepted as an integral part of our present-day social structure. They function openly, although many times their activities are hampered by judicial interference in their battles on the economic field. The labor unions, therefore, need no longer camouflage themselves as benefit associations, as they did during the early period of their existence, when the laws outlawed many trade union activities and considered any attempt by these organizations to interfere with wages and working conditions as a "conspiracy."

A labor union life insurance company was recently organized to provide trade unionists with cooperative life insurance. This company was organized largely to improve the insurance benefit system of various trade unions and to furnish group insurance without tying a man to his job. Group insurance has been used by many employers to combat union organization work and to weaken the trade union movement. Group insurance by trade unions strengthens the labor movement and gives the rank and file the self-respect and independence which comes from a realization of union labor's ability to maintain its own life insurance organization.

This subject is discussed in the officers' report on page 331. A detailed discussion of this company can be found in the report of the Committee on Unemployment of our last convention.

The Labor Union Life Insurance Company submitted to all labor unions a proposal for group insurance. It is on the same basis as that of the Pattern Makers' League and of the Photo Engravers' Union, both of which have sub-

stituted group insurance for the system of death benefits.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends that the committee of the incoming G. E. B. should study, jointly with committees of our local unions, the proposal of the Union Labor Life Insurance Committee for group insurance for our members.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.)

Welfare Work

The United States, one of the most important industrial countries, has failed notoriously in providing social legislation for workers, such as unemployment insurance, old age security, etc., as England, Germany, Belgium, France, and many other European countries have done.

Many employers have, therefore, taken advantage of the lack of protective legislation for workers and have promised them old age insurance and have introduced other welfare practices. The worker pays dearly for such "welfare work." The price is loyalty to the employer to the extent of renouncing the right to join a labor union for fear of being discharged and thus losing his or her old age security or sick benefit. The worker also becomes, as a result of such "welfare," submissive on the question of wages and hours. They never dare to strike against their employer.

One of the mainstays of the company union is the introduction of the various welfare activities. Study shows that 514 concerns employing 3,075,034 workers spent \$52,408,384 during 1925 and 1926 for "welfare work". It amounts to an average of \$17.43 per worker for the year—approximately only one per cent of the employers' payroll.

In presenting to you, fellow delegates, this statement we wish to impress upon you the significance of the share received by the individual worker through company-union managed welfare activities. This, indeed, is proof enough of the importance of old-age insurance to the worker.

We, wish, therefore, to impress upon

you, fellow delegates, and through you upon our membership, the importance of supporting financially and morally the movement to obtain old age security through federal and state legislation.

Increased Productivity and Unemployment

Your Committee received Resolution No. 117 which appears on page 18 of the fourth day's proceedings.

Your Committee is, indeed, in accord with this resolution and recommends the adoption of this resolution.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Old Age Security

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 111, on page 20 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee is in accord with the resolution and recommends its adoption.

We further recommend that the incoming G. E. B. should also cooperate with other organizations that work for old age insurance, such as the American Association for Labor Legislation.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 2, on page 6 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee is in accord with this resolution and recommends its adoption. It further recommends that our Local unions support financially and morally the American Association for Old Age Security.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Unemployment Insurance Funds Should Be Established in All Markets

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 102, which appears on page 17 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee is in accord with this resolution, and part of it has been covered already in the Report on Unemployment Insurance.

We recommend the adoption of this resolution.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

To Levy An Assessment for the Unemployed

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 103, which appears on page 17 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee is in accord with the three whereases of the resolution, but disapproves of the resolve, and, therefore, recommends non-concurrence in the resolve.

We do believe that each local union should do whatever possible to relieve the sufferings of its unemployed, but our International should devote its energies to the introduction of unemployment insurance funds as a relief against unemployment.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Respectfully submitted,

Morris Biella, Chicago Joint Board,
Chairman,
Fannia M. Cohn, Secretary,

The entire report of the committee was adopted unanimously, with a vote of thanks by the convention.

At 12 M. the session was adjourned, to re-convene in the afternoon at 1.30 P. M.

Eighth Day—Afternoon Session

Tuesday, May 15, 1928

The afternoon session was called to order by President Sigman at 2.30 P. M.

The President called on the Committee on Law to continue with its report:

**REPORT OF LAW COMMITTEE
(Continued)**

Chairman of Committee, Bro. Ninfo:

Your Committee has also received Resolution No. 94, on page 15 of the third day's proceedings.

The question of the election of business agents and a general manager of

the Joint Board was dealt with and decided upon by the last convention in Philadelphia. The recommendation which was adopted at that convention, and which became a by-law of our constitution, reads as follows:

"Your Committee proposes the following amendment to Article 6, Section 3, sub-division D: (third line sub-division D after the words "with this constitution;") to elect by a majority of the members of the affiliated locals a general manager, to elect or appoint such officers, managers and committees as they may deem necessary. Local Unions shall elect or appoint as many business agents as their quota of representation to the Joint Board entitles them, providing they are entitled to a quota of one or more, and to send such to the Joint Board. The Joint Board shall have the right to fix the salaries of the business agents, officers, managers and committees, also fix their functions, powers and terms of office. Such terms shall not however exceed one year."

Your Committee unanimously recommends non-concurrence in this resolution, in favor of the amendment adopted at the Philadelphia convention and above quoted.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 85, which appears on page 13 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee is not in accord with the whereas of this resolution. It recommends the adoption of the Resolve of Resolution No. 85, with the addition that the General Executive Board shall be the only body to determine whether a group, circle or club is inimical to the interests of our organization, and, furthermore, that such members, when called to account due to participation in such groups, shall be tried by the General Executive Board or by its authorized committee.

Delegate Ninfo: My interpretation of the recommendation is that such clubs may be organized inside of local unions but that when a contention is raised that the interests of such a group are inimical

to the International, it is the General Executive Board which shall have the right to pass upon it and then the General Executive Board is to entertain such charges.

President Sigman: Does that mean that if a group or a club is organized by some of our members in local unions, that before such organization it would have to get the consent of the General Executive Board.

Delegate Ninfo: If that group is alleged to be inimical, as I said before, the General Executive Board is to decide whether it is so or not.

President Sigman: In other words, it means that if members in a local Union have a club or a group organized, and if some members charge that the group or club is inimical to the interests of the organization, the General Executive Board should have the right to investigate and have the right to pass upon whether such club or group should continue its functions, or dissolve it.

Delegate Spielman: I am in favor of the original resolution because the original resolution does not exclude the right of a sub-committee of the Union to do certain particular work. I do not see why it is necessary to make these amendments today.

Delegate Max Cohen: There were specific causes why these clubs and circles and groups were organized, most of them during the time of the Communist regime, but the time is now past, and an order should be given for the dissolution of all these groups.

Delegate Solomon: I believe the report of the Law Committee should be accepted. We all of us feel that we do not want to have any groups in our Union.

Delegate Halperin: Such as are formed for the purpose of helping the organization should be permitted and should be welcome. If these clubs are beneficial for the organization, if it is necessary that they should exist in order to combat the Communist pest at the present time, they are certainly welcome. I favor the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Hochman: I do not think that the way the report of the Committee reads will work out in the way explained by Halperin. I say, why permit groups and clubs first to organize and then ask a General Executive Board to investigate and create turmoil and conflict? I, therefore, move that we do not recognize the rights of any clubs or groups.

Delegate Lefkowitz: I wonder how the Law Committee could bring in such a recommendation to this convention. Clubs should not exist. That should be the law. I am opposed to the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Rabinow: I am against the proposition of the Law Committee that this question should go to the General Executive Board and that they should be the judges of it. I say there is no place in our Union for any groups whatsoever.

Delegate Solomon: I believe that the report of the committee should be accepted. The proposition is that while we may permit clubs within our Union, that they must be subject to the authority of the General Executive Board. This is the report of the committee.

Delegate Farber: I want to speak against any groups or clubs. We do not need any extra clubs or groups here. We should get rid of groups; if we have clubs, we will not have a Union.

Delegate Torchinsky: I am against any groups in the locals, but we have a certain set of clubs which we need for amusement purposes.

Delegate Halperin: We are in favor of all clubs and groups that will help the organization. There are certain places where, if a member is not affiliated with a club or a group, he cannot get any work and cannot earn a livelihood. (Applause.)

Delegate Hochman: I move the following amendment that "we do not recognize the rights of any clubs or groups, but if a local Union or a group of members find it necessary to organize for the benefit of the Union, they must apply to the General Executive Board first and get its approval, and the General Execu-

tive Board shall have the right to look into the matter of that group.

Delegate Farber: I second this amendment.

Delegate Lefkowitz: We do not wish that clubs or groups should be organized. It is now time that we rid ourselves of these clubs, which are boils on our body. Therefore, I am opposed to the recommendation of the committee. (Applause.)

Delegate Antonini: I say that it is very easy to establish a law, but when a law cannot be complied with, you make yourself ridiculous by passing it. I say that the recommendation of the committee is the proper one at the present time, and I believe that there is no need to go into this discussion.

Delegate B. Kaplan: I am against the original resolution prohibiting clubs or groups and I am also against the modification for the reason, first, that it will never work, and, secondly, you deny the members the right of being organized, and deny to them the right of free speech. I do not think that the delegates should adopt this resolution, as it will create more turmoil and more chaos.

Delegate Benjamin Kaplan: I am against groups. At the present time I claim that we do not need and we do not want any clubs or groups whatsoever. The longer we continue with groups and clubs, the longer we will suffer. We must dissolve all these groups because they are ruining our Union. They are not working to the best interests of our members. We must give our time and energy to the Union instead of groups and clubs.

The amendment to the resolution made by Delegate Hochman was accepted.

A delegate: We would like to have the resolution explained to us.

President Sigman: The Committee has the same opinion as expressed by a good many of the delegates that clubs, groups and societies may turn into a menace instead of giving assistance to the Union; with all that they are not at this time ready to pass a decision that all of these groups be dissolved and outlawed. Instead it proposes that, if complaints by members of any of the locals or of any

members of the International are made against any club, group or society, that they are a menace to the organization and cause damage to it, that the General Executive Board should investigate such claims and pass upon whether such groups, clubs, societies or circles should exist or should go out of commission. I take it that under these circumstances the General Executive Board would be in a position to draw a distinction between group and group and club and club and decide each case on its merits, or may come to the conclusion that all of these clubs should be dissolved. That is the way I understand the recommendation of the Committee. Is that clear to you?

Voices: Yes.

The resolution as amended was then voted on and the result was 83 for the adoption of the Committee's report and 5 against. The recommendation was carried.

Chairman Ninfo: We wish to report on Resolution No. 80, which was referred back to the Law Committee for reconsideration.

Your Committee believes, as it stated in its previous report to the delegates, that the provision in the present Constitution amply provides for the protection of out-of-town members who seek employment in the larger centers. The Committee does, however, see some justification for the complaints contained in the resolution, and believes that the lack of cooperation on the part of local and joint board officials with those out-of-town members who seek employment in the larger localities should be remedied. The Committee, therefore, is of the opinion that in order to preserve union loyalty and interest in the out-of-town members which is so vital, that the local and joint board officials of the larger centers receive them in their offices in a fraternal and brotherly spirit. It recommends that the incoming G. E. B. investigate and consider the grievances of the out-of-town locals and accordingly adopt such measures as it will see fit to correct such grievances.

(The recommendation of the committee was carried.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 86, on page 13 of the third day's proceedings.

This resolution was unanimously withdrawn by the delegates of Local No. 22.

Your Committee considered the recommendations of the General Executive Board on page 315, dealing with Finances, Employers' Securities, and Finances of the Locals and the Joint Boards, which read as follows:

"In the past two years, both in the instance of the New York Joint Board of the Cloak and Dress Industry and of Local 41, the Tuckers', Hemstitchers', and Pleaters' Local, we have had examples of the misappropriation and expenditure of employers' securities by these bodies. We suggest an amendment to the constitution, providing:

1. All securities deposited by employers for the faithful performance of their agreements shall be deposited in a trust fund under the control of the International, or jointly by the Locals, Joint Board and the International. No funds shall be withdrawn without the signature of the General Secretary-Treasurer of the International.

2. Only such securities as have been definitely declared forfeited in accordance with the agreement shall be withdrawn from the trust fund.

3. The withdrawal or use of funds in a manner other than provided for in the above provisions shall be considered an offense against the constitution of our International as well as against the existing laws of the State.

The events of the past four or five years have shown that in many instances the treasuries of locals and joint boards were despoiled by false and unfaithful administrations without any adequate accounting and that our constitution contains no provision for calling such offenders to account. We can mention such outstanding abuses as the large misappropriations by the New York locals under Communist administration; the destruction of special benefit funds by similarly conducted locals; the theft of local treasuries after the order of the General Executive Board in December, 1926.

We, therefore, strongly urge that this convention adopt such amendments to our Constitution as will prevent the recurrence of such misappropriation of Union funds."

We are heartily in accord with the recommendations of the General Executive Board, for your Committee feels that nothing is more sacred than funds entrusted to a Union and that such funds shall under no circumstances be used for any other purposes but those for which they are designated.

We, therefore, recommend that this part of the report of the General Executive Board be adopted and the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to work it out in a legal form and make it a part of our Constitution.

Your Committee, further considered the part of the report of the General Executive Board dealing with the observance of our Constitution by Union officers, which reads as follows:

"The events of the past few years have similarly proven that our Constitution in its present form does not adequately provide for definite powers to call to account members and Union officers who have failed in the observance of the pledge of loyalty and honest conduct. To meet this emergency, which arose in the last elections in several of our locals, the General Executive Board ordered that a pledge which appears on page 152 of this report, be signed by all candidates for Local and Joint Board offices, as a test of their eligibility and it is hereby recommended to the convention for inclusion in our Constitution."

Your Committee is mindful of the fact that this recommendation as a part of our Constitution may not be to the liking of some of the loyal members of our Union, who honestly and sincerely comply with all the provisions of our Constitution and who are very faithful to the interests of our organization, but as conditions in the past few years have proven such pledge is absolutely essential to be embodied in the Constitution we, therefore, recommend its adoption.

Delegate Solomon: I feel that the recommendation of the Committee that we

all sign a pledge of loyalty when we want to run for an office in our Union is below our dignity and is a slap to the man and the woman that has the capabilities for running for office. I do not believe that we should make a practice of making men and women in our Union sign a pledge of loyalty. I say that we shall not accept the recommendation of this committee in the form recommended to us.

Delegate Fannia M. Cohn: I move that the resolution be referred back to the committee.

Delegate Solomon: I second the motion.

Delegate Ninfo: To those who want to refer this back to the committee, I will say that the committee will come back with the same report. You will have to debate it right here and decide upon it right here. We are not children, and we will not permit you to make a joke of us. (Applause.)

Delegate Goldstein: This resolution, that we should pledge loyalty to the officers of the Union, would be a slap in the face of every member of the Union who gave his services for years and years. Everybody knows that to be an officer in the Union you must have a good, clean record, and that if any member has a charge to prefer against any candidate he can prefer such charge before the examination committee, or before the Joint Board when that member is running for office. I protest against this recommendation. It is a shame that the convention should even take it up.

Delegate Amdur: I, too, am of the opinion that this part of the report should not be approved. I do not think that it would be advisable to put this part of the report in as a law at the present time.

Delegate Schatz: If we pass this portion of the report, it will mean that we will not be able to get the members to work for our Union. Therefore, I say that we cannot have this on our statutes.

Delegate Fannia Cohn: If you adopt such a measure as the committee recommends, you are adopting certain measures against democracy; therefore, I am against this, and I say that this should

be referred back to the Committee on Officers' Report and let them decide on it.

Delegate Fannio Shapiro: I am against this law, because it would not prevent anybody who is against the International from signing the pledge and then doing as they please anyway. I do not think that we have to go on record to make this a law now.

Delegate B. Kaplan: I want to ask the introducers of the recommendation, if the United States should amend the constitution that a Congressman must pledge his loyalty?

Delegate Kirzner: I want to oppose this recommendation for the reason that it will harm our organization.

President Sigman: We have now reached a time when we must be consistent in our viewpoint and in our policies. You have more than once in your local unions, and at this convention, expressed your opinions and sentiments with regard to the Communist element in our organization. What happened in our Union when we did not assume a definite stand on this matter? Did you have peace and harmony? Were we happy? Were you the ones that caused the rupture in the labor movement? Why play this childish game?

Why not meet the situation openly and above board? Is it not fairer to take a definite position than to devise round-about schemes in order to overcome the Communist poison?

You are obligated by the pledge to declare yourselves definitely and clearly, that as long as Communists pursue their old tendencies and policies, they cannot be trusted to represent a local Union or any other institution in our organization. Are you afraid to say that? Why? Didn't you say it a thousand and one times before? Yes, you did. But it is sentiment and not logic that prevails here not the conclusion that you have got to meet conditions squarely and clearly and above board.

And I say to you, that if I or you, or any one of us who may be running for office, will place our name to a declaration which fully represents our best judgment and also the by-laws that we

have adopted, there is no shame on our part in doing it.

One of the speakers said that some will sign it anyhow. Yes, they have signed all kinds of pledges, but in all those pledges you did not mention the Communist Party as a treacherous instrument against the trade union movement. Once you mention the party they decline to sign.

I am in favor of a clean provision of this kind in our by-laws in order that our position may be definitely known and understood. We do not care what party a man belongs to, and we have decided even to allow Communists to stay in our Union, but when it comes to entrusting them with the destinies of the Union, then we want to call a halt, and I am convinced that a good many of our people here will agree with me, that after they have tasted a bit of the Communist leadership, this is a good by-law to have. I tell you that you are not committing an error to have in your laws something that will clearly state your position.

I suggest that you pass the recommendation of the Committee.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted by the vote of 83 to 12.)

Delegate Ninfo: Your Committee discussed that part of the General Executive Board report dealing with the simultaneous elections for local and joint boards, which reads as follows:

"During all the years of our existence, we have found a very unsatisfactory condition prevailing in our Joint Boards due to the fact that the various locals constituting the joint boards hold their elections at varying times. This has kept the membership in the unions continually agitated over election and political issues, has tended toward great instability of representation on the joint boards and has diverted attention from economic and industrial matters.

"The General Executive Board, therefore, strongly recommends that elections within all locals affiliated with joint boards be held during one month in the year, the naming of such month to be left in the hands of the joint board in each city. It also recommends that the

elections of general managers of the joint boards by the membership be held during the same period, and that amendments to this effect be included in our Constitution."

Your Committee is heartily in accord with the provision embodied in this recommendation, and we recommend that it be adopted and referred to the Incoming General Executive Board and that they jointly with the local Unions and the Joint Board carry it out into effect.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Ninfo: Your Committee considered the recommendation of the General Executive Board dealing with safeguards against election frauds, which reads as follows:

"We herewith reaffirm the recommendation made to the last convention, quoted below. We believe that this change should go into effect thirty days after the adjournment of the convention and should be fully enforced six months after the convention. That recommendation reads:

"The General Executive Board would recommend the adoption of a change in the Constitution which would make it obligatory upon all applicants for membership and for all members already holding cards in the I. L. G. W. U. to furnish the office of the local which they wish to enter or the local they already belong to with two photographs of a small size, one of which is to be pasted on the Union book of each member and another on the ledger card to be kept on file in the local office.

"We do not wish to close our eyes to the fact that member books have been substituted in the past in some locals in order to enable their illegal holders to vote for Union officers; that some strikebreakers have in the past, with or without the connivance of some dishonest local officials, been able to procure or buy member books of deceased or retired members and thus avoid being disciplined by the Union; that suspicious have been aroused during the past year that many persons who were not entitled to it received unemployment benefit by fraud through presenting books

which were not theirs; that even in the Unity House, persons, not members of our Union, have made use of other people's books in order to gain admission at much lower rates than what they would otherwise have had to pay.

"A photographic likeness of the owner of the book appearing on it, and another one that would be kept on file in the office for identification in case of loss of a book, would do away with these misuses of union books in our organization. We know that some people might raise objections to it on the ground of some old-fashioned sentiment, but we believe that the advantages the Union as a whole would derive from it would outweigh decidedly every objection that might be raised against it."

Your Committee is mindful of the fact that where the local Unions are numerically small it is easy to control that no such damaging practice shall be indulged in by its membership or election committees.

We also realize that some remedy to abolish the evils dealt with in the report must be found.

We, therefore, recommend that the incoming General Executive Board, as an experiment, shall be instructed to establish a photographic method of identification in all locals with a membership above 500.

Delegate Torchinsky: I am against the resolution and I ask you to vote against having pictures in our Union books.

Delegate Sherr: I would amend this by-law to the effect that the books be changed every year instead of every six months.

Delegate Lefkovits: I know that Brother Torchinsky's objection is more sentimental than practical. We can speak with authority of the benefits of this change, because we have had experiences in Local 48 when I was district manager of the New York Joint Board. We always had complaints that the Italian finishers do not belong to the Union, and wherever a business agent would go to control the shop he would find them without books, but a day later they would come to the office with

books, and it was later found that four or five different people would work on one book.

I know that those especially who come from Russia have a sentimental objection to having a picture because the police also take pictures. But, brothers when you take out an American passport, you must put on your picture for identification. I, therefore, say that you should have no sentimental reasons in this matter. We are rebuilding our union. The most practical ways and means to control our organization should be adopted, and this is one of them, so that no harm may come to the individual member. I, therefore, recommend that this resolution should be adopted.

Delegate Novak: I understand that the previous speakers have been speaking of a situation which exists in New York which requires the adoption of this resolution. Do I understand that this applies only to New York or to the other centers also? We haven't got that problem in Chicago.

President Sigman: It applies to all locals with a membership of over 500.

Delegate Antonini: Not only Local No. 48 has adopted a picture in the book, but also Local No. 89. The members come and ask why only they have to take pictures, and we have no answer to give them. They ask "why the Italians have to put a picture in the book and not all the members of the International. Insofar as the violations that were mentioned here are concerned, I can tell you that the Italians were not the only ones who committed them. These violations also came from other members of the International. People were caught with the goods using books that were not theirs at elections. Some workers go back to Italy and sell their books.

I say that insofar as the experience of Locals Nos. 48 and 89 is concerned, we have made good use of the pictures. If you buy a railroad commutation book on the New York Central, you have to put your picture in for identification, and to this nobody objects. Our union book is a passport, and nobody should

object to that. I therefore recommend its adoption.

Delegate Sorkin: I think this is not such a vital issue. I personally have had a little experience with some of our members in some of the locals and found very little trading in books, and if it is true that a member here and there has made improper use of his book, I do not believe that it is enough reason for this convention to pass such a resolution. It certainly will be interpreted by the membership as branding them as criminals. I do not think it is necessary. I therefore believe that this recommendation is not required and it should be voted down.

Delegate Hochman: This recommendation comes to this Convention from the General Executive Board. It is not a question that we want to go into the picture business, but there are some reasons why we make this recommendation. First of all, I want you to know that during the last year and a half we had a great deal of trouble in identifying our members. A good many of the so-called "lefts" and Communists took out books. They got the jobs of good union members. At elections it would be a good way to check the members who come to vote.

This measure is absolutely necessary. I want to repeat to you that hundreds of men who are not members of our Union are getting into shops by using other people's books. There ought to be this system of identification. Never mind all that sentiment against taking pictures, against signing pledges. A large organization must have control. When everything is all right it does not matter, but under difficult situations it does matter. This resolution should not be objected to. It will help the Union in a good many ways.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Delegate Torchinsky stated that he wants to go on record as being opposed to pictures in the books.

Delegate Ninfo: That ends our report. Respectfully submitted:

Salvatore Ninfo, chairman; Mollie Friedman, secretary.

A motion was duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, instructing the General Executive Board to formulate the provisions properly and in legal form and incorporated in the by-laws, and to express thanks to the Committee for its work.

President Sigman at this time called upon the Committee on Jurisdiction to present its report. The Chairman of this Committee is Charles Kreindler, and its Secretary is David Gingold.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON JURISDICTION

Delegate Kreindler: Your Committee on Jurisdiction begs leave to submit to you a report on the resolutions referred to them dealing with questions of jurisdiction.

In analyzing the resolutions we did not fail to take cognizance of the fact that in such a Union as ours there must be unity and harmony among the different locals. Uppermost and foremost in our mind was always the general well-being and welfare of our international and of its entire membership.

Your Committee invited the introducers of some resolutions and listened very carefully to the thoughts and arguments presented by them. The thoughts and opinions submitted to us varied on the most important resolutions.

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 96 on page 15 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee called upon representatives of all locals involved and listened to the arguments pro and con. Representatives of Local No. 81, cutters, of the City of Chicago, very strenuously objected to this resolution, claiming that if there should be an amalgamation, their locals would definitely have to close their doors, and being that this request demands at this time the amalgamation of all dress workers, and being that Locals Nos. 18 and 81 are locals composed of workers who work on dresses as well as on cloaks and suits, it would, therefore, not be to the ultimate benefit of our international to have these locals weakened.

If, however, it should become absolutely essential for the strengthening of Local No. 100, in accordance with its claim to have all workers that work on dresses in one local, your Committee recommends that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to investigate this matter, and, after the investigation, if found advisable and possible and with the consent of the locals involved, such an amalgamation should take place.

I move the adoption of this resolution.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 109, on page 20 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee concurs with this resolution and recommends that the Cornet Workers of Chicago be given a charter.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 99 on page 16 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee, in deciding upon this resolution, fully agrees with a part of the General Executive Board's report, which appears on page 264:—"The formation of American or language locals or branches, we believe to be of paramount value, out of which the other activities would grow. We believe the experience of the Union with the Italian workers after the formation of the Italian locals is a vivid example of the effectiveness of this method."

Nevertheless, in listening to the representatives of some of the Chicago locals, this Committee is not fully convinced that the granting of a charter for such a local would meet with the desires of the Italian workers themselves.

As the Italian workers of Chicago were not directly represented on this Committee, we, therefore, recommend that this matter be referred to the incoming General Executive Board for investigation, and if found that it is the desire of the Italian members of Chicago to form such a local, the General Executive Board should have full power to act accordingly.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 95 on page 15 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee, after listening to representatives of Local No. 66 and of Local No. 41, who pointed out that the latest developments in their respective trades tend towards their merger into one, and as both practically agreed that the amalgamation of these two locals is the only sound solution for meeting their problems effectively, and upon their suggestion, your Committee, recommends that this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board, immediately after adjournment of the convention, to call a conference of the two locals and have them work under one management for a few months, and if that works out satisfactorily, then amalgamation shall take place with the consent of both locals.

Delegate Riesel: We introduced this resolution because we are in favor of the amalgamation of these two locals. It so happened that in the city of New York, the embroiderers and the pleaters and the hemstitchers and tuckers are working practically in the same shops. The shops that are taking in this kind of work are using all kinds of excuses and schemes to shift the embroiderers to tucking, pleating and hemstitching. Such a situation is hard to control, and, therefore, it is essential that the G. E. B. amalgamate these two locals as soon as possible, so that we might be able in the next season, which starts in August, to control effectively these two trades. We do not ask for this because the local has become a burden; it is still dear to us and we hate to part with it, but it is a development that we must meet.

President Sigman: Taking into consideration Delegate Riesel's remarks, is there anybody else that wants to make any further remarks?

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 118, on page 19, of the fourth day's proceedings.

Committees representing Locals 39 and 80 have appeared before this Committee. The representatives of Local 80 argued that if this resolution is granted it would infringe upon the autonomy of their local, and, furthermore, it would actually be impossible for them to meet this request, because of the fact that Local 80, being a language local, is composed not only of finishers but of all Italian-speaking members of all crafts, and if they should be obliged to have a joint membership committee, it would have to be applied to all other crafts, and there would be altogether too many committees.

Your Committee has also taken into consideration the fact that no genuine attempt has heretofore been made on the part of Local 39 to seek an adjustment within their local joint board.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends non-concurrence with this resolution, because the Committee feels that a matter of this kind should be taken up first with the Joint Board. The Committee is confident that after the question is presented to the Boston Joint Board, fair and satisfactory arrangement for both locals could be worked out.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 98, on page 16 of the third day's proceedings.

After the advice given to this Committee by the representatives of Locals No. 9 and 48, your Committee is convinced that, if this resolution is referred to the incoming General Executive Board, a satisfactory solution and arrangement might be found with the mutual consent of both locals involved and the General Executive Board.

Delegate Sorkin: On behalf of the delegation of our local, we wish to say that we are absolutely satisfied with the decision of the committee to refer it to the incoming General Executive Board and we hope that the incoming Board will give it the serious consideration that it deserves.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 97, on page 16, of the third day's proceedings.

Representatives of Local No. 9, the introducers of this resolution, appeared before your Committee, and in explaining their claim stated that it is not their desire to ask that finishers, who are now members of Locals Nos. 22, 48 and 89, be transferred to Local No. 9, but that there are a number of members in Locals Nos. 3 and 82, who, because of the developments in the cloak trade, have ceased to work as piece tailors and examiners and have become finishers, but are still retaining their membership in their old locals. They, therefore, demand the transfer of such members.

Finding that this is their only request, your Committee recommends non-concurrence with this resolution as ample provision is found in the Constitution of our International for such cases.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

President Sigman: The Chairman and Secretary of the Committee on Jurisdiction inform me that this is a partial report on the resolutions and that tomorrow they would proceed with the balance of the report. The delegates will bear in mind that we will have a night session, which will have to tackle some very interesting problems.

Upon motion the session adjourned at 5:15 P. M. to re-convene at 7 P. M.

Eighth Day—Evening Session Tuesday, May 15, 1928

President Sigman called the evening session to order at 7:30 P. M.

Delegate Hochman continued with the report of Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Moral and Financial Support

Your Committee received Resolutions Nos. 104, 108 and 110, which appear on pages 18, 19 and 20 of the third day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends that the incoming General Executive Board be

empowered to give moral and financial support to the institutions named in these resolutions.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Your Committee received Resolution No. 29, which appears on page 12 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee, after listening to representatives of the various institutions which requested moral and financial support, finds that it cannot at this time recommend the adoption of this resolution for the simple reason that the donation of one hour's pay for all these institutions would require a mutual arrangement by these institutions for the distribution of same.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends that we continue to give moral and financial support to the institutions mentioned in these resolutions and that we leave it to the various joint boards and locals, whenever they find it advisable and whenever it meets with the approval of all the institutions enumerated in these resolutions, to make arrangements to donate the one hour's pay.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Your Committee further recommends that the Jewish World of Philadelphia be included under the heading "General Press" for fairness displayed in its news columns during our struggle against the Communists.

Freie Arbeiter Stimme

Your Committee received Resolution No. 120, which appears on page 15 of the fifth day's proceedings.

Your Committee moves concurrence in this resolution.

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.)

At the same time, your Committee wishes to call your attention to the report of the G. E. B., which deals with the "Press."

The Labor Press

The General Executive Board desires to express its gratitude to the Jewish Daily Forward of New York, as well as to its Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia editions, for its con-

sistent service, through its editorial and news columns, to our trade union movement during all the years of its existence. It has not only built up special labor departments but it has aided in every possible form all branches of the labor movement. It is truly the outstanding interpreter and mouthpiece of the Jewish labor movement, the upholder of the fundamental interests of our trade union organizations, and of their legitimate functions and aspirations. So far as our Union is concerned, its cooperation in the great crisis which we have undergone has contributed largely to its successful outcome. We desire to mention particularly the services not only of Abraham Caban, its veteran editor, and R. C. Vlodeck, its manager, but also of Jacob Kleh, labor editor, H. Rogoff and Dr. B. Hoffman (Zivion), and Mr. Shub, of the editorial staff of the "Forward."

We also desire to record our sincere gratitude to the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" for its attitude of genuine trade unionism displayed in the period of our crisis, and for the able support it has given our cause.

Delegate Mollie Friedman: May I request that the name of Morris Suskind, the labor editor of the "Forward" in Chicago be included? He has contributed a lot to our organization in Chicago.

Delegate Hochman: The Committee gladly accepts the addition of Brother Suskind.

Delegate Antonini: I move that we also include Mr. Arkin, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward of Boston.

Delegate Hochman: We shall be glad to do that.

The recommendation presented by the Committee, together with the additions, was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hochman: On the whole, the New York metropolitan press, English and Jewish, considering the vast barrage of misinformation put forward by the Communists, has given fair accounts of our industrial and internal struggles in recent years. This applies in particular to the New York Times, the New York World and the Herald-Tribune.

I recommend that we extend our appreciation to these newspapers.

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.)

Delegate Hochman: I quote further from the G. E. B. report:

The outstanding example of a shameful role played by a newspaper is that of "Def Tag," a Jewish daily. During the cloak strike of

1928, this newspaper, although it employed E. Shally, notorious leader of camouflage "peace" movements, as a "labor reporter," carried the advertisements and stories of the employers seeking to break down the morale of the strikers. In the subsequent crisis, as a means of bolstering its circulation, it became party to innumerable "peace" and "impartial" movements, engineered by Communists and other enemies of our movement. Such a brazen attempt to capitalize an internal crisis in a labor union at the expense of the workers, is contemptible, and "Der Tag" deserves our whole-hearted condemnation.

We move concurrence in this expression. (Loud applause.)

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously and vociferously adopted.)

Delegate Hochman: I read further:

Simultaneously we offer our appreciation to the New York Leader, which at the present time is the only English weekly in New York devoted to the Socialist movement, for the steady and unfailing aid during this period, and for the genuine spirit of working-class solidarity in which it has treated the events in the life of our organization.

"Der Wecker," the organ of the Jewish Socialist Verband, during this same period devoted itself to the espousal of our cause almost equally as much as it did to the Socialist cause, and we thoroughly appreciate its aid.

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.)

Injunctions

Your Committee received Resolution No. 112, which appears on page 17 of the fourth day's proceedings.

Your Committee is thoroughly in accord with this resolution and desires to call the attention of the delegates, in connection with this resolution, to the G. E. B.'s report, dealing with injunctions:

Injunction Abuses

According to the estimate of the American Federation of Labor, over six hundred injunctions had been granted in the year of 1927 against labor organizations. Small wonder, then, that President William Green characterized the injunction menace as "an instrument with which working men are being reduced to a condition bordering upon servitude." The most outstanding examples of the injunction abuse were in the sweeping orders obtained against striking miners, not only in the injunction-ridden state of West Virginia, but in Pennsylvania and Ohio. According to the recent survey by the Senate of the Pennsylvania coal fields, some of these orders, notably the infamous Schoonmaker injunction, forbade the miners to gather peacefully in a

church of which they were members to sing hymns, or in any way to interfere with non-union production, even seeking to restrain surety companies from furnishing bonds on which appeals might be made. A sweeping temporary injunction was sought in the transit fight in New York City, not only against the Amalgamated Street Railway Workers, but against the entire American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations to prevent it or any of its affiliated bodies or members from attempting to unclose the subway and elevated workers of New York whom the I. R. T. had enslaved under a company union and a "yellow-dog" contract. This injunction was refused by Justice Isidore Wasservogel, whose decision followed another which refused to hold leaders of the 1926 strike in contempt of the 1926 injunction.

Our own organization, in the cloakmakers' strike in New York and in various other centers, has suffered greatly from the abuse of the injunction power by the courts. In the Chicago section, we described the jail sentences of almost a hundred of our members for peaceful picketing in violation of the infamous Sullivan injunction. In the Boston section, we described the enforced signing of these "yellow-dog" contracts, and the injunction granted to enforce them.

So serious has been the growth of the injunction evil within the past few years, that the American Federation of Labor, following its Los Angeles convention, called a special injunction conference, after a meeting of the Executive Council. As a result of that conference a nation-wide campaign against injunction abuses has been instituted in the daily press, through the radio stations which belong to labor, and at special mass meetings. In New York, the Central Trades and Labor Council, together with the New York State Federation of Labor, called a mass meeting in Cooper Union on Sunday, February 5, 1928. The nation-wide campaign has resulted in the introduction of a bill by Senator Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota, at the instance of the American Federation of Labor, in the Senate by which the abuse of the injunction in labor disputes would be ended. This bill provides an amendment into existing law as follows:

"Equity courts shall have jurisdiction to protect property when there is no remedy at law; for the purpose of determining such jurisdiction, nothing shall be held to be property unless it is tangible and transferable, and all laws and parts of laws inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed."

In other words, this bill would redefine property rights, so that labor could be included as a property right of the employers. It is in line with the clear-cut policy stated by President Green in an article on "The Union and Human Freedom," to the effect:

1. To limit equity jurisdiction and thus categorically deny these courts the right to issue injunctions dealing with industrial relations.
2. To repeal or amend anti-trust laws which contrary to the intent of Congress,

have been interpreted to restrict normal union activity.
Our Union should join in every effort of American labor to fight any attempt to curtail the right of labor organizations through the abuse of the injunction power.

Your Committee, with this explanation, in trying to show the efforts already made and being made by the A. F. of L. in this direction, concurs in this resolution.

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.)

Greetings

Your Committee received Resolutions Nos. 11 and 12, which appear on page eight of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee is thoroughly in accord with Resolutions Nos. 11 and 12, and we are deeply appreciative of the help and support given by the Chicago Federation of Labor and the United Hebrew Trades of the City of Chicago, to our organization in that city during our campaigns in the past, especially during the struggle on the part of our Chicago Union to rid itself of the Communist element.

Your Committee at this time also desires to go on record expressing gratitude to the following organizations for their moral and financial support during our last New York general strike and the critical reorganization period:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers.
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.
Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America.
Cigar-makers' Intl. Union of America.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.
Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
Draftsmen's Union.
Atlanta Federation of Trades.
Barbers' Journeymen Intl. Union.
Beet and Shoe Workers' Union.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.
Carpenters and Joiners of America.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.
Chicago Federation of Labor.
Cleveland Federation of Labor.
Electrical Workers of America.
Firemen and Oilers' International Brotherhood.
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Canada.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the U. S. and Canada.
Granite Cutters' International Association.
Hatters of North America.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance.
Jewelry Workers' Union.
Laundry Workers' International Union.
Machinists' International Association.
Maintenance of Way Employees.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.
Metal Engravers' Union.
Molders' Union of North America.
Musicians, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.
Photo Engravers' Union of North America.
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America.
Plumbers and Steamfitters of the U. S. and Canada.
Polishers, Metal, International Union.
Pottery, National Brotherhood.
Seattle Central Labor Union.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America.
Tacoma Central Labor Union.
Tailors' Union of America (Journeymen).
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.
Textile Workers of America.
Typographical Union, International.
United Neckwear Union, Local 11016.
Umbrella Workers, No. 17905.
American Federation of Labor.
Central Trades and Labor Council of New York.
New York State Federation of Labor.
United Mine Workers.
District 9 of the United Mine Workers.
International Machinists' Union.
International Pocketbook Workers' Union.
Brookwood College.
Neckwear Workers' Union.
United Hebrew Trades of New York.
Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unions.
Forward Association.
Workmen's Circle.
Jewish Socialist Verband.
Chicago Federation of Labor.
The Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers in Philadelphia.
Freie Arbeiter Stimme.
New York Leader.
Der Worker.
The Union Worker.

We move expression of appreciation on the part of this convention to the organizations and publications mentioned in these resolutions.

(The recommendation of the Committee was carried unanimously.)

Radio

Brother August Gerber appeared before this convention in behalf of Station WEVD, Debs Radio Station of New York.
Your Committee calls the attention of

the convention to page 235 of the report of the General Executive Board, under the heading, "Labor Radio Stations," which reads as follows:

Since our last conventions, the labor movement has been successful in establishing two radio stations, to carry the message of labor through this most important medium. These stations deserve the support of our organization and the interest of our members.

Station WCFL, of Chicago, established by the Chicago Federation of Labor, has been most successful in reaching a wide audience through its broadcasting program, which includes discussions on matters of vital interest to labor. Our International was represented in these talks by a set of addresses prepared by Miss Cohn.

Station WEVD, "The Voice of Debs," in New York, was opened one year after the death of Eugene V. Debs, on October 20, 1927. It was established as the result of a committee formed shortly after the death of Debs, the Debs Memorial Radio Station Fund, headed by Norman Thomas as chairman, Morris Hilquit as treasurer. Brother Abraham Baroff represented our organization on the Board of Directors of the Fund, which included representatives of trade unions, Socialist and liberal organizations. Our International donated to the Fund the use of the entire sixth floor of our building for a broadcasting station. We also participated in several conferences to bring about widespread patronage of this station by the workers of the country. Our union has also broadcast a series of ten talks devoted to the accomplishments and the problems of our Union. We believe this radio station is a fitting memorial to the great leader for whom it was named. Together with Station WCFL, it should be of great service to the labor movement.

Your Committee recommends that the incoming General Executive Board be empowered to cooperate with and give moral and financial support to the Debs Radio Station of the City of New York.

Your Committee further calls upon our members in the City of Chicago to continue their support of Station WCFL.

Delegate Mollie Friedman addressed the convention regarding Station WCFL, and concluded her remarks by stating that this radio station is helping us very much, adding that:

"I want to inform the delegates that at our request Raincoat Makers' Local 54 assessed each member \$1.00 and sent in the money collected to help maintain WCFL. We hope that the workers in Chicago, as well as everywhere else, will continue to assist financially Station

WCFL, so that it will be able to extend its work to all workers in the land."

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously accepted.)

Peace

Your Committee received Resolutions Nos. 71 and 74, which appear on pages 9 and 10 of the third day's proceedings.

These two resolutions demand, no more or less, than an unconditional reinstatement of the so-called locals and individuals at present outside of the organization.

Your Committee does not find it necessary, at the present, to give any time to these resolutions. One resolution, No. 71, has been introduced by Local No. 52 of Los Angeles, and Resolution No. 74 was introduced by Local No. 14 of Toronto, Canada. Both Los Angeles and Toronto are far away from New York, and in all probability our members of Locals Nos. 52 and 14 had no opportunity to learn about what happened in the City of New York in the year of 1926. Probably the news of the famous general strike, conducted under the leadership of the Communist Party and its disastrous results which all but annihilated our Union and impoverished our membership in New York has not as yet reached their ears.

The Committee therefore recommends the rejection of this resolution.

Delegate Schatz: I cannot go back to my local without saying a few words for the resolution. We all agree that the best interests of the Union would be served if we took everyone back and then build up a strong Union.

Delegate Polakoff: Those who had instructed Brother Schatz are not interested in a strong International Union, but have one aim, to destroy the Union. They, on whose behalf he speaks, will not lay down their arms until they see this Union destroyed. I further say that when he says that he would not be able to face them and come here to plead for peace, that he is not pleading for real peace but for destruction.

Delegate Di Maggio: It would be well to tell you, Delegate Schatz, that when

you go back to Toronto, tell your members there what the delegates here have said at this convention, how they feel about this matter, and tell them that it is the opinion here that if the Communists do not behave, the same thing would happen to them up there as happened to them in New York and Chicago. (Applause.)

Delegate Schatz: I concur in the feeling of the convention here. I believe that all the delegates here know my standing on this proposition.

Delegate Kirzner: I would have been placed in the same position as Brother Schatz. It just happened that we had an executive meeting of Locals 92 and 14, and all these resolutions were presented there; my local, the Pressers' Union rejected this resolution, and by rejecting it they saved me from being in the same position as Brother Schatz. (Applause.)

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.)

Your Committee received Resolutions Nos. 76, 32 and 34, which appear on page 11 of the third day's proceedings and page 12 of the second day's proceedings.

Resolution No. 76 demands that the convention elect a committee to work out a basis for peace on which all elements in our Union can unite and that this Committee render a report to the convention.

We invited the introducers of this resolution to appear before us and in reply to their request, as expressed in the final resolve of the resolution, explained to them that inasmuch as this resolution was assigned to our Committee for action, that we were not ready to recommend the election of another committee to deal with its subject-matter; but that we were ready to listen to any proposal that the introducers of the resolutions might make. In essence, the desire of the sponsors of this resolution is peace. When your Committee tried to find out exactly what is meant by "peace," the introducers appeared to be very vague in their proposals and did not agree among themselves on a definite program.

Your Committee, however, feels that inasmuch as the word "peace" has of late been used a great deal by a number of

our members, who, we take it, are genuinely interested in the welfare of our Union, that this Convention, once and for good, make clear the attitude of our Union on this question. Peace is an appealing word. No person of honesty and sincerity can stand up and argue against peace—real peace. But peace advocated for the purpose of bringing about warfare and destruction is a mockery.

Once, in 1925, our Union concluded a pact of "peace" with the Communists, and the rewards of that peace, the price our Union paid for it, the suffering our members endured, are contained in the report of the General Executive Board to this Convention and is, in our opinion, a chapter in the history of organized labor so tragic that its counterpart cannot be found elsewhere.

This is clear: no union can endure if it is to submit to the dictatorship of a political party the aim and object of which is not to improve the working conditions of its members, but to exploit it in the interests of a so-called revolutionary movement. Our International Union has never declared war against its members. It was our members who revolted against the oppression, the betrayal and misleadership of the Communists in the general strike of 1926.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, held in the month of March, 1928, in Moscow, on a resolution on the Trade Union Question, the following orders were laid down to all the Communists throughout the world. (This excerpt is taken from the International Press Correspondence of March 15, 1928.)

"Communists and revolutionary workers generally must base their tactics upon a determined and relentless struggle against so-called 'industrial peace,' which is nothing but one of the modern forms of subjectings of the working class to the bourgeoisie. Therefore, while the mobilization of the masses must proceed on the basis of concrete demands concerning wages and hours, the following slogans must be advanced simultaneously: Freedom to strike—against compulsory arbitration, against Social Democratic adherence to wage agreements and, as a general rule, for short-term wage agreements.

The adoption of new forms of attack against the working class by the bour-

goals is accompanied by an orientation to the right on the part of the Social Democratic politicians and the trade union leaders, who actively support the tactics of industrial peace, impede industrial struggles or betray them at the most critical moments. For that reason Communists must adopt tactics which will make it possible to remove the reformists from the leadership of the industrial struggle. The utmost must be done to secure the initiative in forming strike committees and to place ourselves at their head.

"The task of the Communist vanguard in each strike is—to mobilize broad masses of the workers on the basis of concrete slogans corresponding to the given stage of the struggle. This means that Communists must not merely try to put forward more far-reaching demands than those put forward by the reformists but must expose the defeatist manoeuvre of the reformist trade union bureaucracy to the masses by being themselves ready for the fight. Every strike must serve as an arena of struggle for leadership between Communists and reformists."

That is the chief issue in every strike. The strike must serve as an arena of struggle for leadership, and that is what is happening in the strike of the United Mine Workers today, and that is what happens everywhere where the Communists manage to wriggle themselves into a strike situation—the strike must be utilized, not to win it, but to fight against the leaders of the union and to get control of the union.

"Therefore, Communists must aim above all to secure Communist leadership in strike struggles. It is essential to mobilize the masses under Communist slogans, to endeavor to carry out our tactics through the trade union organization, to expose the treachery of the reformists at every stage of the struggle and, if conditions are favorable, to organize strikes notwithstanding the opposition of the trade union bureaucracy. For this purpose it is essential to form strike committees, of which we must take the leadership and through them assume leadership over the whole industrial struggle."

This more clearly than anything else illustrates that there can be no peace between the Trade Union Movement and the Communist Party; that Communist activity in trade unions must lead to destruction of the latter. This thought is very clearly expressed in an article by

Ramsay MacDonald which appeared recently in an American newspaper, as follows:

"Communism is essentially a conspiracy. The allegiance of the Communist is not to the colleagues with whom he is working, nor to his own judgment. It is to his headquarters. No one, therefore, can work with him comfortably because no one knows what he is. In his pocket are his secret instructions. He is a tool, and tools are impossible colleagues. He is an alien using his enfranchisement in obedience to his foreign control, and an alien puppet can only be cast out.

"The old Russian revolutionists of the Kropotkin and Stepanak type were men who took their lives in their hands and who accepted the conditions of conspiracy under the shadow of the executioner. Their surrender of liberty was of the heroic kind and the normal reaction was sublime.

"That is not the case when the secret plot is against men who live in the open and with whom one is supposed to cooperate. Conspiracy under the conditions of freedom of discussion reacts toward a mean and debased lack of scruple and honor. It selects its tools from the most worthless. The generalities of common action are stifled; the conspirators cease to care who their masters are, provided they find employment, and they use any weapon by which they can do their work.

"In stressful times like these they use misery to make more misery and lead their followers to knock their heads against stone walls. They cover their failures by hot words and keep the pursuit after something not yet found by raising will-o-the-wisp after will-o-the-wisp. Thus, both in our trade union and political movements Communism is an influence of personal deterioration and organization disruption."

The role of the Communists in the United Mine Workers' strike, New Bedford and Fall River textile strikes, in the Bakers' Union in New York, and in other unions, clearly shows that they utilize every opportunity, especially unfavorable industrial conditions and strikes, for the purpose of demoralization and quest of control.

In the words of President Green, spoken at this convention, there cannot be peace with the Communists. If some day, in the future, the Communists will learn their lesson and the Third International will change its tactics toward the Trade Union Movement, and a member of the Communist Party would be bound by

the decisions of the Union of which he is a member and would live up loyalty to trade union law, then and then only will Communists be able to join our Union as full-fledged members.

We, therefore, reaffirm the stand taken by the G. E. B. that no person shall be eligible to any office in the I. L. G. W. U. or any subordinate organization thereof if he is a member of the Workers' Party, Trade Union Educational League, or any other organization which advocates the formation of nuclei and cells or similar groupings within the trade union movement. But as far as other workers of our industry are concerned, they always were and are welcome to our Union. As a matter of fact, there are not very many cloak and dressmakers in New York today, outside the Communist clique, who are not already members. But there are a number of workers in our cloak and dress industries of the City of New York who, for one reason or another, have been misled by the false and pernicious lying of the Communists, purposely devised to confuse and misrepresent the real issues involved. These workers failed to register, and many of them claim that they would join the Union providing that they would be accepted as old members, with all right and privileges.

Your Committee, upon the suggestion of President Sigman, recommends the following:

1. That this convention issue a proclamation and order all the local unions of our International, within a reasonable time after the adjournment of this convention, to reinstate all such members with full rights and privileges upon payment of the per capita to the local since January 1, 1927, the first day of registration. This, of course, does not include members against whom there are charges of scabbing.

2. That the executive boards of our locals be empowered to reinstate all members who have joined since registration to full membership upon application by such members, and if the executive board of the local is satisfied that these members have, since their initiation, conducted themselves as trade unionists should.

3. That members of the Communist Party, Trade Union Educational League and those accepting the leadership of the Communist Party, may join the Union and be entitled to all the benefits and protection of our Union, but cannot hold any office. (Applause.)

Delegate B. Kaplan (In Yiddish): The fight that the International, together with the Joint Board locals and all groups, started against the Communists, was not a fight against the Communists, but in reality it was a fight against Communist control. If I can estimate correctly, there are perhaps about 200 Communist members, not more, in our local. I believe that even together with the members of the Trade Union Educational League, they don't exceed that number. I believe the largest part of our membership is "left," but they are not Communists. There should be a differentiation between Communists and "lefts."

I think that the Union will be broken into pieces if you do not take them all back. We will not be able to get control of the trade if we do not take all these men back again. The condition, instead of getting better, gets worse and worse, and it will come to the time when the Communists will be strong and you will have to take orders from them.

Voices in audience: Never, never.

Delegate B. Kaplan: You can holler, "never, never," but that will come, I tell you. I tell you not to go away from this convention unless you work out a basis for peace and harmony in the organization and take all our members back.

Delegate Goldstein (In Yiddish): I know the sentiment here and I did not come here to get any of your applause. I came here to talk for the resolution on peace. I was never a Communist. I am one of the introducers of this resolution because I want peace and harmony. I came to this conclusion because I have come into contact with thousands of cloakmakers and I know that that is their sentiment; that they want peace, but as I do not want to take up too much time, I appeal to you delegates, do not throw away this resolution. I think that the Communists should be taken back and that they should be allowed to run

for office and hold office in our International. (Laughter.) I tell it to you again that every one of them can be an officer provided they will give a guarantee that the party will not ruin the Union. (hisses.) I say make an end to this question once and for all.

Delegate Riesel: I am not a cloak maker, but still I do know a great deal of New York conditions as I, too, come from New York. I am going to tell you some of the bitter experiences that I had with the Communists. I am for peace, but peace with whom? Peace with a body of grafters, a body of destroyers, who took a fund of over forty-six thousand dollars and left only \$276 in Local No. 66, Embroiderers' Union? The auditor of the International can vouch for that, too. Can we make peace with such a bunch of despoilers? I resigned because I could not countenance them. I defy them to deny it.

No, my tolerant friends, we cannot make peace with such enemies of our Union. I would amend the resolution of the Committee by not only not permitting them to become officers,—I would not permit them to come to the meetings of the Union. (Loud applause.)

I fully concur with the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee. (Applause.)

Delegate Ruffer: I know—we all know what it has meant to make "peace" with this element, with these Communist followers. We have done it before with sad results. Brother Riesel, if they cleaned out your local, they cleaned us out also. At the time of the strike in New York, a conference was called by the Chicago Federation of Labor in order to help financially the strikers in New York. It recommended a tax amounting to fifty cents per member and there were 385,000 members. Committees were sent out. The other members sitting here with me and I went out and did our best. It was decided at that time that no stamps be sent out by the Communist leaders of this strike. We went to some unions that have taxed themselves with this half-dollar. When we came to them and addressed them, we found that \$25.00 worth of stamps had already been sent them in the name

of Hyman, and to other unions they sent \$10.00 worth of stamps, and to a third local another amount. We made our speeches, and they told us that they appreciated it very much, but "your leaders in New York have sent us a few dollars' worth of stamps and we have accepted them." They have even sabotaged their own relief work. (Applause.)

Delegate Bluestein spoke on the resolution and urged its adoption by the delegation.

Brother Novack severely criticized Delegate B. Kaplan for his remarks and also strongly urged the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Snyder: I, too, come from New York, and as some reference has been made to business agents I want to tell you that I represent the Eighth Avenue District, the best district in New York. I say that if those business agents who are having shop meetings were to talk to the workers about economic conditions and how to better the conditions in the shops instead of talking politics and "tolerance" and "peace," we would not have to waste our time here about so-called "peace" sentiments that our "peace" friends talk about. (Applause.)

Delegate Torchinsky: You will betray yourself if you make peace with the Communists. The Communists are out of the Union, and they should stay outside of the Union. The door is open and everyone else may freely come in.

Delegate Banach: I think I am also justified in giving my experiences. We are firmly against peace, too, because we, too, have learned our lesson. Perhaps the local that I represent, which only had \$12,000 in its treasury, was fortunate, as the Communists were kicked out of office in it a year after they managed to get in. I want to say that we are absolutely opposed to making any peace with them because we consider them robbers, usurpers and traitors.

Delegate Antonini: While I was accused by some people of still being a Communist, I am proud of the fact that I had learned my lesson while I was with them, about five years ago, and after I left them I fought them and I will continue to fight them until they are

driven out forever from the labor movement. (Applause.)

I cannot understand why you want to make peace with them. I don't know what these 'sholam-makers' want. Who are these "sholam-makers" anyway? I want to tell you members they are what someone here referred to them—snakes: there are plenty of snakes around us, too, and I say that with a snake you can only do one thing and that is crush it, because if you do not crush it the snake will recoil and hurt you. (Applause.)

Delegatè S. Goldstein spoke against the resolution.

Delegate Hochman: I have talked many times with Brothers Goldstein and B. Kaplan and with some others of that group, and if there is a group of people whose minds I cannot make out, it is this particular group. They come around day in and day out and sigh and cry of the bad condition of the Union, and when you ask them what shall we do about it, the reply is "peace." Very good. So we sit down in our office—we are very friendly—and say, let us talk about peace. What kind of peace do you want? They say it doesn't make any difference. I was, therefore, anxiously waiting for tonight, expecting that here, at least, they would come out with their secret and recommend a definite plan for peace. B. Kaplan spoke for 25 minutes and Goldstein for 25 minutes, and all they told us is that they want peace, but the Communists must not dominate the Union. It is a splendid idea, but in order to make sure that the Communists would not dominate the Union, this convention has to sit down with the leaders of the Communist Party and, if they would give us a guarantee that they won't dominate the union, it is all right, but if they won't, then all would be over. That is ridiculous. If the Communist Party would change its tactics toward the trade union movement it would not be a secret, because we read their papers and read the official documents that they send out from Moscow and from their other centers.

I think everybody knows this, but just for the sake of convincing Goldstein and B. Kaplan, I shall purposely read the

latest document printed by the Communist Party, which came from Berlin, (the English Edition of the International Press Correspondence) which shows that the Communists today not only have not changed for the better, but that they are even stronger in proclaiming that general strikes must be won for the purpose not of gaining strike demands, but for the purpose of wresting the leadership of the unions from the "bureaucrats." To them everyone who is not a Communist is a bureaucrat.

Is there anything better than our proposal? All those who want to get back as members with all rights and privileges can do so by paying their dues from the first of January, 1927.

If tomorrow the Communist International decides not to interfere in union affairs, not to dominate the unions, not to utilize the unions for political purposes, but to let every union man within the union be honest and sincere and independent, why then they may even become officers. Isn't that what you want?

As to their coming to meetings, we are not afraid. If they will come and behave well, all right. If they will not, then the executive boards can discipline them and take away their right from coming to meetings and participating in the daily affairs of the union. I hope that Brothers Kaplan and Goldstein tonight, if they are not looking just for issues for the next election in their local or anywhere else, should be the first ones to rejoice in the announcement of final peace for the entire union in offering to all workers to come back to the union. (Applause.)

President Sigman: It is absurd to suggest that a union, a legitimate labor organization, should sit down around a table and ask for guarantees.

You say you want a strong union. And what does the recommendation amount to? I think it is a very liberal step. It is more than any one could have expected. No local union can do it of its own accord. Only a congress, a convention of this kind can rise to that height and forget what the Communists did to it.

And then again, suppose they said that they would give you guarantees. Didn't we have all the guarantees of tolerance

that we could get from them? Did you get much "tolerance" after the Philadelphia convention, after that "peace"?

We know one thing, and that is that if a Communist, after the Union comes out with this declaration, would not want to join the Union on the pretext that he is "red," he will have to be tackled and treated just like any other union-baiter who has no regard for the Union. I think that the recommendation of the committee should be accepted.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted by a vote of 111 to 5.)

Delegate Rufor: I want to tell you that I voted against this proposition for the reason that I do not want a repetition of the crimes that these people have committed against my International, against my local, and against my family. I am sure and I hope and I pray that time should change my opinion, but I am afraid by doing this you have opened the door to these people to destroy that which is still in our possession.

The convention was adjourned at 11 P. M. to reconvene on Wednesday, May 16, at 9:30 A. M.

Ninth Day—Morning Session

Wednesday, May 16, 1928

The session was called to order by President Sigman at 10 A. M.

Secretary-Treasurer Baroff read telegrams from:

National Executive Committee, Y. P. S. L. Convention Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Cincinnati.

Louis Pinkovsky.
Meyer Rosenberg, Local 28, Seattle, Wash.

President Sigman next called upon the Committee on Resolutions to continue with its report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Secretary Hochman:

Miners' Relief

By the unanimous consent of this Convention, Resolution on miners' relief,

No. 121, page 12, sixth day's proceedings, introduced by Brother David Dubinsky, was referred to your committee.

On this occasion, we desire to call your attention to page 328 of the Officers' Report, which reads as follows:

Relief to Striking American Miners

Probably no cause has so stirred American labor as that of the striking coal miners, members of the United Mine Workers' Organization. When the first quarterly meeting of the G. E. B. was held in January, 1926, the anthracite coal miners had been on strike for four long months. A decision was made at that meeting to aid the miners in every way possible, and a conference was called on January 28, 1926, which unanimously decided that each member of the International donate an hour's earnings to the relief fund of the miners. It was hoped in this way to raise a fund of approximately \$100,000. An appeal was sent out by the G. E. B. throughout the country. In New York, the appeal was sent out on February 9, for an hour's work. On the eve of the day on which this hour was to be donated, February 18, L. Hyman, then general manager of the Joint Board, and a puppet of the Communist Party which was fighting the miners, rescinded the appeal on the ground that the strike had been settled. This repudiation had a disastrous effect on our relief movement. The miners were still in great need and would not be collecting their wages if they returned to work until the 15th of March, and their misery was deeply felt.

In the fall of 1927, a special national conference composed of the heads of international unions and of all the most important state and central bodies of the country was summoned by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to organize aid for 150,000 striking bituminous miners who had been on strike in Pennsylvania, Ohio and sections of Illinois for periods of from seven months to over a year. President Sigman represented our International at this conference, which subsequently sent out a nation-wide appeal.

Immediately thereafter, on December 1, 1927, a city-wide conference of our locals was held at Webster Hall, to devise means of aiding the coal miners. As a result, stations to receive clothing, food and money donations were opened by every local and by the Joint Board and the International. Our organizations in Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland and Chicago and in the smaller centers also responded to the call. As a result, hundreds of cases of clothing were sent to the miners, much of it being practically new articles of children's and women's clothing. In addition, the International has sent \$5,000. We regret that our Union was not in a position at that time to send a larger amount of money to this organization which has for years been the greatest labor union in the country in one of the most strategic of industries, and which has always during our own hard times been of aid to us. At the

time of the writing of this report, the New York Joint Board has decided to donate one hour's pay, to be worked on March 1, for the miners' relief fund.

President Sigman: When the first call was issued for relief for striking miners, every joint board and every local of ours in the United States became active in raising money and clothing for them. Some of our delegates here have made statements that we have no union in New York, yet at the time the drive was made for the striking miners we succeeded in collecting some \$47,000.00 for them.

At this time, the Committee on Resolutions recommends the voluntary contribution of one dollar for the miners' strike. This decision alone will not mean much, but if the local unions and the joint boards will respond to this appeal, as they did when the first appeal was issued by the G. E. B., I am sure that there is enough sympathy for the miners amidst our members to part with a dollar and help them. (Applause.)

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Your committee therefore recommends that our members be called upon to pay a voluntary tax of \$1.00 for the United Mine Workers; this money to be collected without fail and that the International print stamps for such a tax.

Delegate Polakoff: May I at this time make the following statement in connection with this resolution, namely, that the Joint Board in Boston has levied a tax of fifty cents per member and has collected, I think, about \$200, which was sent to the International.

Delegate Miller: I would like to ask the secretary of the Committee on Resolutions if the wages donated in New York recently also included work for the miners?

Delegate Hochman: I cannot answer this question. We do not legislate for New York alone. New York will have to make its own arrangements. We are here asking every member of the International to donate \$1.00. In a strike lasting a few weeks one donation is enough, but if you have a strike of a year, or a year and a half, which involves 150,000 members and their families, and where the Communists

are doing all the mischief in the world, one donation is not sufficient. We do not make it an absolute tax because, if we did this, it would have to go through by referendum.

RESOLUTION NO. 122

On Monday, May 14, Norman Thomas, Presidential Candidate of the Socialist party, appeared before this convention in behalf of the Socialist party and made a plea to the convention for moral and financial support for the party during the coming Presidential campaign.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that this convention hereby resolve to call upon its affiliated locals and subordinate bodies and upon its membership to give generous financial support to the Socialist party in the coming Presidential campaign.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Labor Party

Your committee received Resolution No. 24, which appears on page 11 of the second day's session.

Your Committee approves the spirit of this resolution and recommends that if a labor party is formed and sponsored by legitimate trade unions and for constructive purposes, that our International join such a movement.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Young People's Socialist League

RESOLUTION No. 123

WHEREAS, in the advancement of trade union ideals and principles among young men and women, it is of utmost importance to utilize whatever influence and prestige the I. L. G. W. U. has among various groups and organizations, and

WHEREAS, in the accomplishing of such activity, the organized groups of the Young People's Socialist League, many of whom are members of our organization, can be used to material aid in assisting in such work among the younger workers, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we call upon our various locals to aid wherever possible this league in its activity with the hope that a powerful influence may be built up among the young workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Raincoat Makers

Your Committee received Resolution No. 28, which appears on page 11 of the second day's proceedings.

I want to say here, as a word of explanation, that this complaint does not only come from the raincoat makers of New York. My connection with the raincoat makers in Boston, and from what I hear about the other centers, convinces me that the same complaint is true of other places.

Your Committee moves to amend the last resolve by striking out "jurisdictional means," and moves the adoption of this resolution as amended.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Trade Board

Your Committee received Resolutions Nos. 16 and 17, which appear on page 9 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends to refer this matter to the Incoming General Executive Board, to take it up with the Joint Board and to work out a basis on which to make such a board possible.

(The recommendation of the committee was carried.)

Forty-Hour Week

Your Committee received Resolutions No. 5 and No. 22, which appear on pages 7 and 10 of the second day's proceedings.

The Committee desires to point out that since the introduction of the five-day week in the dress industry of New York in 1923, the International has constantly endeavored to introduce the five-day week throughout the country. The five-day week is, at the present time, in existence in New York, Boston and in the cloak industry of Chicago.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

(The recommendation was unanimously adopted.)

Miscellaneous and Accessory Trades

Your Committee received Resolution No. 8, which appears on page 7 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends to refer action on it to the Incoming General Executive Board.

Delegate Riesel: I want to say that we have introduced similar resolutions at the last few conventions, but nothing so far has been done. We get very little help from the Joint Board of New York. This resolution demands that when new agreements are signed that our representatives be present to tell the manufacturers who sign the agreement that when they do give out embroidery, that it should be given out to union embroidery shops only. I say that it is high time that Local 66 be given the consideration in this matter that it deserves. Local 66 has always generously helped other locals, no matter how small or big they were, and we, therefore, think that we ought to get some aid in this matter.

Delegate Hochman: The committee is aware that all you say is true. I can also assure you that when it is referred to the Incoming G. E. B., they will do all they can to give you co-operation, if conditions will permit.

Your Committee received Resolution No. 20, which appears on page 10 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Uniform Expiration of Contracts

Your Committee received Resolution No. 13, which appears on page No. 8 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Incoming General Executive Board to work out a system of simultaneous renewal of agreements wherever and whenever possible and practicable.

(The recommendations were carried.)

Equalization of Standards

Your Committee received Resolutions Nos. 25, 27 and 39, which appear on pages 11 and 14 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee fully sympathizes with the "resolves" expressed in these resolutions. In view of the fact that it is almost impossible, owing to various con-

ditions, to enforce equal standards of wages for all crafts, your Committee recommends that the General Executive Board make an effort to raise the scale of the lower paid workers whenever negotiating for a renewal of contracts.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Time Guarantee

Your Committee received Resolution No. 21, which appears on page 10 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the incoming General Executive Board.

(The recommendation was carried.)

Your Committee received Resolution No. 37, which appears on page 13 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee is fully in sympathy with the request of ex-president Grossman, but in view of present financial conditions, your Committee deems it inadvisable to levy such a tax upon our members.

We, therefore, recommend that the incoming General Executive Board continue its aid to Brother Grossman, as heretofore, and that it devise some plan of taking care of him in the future.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Moral and Financial Support

Your Committee received Resolution No. 38, which appears on page 13 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Your Committee received Resolution No. 1, which appears on page 6 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee is aware of the splendid attempt made by a handful of devoted and able colored trade unionists to organize the large mass of colored workers in trade unions. By far the outstanding example is the fine organization they succeeded in building up among the sleeping car porters.

One of their leaders, Brother Frank R. Crosswaith, appeared before this Convention, and in his splendid address described to us the conditions under which the colored people are working.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends the adoption of this resolution and calls upon all our affiliated locals in every center to assist the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in every way possible.

(The recommendation was unanimously adopted.)

Naturalization Aid League

Your Committee received Resolution No. 119, which appears on page 16 of the fifth day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Your Committee received Resolution No. 33, which appears on page 12 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the incoming General Executive Board with full power.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Your Committee received Resolution No. 26, which appears on page 11 of the second day's proceedings.

Your Committee, recognizing our solidarity with the workers throughout the world, and also recognizing that the Jewish workers of Palestine are a part of the organized international working class, recommends the adoption of the above-mentioned resolution.

(The recommendation was adopted.)

Finances

Your Committee received Resolution No. 36, which appears on page 13 of the second day's proceedings.

The report of the General Executive Board to this Convention regarding the present financial situation of our Union, speaks as follows:

"We believe that the account of the situation in the New York cloak and dress market tells very clearly the story of the financial crisis with which our Union was confronted since the disastrous 1926 cloak strike. The Union was faced with an empty treasury, with a long trail of unpaid bills which the Communist ex-officials had incurred. It had the task of aiding the imprisoned cloak-makers and their families. There was an indebtedness of \$325,000 to the Inter-

national Bank, of over \$300,000 to the Amalgamated Bank for loans made during the strike. There was an expenditure of over \$850,000, representing employers' securities which were misappropriated and squandered by the Communist leaders. We inherited all these burdens and we also inherited chaos and economic misery among our members.

"At the present time, after having met our current expenses and paid off some of these debts, the New York Joint Board and the International have total liabilities amounting to a million and a half dollars.

"In order to place the organization again on a sound financial basis, the G. E. B. recommends that this convention should consider the levying of an assessment. We suggest that this assessment be in the form of contributions of wages for days of work from the membership to the extent necessary to clear off this debt. The method of days' wages instead of a fixed and similar sum from each member is suggested as a more equitable method of taxing equally the entire membership.

"We suggest that this assessment be applied to the entire membership throughout the country, since in the past the membership in New York has always furnished the means for building up and for aiding every branch and every section in the country. In the past two and a half years, it has been the New York membership which has borne the brunt of the severe internal disorder and industrial maladministrations, not only for itself, but for the entire organization."

The New York Joint Board, in spite of the great progress made during the last year and a half, is facing a serious situation. The dress agreement expires in January, 1929. The dress industry, which is today the largest single branch in the city of New York, has been adversely affected during the years of Communist administration of the New York Joint Board. While not in itself involved in a general strike, nevertheless, through the mismanagement previous and during the general Strike of 1926, the Dressmakers' Union has lost heavily in membership, in prestige and in control of the industry.

Today, the Dressmakers' Union controls only a small portion of the industry and therefore standards and conditions in it have been greatly affected. It is the opinion of the dressmakers of New York that a general strike is imperative in order to strengthen the union and to maintain union standards and conditions.

The cloak agreement expires in June, 1929, only six months after the expiration of the dress agreement, and should peaceful negotiations fail to bring about a satisfactory settlement, the probabilities are that the cloak industry will have to face a general strike. We point this out merely to show the delegates to this convention the tremendous task before our New York Union today. The New York Union has always responded generously to the aid of any of our unions, in the United States and Canada. Never was a strike or an appeal made to our New York Joint Board for aid but that it was not granted. Today, New York needs the assistance of our membership throughout the country. The International Union, in order to meet its obligations and in order to be in a position to carry on organization work and help in strikes conducted in the various centers, must always have on hand emergency funds.

Your Committee thoroughly considered this question and came to the conclusion that a tax must be levied upon every member of our International. We took into consideration the amount needed and the method in which such amount can be collected in justice to all our locals, all our members and all crafts. We felt that a straight tax upon every member would not be fair, since the minimum scales and the earnings of our workers differ.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends that an assessment of four days' pay, measured by the minimum scales provided for the various crafts, be levied upon our membership; that this assessment be collected at the rate of one day during each season, starting with the fall season of 1928; that two-thirds of this assessment shall go to the Joint Board and one-third to the International Union.

Delegate Miller: I am not against any tax whatsoever because I feel the necessity of it. However, I am against it in the form of the assessment at the present time. I criticize the Committee on Resolutions for not bringing in a specific tax so that every member would have to pay. In the previous tax for a day's wages many individuals got away with it and did not pay the tax.

Delegate Antonini (Acting Chairman): You perhaps do not understand what the resolution is.

Delegate Miller: This recommendation should go back to the Committee and they should bring in a recommendation of a tax, no matter how much it is. I say the plan you are offering now is impossible. It will remain on paper. You are merely giving a chance to those who do not want to pay to dodge it.

Delegate Ashbes: The recommendation of the resolution is that after the tax is collected, two-thirds should go to the Joint Board and one-third to the International. Certainly I would like to vote for it, but I don't know whether this is the way the split should be made. Can you explain how much are the debts of the Joint Board and how much the International owes? Perhaps the Joint Board is entitled to more, perhaps to less.

Delegate Hochman: As to the proportion I am not interested in it at the present time. I do not think that Delegates Miller and Ashbes got the idea of this tax right. We proposed, first, that the tax be submitted to a referendum. If Local No. 2 is a local of operators and the operator has a minimum scale of \$55.00 a week, you divide \$55.00 by five and you will get \$11.00. That means that every season, when you change your book, you must pay in \$11.00 for the tax, and you have got to continue to do that for four seasons.

Delegate Wander: I believe that the resolution and the recommendation of the Committee should be made as plain as possible, placing the responsibility on every local to collect the assessment, otherwise it will be a loose proposition. I would like to recommend that the Committee even put in the amount of the minimum scale, and the locals will collect it.

Delegate Hochman: Brother Wander, the recommendation of the Committee is clear. This has to go to the membership for a referendum. It will then be up to the General Executive Board to make this explicit so that the members understand it.

Delegate Wander: Then I am in favor of it.

Delegate Bialis: It is my understanding that one-third should go to the International and two-thirds to the Joint Board. Do you mean to say that two-thirds collected from the country would go to the New York Joint Board? Is that what you want to propose?

Delegate Hochman: I mean this: The New York Joint Board introduced a resolution telling you that the last general strike had put it into debt of \$2,000,000. However, I believe it is a little exaggerated. We probably have over a million dollars in indebtedness to meet. We have figured out that about two-thirds of this tax may meet this indebtedness and one-third meet the indebtedness of the International. We, therefore, made the division as recommended.

Delegate Novack: Members of the country centers would be satisfied to pay an assessment, but they are not satisfied to pay four days' wages to cover the debts of the Joint Board of New York. I would agree that this should go back to the Committee with an amendment for, say, two days' wages. Eighty per cent of the industry is controlled by New York, so why can't they stand their own expense, pay their own debts? I can't go back to the Chicago locals and tell them they have to pay four days' wages, two-thirds of which are to go to the Joint Board and one-third to the International. Our members wouldn't know how to vote on it. They would not be able to pay four days' wages. In my opinion two days' wages for the outside of New York members would be a sufficient assessment.

Delegate Otto: I want to say that as far as we are concerned there is no such thing as New York and country. Whatever they are interested in we are also interested in. (Applause.) If the Committee found it necessary to apportion the amount collected, whether four days or three days, we should approve it.

I want to go on record for the delegation of Philadelphia as heartily approving the recommendation of the Resolution Committee.

Delegate Amdur: I am in favor of the recommendation of the Committee. I want to answer Brother Novack of Chicago. His opinion is not the opinion of the membership of the whole country, because I also represent an outside city. I am in favor of the recommendation because the ultimate result will be that our members will have the final word in a referendum. We ought to be generous, because I remember times when the country used up quite a bit of money that came out of the funds of locals in the city of New York, and not very small sums, either. New York spent \$250,000 to help the strike of the Philadelphia cloakmakers, and a similar amount was spent in Philadelphia in the strike of the waist makers. A similar amount was spent in Chicago.

We are confronted with a situation where the Union in New York is overwhelmed by debt. It is the duty of every member of the International to do his duty in this emergency.

Delegate Katofsky: I will not speak against the recommendation of the Committee as a whole. There ought to be some modification. Even though I express the readiness of Cleveland to help the New York Joint Board and the International in its present financial embarrassment, I believe, however, that some consideration ought to be given in the manner of autonomy. The country locals themselves ought to decide what the tax should be. I would, therefore, say that Cleveland or any other section should have autonomy to decide the form of tax to be contributed to the International and to the Joint Board.

President Sigman: Let us clear up this situation. The committee recommends that a tax be put on each member of the International Union, on the basis that if my minimum wage, for instance, is \$50 a week, I should be taxed with one day's wages of \$10, one-fifth, and so on down the line. I am not now speaking about the amount of the assessment. You can use your judgment as to that, but I am discussing the form and the application of the assessment.

Now, some questions were asked why

two-thirds to the New York Joint Board and one-third to the International? There is no way of drawing a line between the indebtedness of the International and that of the Joint Board. I remember that at one time, although we were never at any time rich, we had \$60,000 in real cash. But, on the other hand, we were always rich in generosity; I do not think there is any other International that has contributed as much to other organizations that were in financial distress as we have. I am proud of the fact that we have never lost this spirit of fraternity.

If the International has a large debt at this time, larger than in normal times, it is not because the International has spent more for its ordinary functions. Every dollar that was raised by it was for the strike, during the strike, or after the strike, for the rebuilding and reconstruction of the Union. The loans that we made were consumed for the same purpose. It is the Union that owes this money; the Joint Board, the International, and every local affiliated with it, owes this money, and whether it is two-thirds or one-third one way, or one-fourth, or one-fifth, the other way, is not at all important.

Then again you know that our International was not built by New York alone. As a matter of fact, its greatest strength were the outside towns, where it originated, rather than New York. And when the International was established, and the country locals found themselves in financial straits, did we not in New York, go around, I myself remember being on the committee that went around to locals in New York, advising that 25 per cent of their total capital be shifted to Cleveland for the strike there, and when that was found not to be sufficient, did we not go back to the same New York locals, and tell them to send 50 per cent of the balance to Cleveland? That is the glory of our movement. If not for this principle; if not for this idealism, if not for this common understanding, if not for this feeling of fraternity in the common cause of unionism, what would our International be? I, therefore, say to you delegates, that everyone of you is in the same condition as New York is in, and you have the

same responsibility and the same obligation as they have.

Delegate Lefkovits: While we may be rich in sentiment, yet on that alone we cannot rebuild a union. I do not think it right to refer back this matter and adjust it on the basis of two days, or some other proposition. I say that the only aim we have now is to rebuild the International. We are all in one body here and now is the time to say what our methods should be.

While I am told that it is not popular to talk about the tax to some members, I say that we should forget popularity, our main thought should be to rebuild our organization. If you will decide here today that the recommendation of the Committee should be accepted, it will show the employers of New York and to those in the other garment markets that the International has got down to brass tacks at last, and has decided to go to the membership and to ask it to supply the ammunition with which to rebuild.

Delegate Posen: While I am in accord with the recommendation of the Committee I am not agreeing with the division of the tax. Why not have the entire tax of four days go to the International, so it can be used for the debts of the country in general, as well as clearing up the debts of the New York Joint Board? I would amend it to also include one-fourth to the country locals.

Delegate Solomon: I say that the Committee should also have had a recommendation to the New York locals that in order to have a union they must be ready to keep up a union. How can you expect the out-of-town members to give four days' wages, when on \$25 and \$26 minima they pay 50 cents and 60 cents dues per week, while New Yorkers with a minimum of \$55 or \$60, pay only 35c dues? I believe the committee should take into consideration that the New York dues should come up to the average all over the country.

Delegate Schlesinger: I agree with the resolution as it reads, and I also agree with the report of the Committee. I also agree with the sentiments expressed on the floor in favor of its

adoption. However, I would like to suggest to you a thought that the Committee might adopt that occurred to me while listening to the discussion. You must understand that if you levy a tax of four days' work to be spread over four half-years, you are just eliminating the possibility of levying any other assessment for the next four seasons. If anything else comes up in the meantime, it will be very hard for you to levy any other tax. You must look upon it from the practical point of view.

Take New York, for instance. I do not want to repeat everything that has been said to you. I am inclined to believe that after the assessment, the International, as well as the New York Joint Board, will be able to come up above water. There is no question about it. We will not need any other assessments.

But take a city like Chicago, or take Cleveland. You understand that whatever might happen in Cleveland during the next four seasons, it will not be possible for them to levy any more assessments. Why should we not make some provision for a possible emergency in Cleveland in case something happens? They should have money to go on with their work. My idea would, therefore, be—it is only an idea—that as far as New York is concerned that the division of this assessment be applied in the manner as the committee has suggested, but as far as outside locals are concerned, in view of the fact that you are taking away the possibility from them of levying assessments during the two years, that the assessment be divided in the following way: One-third to the International—there is no question about that—one-third to the Joint Board, and one-third for themselves.

I think the Committee ought to consider this matter from that point of view, in order that there might be more interest in the country towns to work for the tax. It will make it possible for them to have some money should they not be able to make any other assessments. I offer this as a suggestion.

Delegate Bialis: I make a motion that

this report be returned to the Committee for reconsideration.

The motion was duly seconded.

Delegate Hochman: In so far as the suggestion of Delegate Schlesinger is concerned, I would take it upon myself to accept it for the Committee. There is no objection to that.

Delegate Dubinsky: The thought has come to me when Brother Schlesinger spoke on this question and when I heard the position of the out-of-town delegates, that when the agreement in New York will expire, and in order to meet the situation in New York, we will have to have an assessment of our own, not only to meet the debts, but to prepare for the impending struggle with the employers. The assessment, if adopted as submitted, might not offer the opportunity to do so. If your objections are that you do not want to assume the responsibility of meeting the obligations and the debts of New York, New York, in my judgment, would be perfectly contented to meet these problems by itself, badly as it is situated and hard as it is to collect assessments and raise dues. The question isn't so much as to the debts of New York, but as to the debts of the International, and the debts of the International must be met by the entire membership.

(The recommendation to refer the resolution back to the Committee for further consideration was adopted.)

At 1 p. m. the session was adjourned to reconvene at 2 p. m.

Ninth Day—Afternoon Session

Wednesday, May 16, 1928

President Sigman called the session to order at 3 P. M., and called upon the Committee on Resolutions to continue with its report.

Delegate Hochman: In accordance with your decision to postpone action upon the report of the Committee on Resolutions dealing with the general tax upon the membership, the Committee conferred with the various groups, particularly with the leaders of the country delegates, and after discussing this matter with them, it seemed to be the

unanimous opinion of the country delegates that a four-day assessment cannot be carried. We reached the following compromise, however, which also includes the suggestions made by Delegate Schlesinger. Our final proposition is that an assessment of three days' work be levied upon the entire membership of the International based upon the minimum scale of the various crafts. The three days' assessment shall be collected during one day in each season, beginning with the fall season of 1928, one-third of the money realized to go to the International; one-third to the New York Joint Board, and one-third as a special fund for each respective Union. I hope this is clear in the minds of the convention.

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted by the Convention amidst applause.)

Delegate Hochman: Your Committee at this time desires to call attention of the Convention to the report of the General Executive Board, page 141, which reads as follows:

"Their efforts to raise money with which to fight the International and to attempt to build up their dual Union, took several forms. In the first place, the Communist officials of some locals illegally retained the funds of the locals, which in the case of Local 22 was a considerable sum. Secondly, they continued illegally to collect dues and assessments in the name of the Joint Board and its locals, and tried, moreover, to extend this mischief by the issuance of duplicate books to such locals as 48 and 89, which never had been under their control. These locals immediately took out restraining orders to put a stop to this fraud. But even after the Communists had exhausted the stamps on hand, they still kept on collecting money without affixing stamps. In addition, they shortly thereafter issued "Save the Union Bonds," which were not bonds at all, but fraudulent notes, using the name of the International and the seal of the Joint Board. They tried to float these bonds all over the country, and it took considerable publicity on the part of the International and continued vigilance to protect innocent persons from being swindled by these frauds."

In view of the tactics followed by the Communists in using the name of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and that of its affiliated organizations to confuse the minds of the members and the public, to collect monies in

the name of our Union, and to carry on various other activities, your Committee recommends that this Convention empower the incoming General Executive Board to do everything in its power to put a stop to such activities and, if necessary, the General Executive Board be further empowered to use drastic legal measures to bring this about.

The Committee moves the acceptance of this recommendation.

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.)

Delegate Hochman: I desire to make a motion to this convention to send fraternal greetings to an old member of our Union, a member of Local No. 22—Brother I. Lebowitz, who has been an active member for many, many years, and who has participated in every struggle of the Union. Now, unfortunately, he is seriously ill and has been for many months, but in his illness he manages to keep in close touch with the Union and union interests. I think it would be a great help and a great encouragement in his present condition if he should receive a message from this Convention. I therefore move to this effect.

(The recommendation was unanimously adopted.)

Delegate Hochman: This concludes the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Respectfully submitted.

David Dubinsky, chairman.

Jullus Hochman, secretary.

I move that the report be accepted as a whole.

(The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.)

The Convention thanked the members of the Committee for its efficient work.

President Sigman called on the Committee on Appeals to render its report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPEALS

Max Amdur, Chairman of this Committee, and Harry Greenberg, Secretary, submitted the following report:

Delegate Greenberg: Your Committee on Appeals has received an appeal from

Brother Max Carolinsky, member of Local No. 35, against the decision of the Appeal Committee of the International, protesting against his expulsion from Local No. 35 in the year 1926. Brother Carolinsky's appeal reads as follows:

April 6th, 1928.

To the Appeal Committee of the
19th Convention,
International Ladies Garment
Workers' Union,

Dear Sirs and Brothers:—

As a member of the Cloak, Skirt and Dress Pressers' Union, Local No. 35, I hereby wish to appeal against the decision of the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. As an old member in good standing of the Pressers' Local since 1910, I contend and I can prove that I have been deprived of the privileges and rights accorded to members by our constitution by an act of prejudice and petty politics on the part of an invisible power.

When the destructive element took possession of our Local No. 35, my services as an officer terminated, so I went back to the shop to work in order to maintain my family. I held on to the shop until the firm dissolved its business. It was very difficult for me to obtain another job because of the propaganda deliberately spread against us thus preventing me from getting a job.

Walking idly for a number of weeks and being a family man my aim to find a job became hopeless and I was compelled to seek through other channels a means of deriving a livelihood for my family so I went into business. My brother-in-law, Sam Melovsky, who is also a worker in the pressing trade, two other men and myself bought a fruit stand to sell fruits and vegetables.

This business did not in any way conflict with our constitution and furthermore we were not employers of labor. The Communists being advised of my new venture, expelled me from the Union without notice, disregarding the fact that there is a large percentage of our members in the organization who have sidelines besides working at the trade and still maintain their membership.

My venture was not successful and I was again compelled to go back to work at my trade. As a union man I applied to Local No. 35 for a working card. Upon applying, I was advised that I am no longer a member of the Pressers' Union; a union for which I worked for so many years; and that I would have to become a new member. Being aggrieved at the action taken by the Communist administration, I, as a member, appealed to the International against the action of the Executive Board of Local No. 35.

The International did not act on my appeal on the strength of technical grounds according to the Constitution; however, I was advised by Brother Baroff, the general secretary and treasurer of the International, that in view of the fact that Local No. 35 was to be reorganized, the newly elected

Executive Board would deal with this question. As advised by Brother Baroff, I appeared before the newly elected Executive Board and in conformity with the advice of Brother Baroff, the local initiated me as an old member.

Pres. Sigman, being advised of the action taken by the newly organized Executive Board of Local No. 35, at the next meeting informed the local by communication and also personally, that their action is unconstitutional and he advised me to appeal again to the General Executive Board. I, of course, followed his advice and I appealed to them. The General Executive Board gave me a hearing and they referred me back to the appeal committee of the International.

I again appeared before the appeal committee and pleaded with them to give my case consideration and they again failed to do so due to the technical ground of the 30 days' period.

Appeal Committee of the 19th Convention, I believe that an injustice has been done to me by not giving me back my old membership.

The convention is the highest tribunal, being composed of delegates of various locals of various parts of the country. All that I ask is fairness in my behalf because as a member of the Union, I am entitled to it.

Furthermore, I have to make certain statements before the entire Appeal Committee, a statement which I have refused to put into my appeal, and I hope that you will call upon me to explain it in person.

(Signed)

MAX CAROLINSKY.

For the information of the delegates at this convention your Committee wishes to state that Brother Carolinsky appeared before the Appeal Committee of the International and also submitted a written appeal; but due to the fact that Brother Carolinsky appealed after the 30 days' appeal period, the Appeal Committee of the International was unable to act in this case.

Your Committee, however, took into consideration the fact that the business in which Brother Carolinsky was engaged during this time was in no way contrary to the provisions of our Constitution, and, therefore, recommends that this appeal be granted and Brother Carolinsky be reinstated as an old member of the Union with all rights and privileges.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Your Committee has also received appeals from the following members, against the action and decision of the

G. E. B. instructing the local Unions that any member desiring to run for office in the Union or as a delegate to the convention, shall sign a pledge of loyalty to the International:

Name:	Local:
Geo. Halpern	66
Max Halebsky	66
Joseph Pastornack	38
Eva Cohen	38
Morris Goodman	38
Phillip Fergetson	38
V. Abraham	38
A. Forman	38
Wolf Platt	38
E. Sharman	38
H. Karp	38
Isaac Lensky	66
Dan Wishnevsky	38
Lena Lelle	38
Rose Landy	38
Olga Goralln	38
Olga Goralln	38
Anna Horowitz	38
Sylvia Steinman	38
Ida Katz	38
Nathan Wilke	39
Rose Schurman	38
Celia Goshinsky	38
Sam Saroff	20
Abraham Weingart	20
Nathan Greenberg	66
Mark Zarnow	66
Mary Shattan	62
Samuel Helperin	66
W. Viner	56
Morris Keshner	56
Morris Saky	56
M. Shapiro	56
A. Rosen	46
Celia Clayman	46
Ab. Cushman	39
O. Becker	56
A. Tatelbaum	39
Nathan Sprisky	56
Morris Solbling	56
Ida Elfant	50
Clara Yampolsky	50
B. Lebowitz	50
Katie Keller	69
Mollie Shankoroff	50
Sophie Rodus	69

In view of the fact that this convention has adopted the recommendations of the G. E. B. and also those of the Law

Committee, thereby legalizing such a pledge and making it part of the International Constitution, your Committee recommends the rejection of these appeals.

Fraternally submitted,

Max Amdur, Chairman,

Harry Greenberg, Secretary.

This concludes the report of the Committee and I move its adoption.

(The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted with a vote of thanks.)

President Sigman: I believe that the Committee should mention the fact that between convention and convention the G. E. B. has the right to interpret its laws, and being that the pledge was based on existing provisions in our Constitution, that it was a bona fide or constitutional transaction.

President Sigman called on the Committee on Officers' Report, Abraham Katofsky, Chairman, Manny Weiss, Secretary, to continue its report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORT

(Continued)

PART II.

The Industrial Situation and Problems

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 105, page 18 of the third day's proceedings.

The major portion of the second part of our report deals with the subject matter of this resolution. We, therefore, proceed with our analysis.

Your Committee has read with a great deal of interest the part of the Officers' Report, which deals with the present industrial situation in the Cloak and Suit as well as the Dress Industries in New York. We also examined the information in the report which deals with the industrial problems of the other markets, and in general have gone through the wealth of observations scattered throughout the entire report of the General Executive Board. It is not unreasonable that we devoted a greater portion of our time and attention to the industrial conditions and problems of New York. We realize that New York con-

stitutes the major portion of the industry. Consequently the major portion of this part of the report is taken up with consideration of the New York industrial situation and problems.

Conditions in the Cloak and Suit Industry

We are still of the opinion that had the program of the General Executive Board, approved by the 17th Biennial Convention of Boston in 1924, been carried out in its entirety, the industrial conditions in New York would have been entirely different from what they are today. Of course, other problems would have come up, other demands would have to be made. But that program, at the time it was suggested, was, in our opinion, a fair solution of some of the most pressing problems, and an effective way of dealing with the industrial evils. We have again examined the recommendations of the Governor's Advisory Commission and we find that, notwithstanding the few objectional features contained therein, which in our opinion could be overcome, the program could have been carried out. But the rejection of the recommendations and the subsequent strike temporarily destroyed the possibilities for the enactment of that program.

Fundamentally, however, the industrial conditions and problems are the same today as they were in 1923, when that program was formulated. All the evils against which we fought then have, of course, been made far greater by the disastrous results of Communist misrule from the time of the Philadelphia convention until their final treachery in the tragic strike of 1926.

We do not wish to be misunderstood. The organization—from the point of membership and morale left at the close of the strike—was an empty shell, and even that was cracked. A discouraged and disillusioned mass of strikers forced to return to the pre-union conditions of 1909, the influx into the industry of a large number of former cloakmakers, and of a still larger number of non-union elements, the formation of hundreds of small sub-manufacturing non-union shops,—these were the facts which our General Executive Board and the Provisional Committee had to face and deal with.

Since December, 1926, when the Union took over the settlement of the New York strike, much heroic and effective work has been done, and conditions today are not comparable with what conditions were at the close of the strike. This is testified to by the workers and by the employers alike, as we note in the statement on page 140 of our Officers' Report, quoted from the annual report of the Industrial Council, that no group of employers is in a position to defy and violate for any length of time the work standards set up in the industry by the Union.

The Program

We are thus in a position, at this convention, again to examine our industrial problems constructively and in detail. At this time, these problems require far greater thought than at any other time, for, we must repeat again, they are, in spite of the reconstruction work of our organization, more pronounced than two years ago.

(1) The first and most outstanding point in the program of the Union placed before the Governor's Commission in 1923, and again put forth in the report of our general officers, is the limitation of sub-manufacturers and contractors. We believe our own membership and the delegates to this convention are sufficiently acquainted with the conditions in the cloak, suit and dress markets all over the country to make unnecessary a consideration of the detailed reasons back of this demand. We recommend that the incoming General Executive Board be given full power and should make every effort, to enact this important measure of limitation in the 1928 agreements in the New York cloak market.

(2) The second and most important point in the program of our Union closely connected with the first, is the time-guarantee of employment. We still adhere firmly to the purpose of the original recommendation of the time-guarantee in the 1923 program of the General Executive Board.

This problem of the time-guarantee of employment is one of the most crying

and immediate needs of our workers. Without a doubt, the greatest need of the New York cloakmakers is more steady employment under union standards. Every point of our program is concerned with the lessening of unemployment, with the bringing about of a state of control in the market which will stabilize the industry and provide more steady employment, but the time-guarantee touches that evil immediately and directly.

We believe, however, that the conditions in the New York market, and the experience of our organizations with time-guarantee provisions elsewhere, may suggest the advisability of some changes in the form of the original demand for the time-guarantee. We, therefore, recommend that the incoming General Executive Board, in dealing with this important provision in the coming negotiations both in the New York market and elsewhere, do not restrict themselves to the form of the original demand, but to its spirit and purpose. In other words, we recommend that the incoming General Executive Board be given sufficient authority to act, in accordance with their best judgment, in such a way as to bring about the desired effect with regard to the time-guarantee of employment.

These two points—the limitation of sub-manufacturers and contractors, and the time-guarantee of employment—remain the most fundamental points in our program and we trust that the incoming General Executive Board will see to their enactment in the new agreements.

(3) There is a very important provision vitally affecting this problem of unemployment, which was enacted into the agreements, but which, at the present moment, is not in operation, having been suspended until July, 1928. This is the unemployment insurance fund. We understand that the Committee on Unemployment Insurance will deal in detail with the fund. At this point, this Committee wishes to state that in its opinion the unemployment insurance fund represented a great gain for our workers and an important remedy for

some of the sufferings of unemployment, and we trust that the incoming G. E. B. will put forward every possible effort to see that it is revived in July, 1928, and enforced in the most effective possible way for the benefit of our workers. The revival of the fund is particularly important until the expiration of the agreement, when an opportunity would present itself for the introduction of the second point, that is the introduction of a time-guarantee.

(4) Another important provision, which is now part of the agreement in the New York market, but which, we are sorry to say, has not been enforced as a living provision, is the clause regarding the Prosanis Label. As has been pointed out, the Prosanis Label was actually, if not in name, a strictly union label, for under the rules and methods of its use, it not only guaranteed sanitary conditions in the workshop to the consumer, but it was distinctly provided that the label could be attached only to the garments of such shops as were approved by the Union. Prior to Communist misrule it was working out as an additional measure of control of all conditions of which we had reason to complain, and we trust that both the membership and the G. E. B. will do all in their power to make the label a living force for the control of Union conditions in the city of New York and elsewhere.

In this connection, we have received Resolution No. 80, page 11 of the third day's proceedings:

We recommend concurrence in this resolution.

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.)

Method of Wage Payment and Wage Control

(5) We come now to an issue with regard to our industrial program, which is by no means new to our membership. It was discussed in the report of the officers of the Philadelphia Convention, but due to the situation which prevailed at that convention, did not receive the attention it deserved. This centers about the present week-work system.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the employers have continually argued that the week-work system in the cloak industry is responsible for the introduction of the jobber-sub-manufacturer system and all its consequent evils. We have given the answer to this argument many times. This Committee is aware of the fact that it was a complicated set of developments existing in both the cloak and dress industries, which brought about this system, some of which we mention here in brief. These were:

1. The simplification of styles leading to a decrease in the work required, thereby creating an overcrowding of workers.
2. The constant changes of styles which resulted in hand-to-mouth buying.
3. The vogue of the fur coat.
4. The elimination of the suit.
5. The incentive given by these factors to the rise of the irresponsible jobber and of the vast number of small, irresponsible sub-manufacturers and contractors.

But in the development of this system of jobbing-sub-manufacturing, a condition developed which has made the desired results of the week-work system ineffective. Again we do not wish to be misunderstood as being against the week-work system, and in this connection we wish to consider Resolution No. 78, on pages 10 and 11 of the third day's proceedings.

We do not believe the proposal contained in that resolution will solve the problem it wishes to cover. The existence of both piece and week-work in the dress industry has not eliminated the evils complained of. We must, therefore, recommend its rejection.

Nevertheless, we do not believe that the week-work system in its present form is as effective as it should be, and we shall attempt to analyze the basis for this statement.

Under the present week-work system, the Union by collective bargaining, (a) protects the minimum scales of all workers, new and old; (b) protects the wages of workers, who are being paid

above the minimum so long as they remain in the same shop; (c) when a worker, receiving above the minimum, leaves the shop and finds a new position, the Union, by its collective force, is able under the present arrangement to protect him only at the minimum scales in his new position, leaving bargaining above the scale to the individual worker. What happens under this arrangement, in the present condition of the industry?

There has always been a high death and birth rate of shops in our industry due to the small capital required to go into business, to the keen competition which forces many of these shops out of existence, and the actual over-population of shops and employers. This condition has been aggravated in the last two years by the great number of shops, which sprang up during the 1926 strike. As a result of enormous personnel turnover created by these shops, thousands of our workers are today thrown out of employment continually and unexpectedly, often in the middle of the season. When they seek employment in the new shops, they have, under the present week-work system, no collective protection above the minimum scales and can depend only on their individual bargaining power for anything beyond the minimum. They are forced against their will to accept far lower wages than those to which they had been accustomed by reason of their skill and experience. In this way, their own economic position is considerably weakened.

Not only that, but they are forced into a competition with those workers, who are in the more stable shops of longer standing. What is the result? The shop which retains the same force of workers must compete in the market with shops that spring up daily with far lower standards, paying workers far lower wages for the same quality of garment and the same grade of skill. Competition between shops instead of being on the basis of greater efficiency of management, is on the basis of lower labor costs, at the expense of the workers who have been receiving, and are entitled to, wages above the minimum scales. This

system gives every incentive to the large, longer established and better shops to abandoning inside production and turning to the more profitable and less responsible role of jobbers. And the final sufferer is, of course, the worker, who is forced by circumstances to accept a wage at or only slightly above the minimum, and the worker in the inside shops who sees his standards broken down by the unwilling competition of his fellow-union man.

To meet this very acute competition between worker and worker and between shop and shop, the General Executive Board has proposed, if not a solution, at least a step in the direction of solution. We quote it as an example of the method of approach:

"The suggestion is that a joint trade control and adjustment board, under the supervision of the Impartial Chairman, be formed in the industry. The work of this committee would be, first, that of investigation—to visit every shop, sub-manufacturing as well as inside, and to ascertain wages and all other labor costs in the shops. Then, the committee would have to consider the grade of work made in each shop singly, and in that way determine production costs. Its final task would be the regulation of wages and the raising of the standards in inferior shops to those of the better shops.

"For example, let us take as an illustration a jobber who employs twenty sub-manufacturers on a \$10.75 garment. At the present time, an investigation would disclose that amongst these twenty sub-manufacturers, working for the same jobber and on the same quality of garment, workers of equal skill and productivity receive widely varying wages, not at all commensurate with their output and skill. There is constant competition amongst these twenty sub-manufacturers, and the workers are unwittingly forced into this competition. The same situation is true of a manufacturer who employs contractors.

"The function of such a board, after thorough investigation, would be so to regulate wages that labor would cost nearly the same in each shop making the same line of garments. This would check the competition between shop and shop at the expense of the worker and would give legitimate advantage in the market to the manufacturer, sub-manufacturer or contractor, who can reduce his overhead charges on any other item but not on the item of labor.

"It is necessary, of course, in connection with this proposal, to consider means for the control of the supplying factors in the sub-manufacturing shops in the industry. This proposal is, therefore, inevitably bound up with our original program, especially with

the limitation of contractors, which was one of the demands granted to us by the Governor's Commission. Together with these points, we believe, this proposal for the joint trade control and adjustment board would lead to the elimination of the excessive number of sub-manufacturers and contractors and to the return of the larger, more stable and more efficient shop in the industry."

The report of the G. E. B. also discusses another possible alternative—the basing of a minimum wage scale on an annual rather than a weekly scale, taking into consideration the average employment of our membership, and basing that annual standard on a scientific study of a standard of living, and then protecting only such scales, both for newcomers and old workers in the shops. It also suggests that our convention delegates may have other proposals in mind for the lessening of this evil of competition between worker and worker and shop and shop.

We have given much thought to this most pressing problem. Your Committee does not believe that the second alternative proposed, that of calculating the necessary annual earnings and then establishing a weekly minimum for all shops on that basis, protecting that minimum only, is the solution of this problem.

We do however believe that the first proposal for the change in the wage payment system and the method of controlling it—especially in conjunction with the proposals for the limitation of sub-manufacturers and the time-guarantee—is a sound approach to the solution of the problem.

We therefore recommend that this convention instruct the Incoming General Executive Board to make a further study of this particular problem, and to include proposals to make its solution effective in the negotiations for a new agreement, along with the other important recommendations mentioned. 4

Delegate Miller: I would like to ask the President to give us some light on this proposition.

President Sigman: For many years past our cloak industry, and for that matter the whole ladies' garment industry, had been a piece-work trade. Cloak-makers and dressmakers had for gen-

erations worked by the piece, many, many years before I or any of you delegates joined the Union. Not that the cloakmakers were particularly in love with a piece-work system. Far from it. As a matter of fact, the cloakmakers in New York and in every other market always dreamed and yearned for a week-work system. Naturally, under piece-work the labor item in the shop was the most important element of competition. In other words, an employer relied almost exclusively on the cheapness of labor in his shop to be able to compete against other employers in the market. Only after the Union had come into existence has it become possible to establish a more or less effective check to this pernicious form of competition.

The employers in the pre-union days, and even for a long time after that, devised a number of ways of fostering and encouraging this competition between worker and worker. We all remember the bundle contracting system, the method of cutting up material in the inside shops and sending it out to the outside shops; the continued increase of outside contracting shops taking the place of the inside factories; the settling of prices for each shop as a separate unit without considering prices in other contracting shops working for the same concern. The result of all this was that prices in contracting shops would fall much below prices in the inside shops, and, of course, the contractor would under such circumstances do his best to impress the workers that unless they were "reasonable", he could not obtain any work from the inside shops, with the result that the men and women would accept any price to hold their jobs and finish the season.

You know all these things not merely because they are a matter of history, but because they unfortunately exist to a large extent even today in the demoralized parts of both the cloak and dress industries in New York city. Let us, however, return to the days of about 15 or so years ago. As the contracting system developed, the Union which at that time had already begun to function in the trade, attempted to check this condition through joint price committees,

that is, by having representatives of all contracting shops working for a given employer settle prices jointly on similar lines of garments. The employers were very much opposed to these settlements and fought them for a long time. I recall that when we came with this proposition before the Board of Arbitration of the cloak industry, of which Justice Brandeis was the chairman, we found that the situation was so complicated that, while the Board was very much in sympathy with the Union, it could not render a definite decision.

I am giving this little history to you as an illustration of the very many efforts we had made in the past to stabilize the system of earnings and of wages in the cloak industry. This condition reached a climax in 1916, when the Cloakmakers' Union found itself in a chaotic state, due on the one hand to this old system of bundle contracting and aggravated on the other by the rapid growth of the jobber element. During these years we have had a number of ambitious and able persons come to us trying to solve our difficulties. We had Dr. Isaac Hourwich, Abraham Bisno of Chicago and others offering us cures and panaceas, but it seems that all have failed. Then a committee came down to see me on my farm in Connecticut and asked me to come to New York to assume the management of the Joint Board. I came back, and I began, in my own simple way, to solve this problem. I devised a scheme of price committees to settle prices for every shop in the industry. That was my first attempt. At the start of the season we sent out price-settlers through the trade. They would sit down with employers and the employers would bring out a line of styles, and they would bargain and fight over prices, for a nickel one way or the other. Very often the styles shown by the employer to the price settlers were not the lines he intended to manufacture. And after the price committees would leave, the employers would take down the same line and ship it to some other employer, to go over the same farce with the price settlers in his shop. Then when the workers would get down to work on the style the price on which

was supposed to have been settled, they would discover an entirely different garment and would have to be satisfied with the price that the employer had originally fixed with the committee. After this experiment had failed, I came to the Joint Board and suggested that we might try week-work. I must concede that there was very strong opposition to week-work, from above and from below, but I thought that it might help after all. Finally, in 1919, we established the week-work system. I suggested at that time a certain scheme how to control week-work. I advised that a machinery be established to take care of the worker as he moves from one shop to the other, because I maintained then, as I maintain now, that working under our present-day system we are contradicting the basic principles of week-work. When we established this week-work we took the old piece-work earnings as the basis for adjusting wages for the workers. This, however, was only effective insofar as it protected the man while he was on the job. When, after 1919, that man moved to another shop we could not protect him any more except insofar as his minimum scale is concerned. To get on his new job a higher wage than the minimum scale he had to do his own bargaining and fight for himself.

Now, you can understand that, with the conditions under which we had to labor in the last eight or nine years, with the tremendous turnover of firms in our trade, with the increasing unemployment, and with the over-population of workers in the industry, due to simplified styles, the chance our workers have to bargain and to fight for higher scales when changing from job to job is very slim. I will say this much, however, that the situation is by far not a hopeless one. We can greatly improve conditions and along with it introduce a control of wages and earnings, first, by making a great effort to have all our workers unionized in New York City, that would give us an opportunity to equalize conditions even under this present system, though this would only bring partial improvement. You may have the strongest union in New York, but if conditions force one worker to cut the throat of an-

other worker in order to earn his bread and butter, you will always find chaos and misery.

And here we come to the recommendation presented by the Committee on Officers' Report, embodying the original plan contained in the General Executive Board report. I know it may sound to many as a novel proposal. It may appear to many of you as if it meant postponing immediate action and involving of the subject to a great extent, but if we are to make a thorough job and do away with the lack of control which has accumulated for years in our industry, we must be patient, persevering, and prepared for a big task. Some of you might still have a notion in your head that a joint control committee with the employers, under the supervision of the impartial chairman, might not be straight trade union work, that it smacks of "class collaboration." But we have reached an age in industrial life where we must part with a good many of our old notions. We cannot rely upon one single method of solving all our complex problems and needs. I say even if we have contractor-limitation, as long as we do not possess the power to control and equalize production costs, limitation could not help materially. The jobber or manufacturer would find a way of dodging or circumventing limitation. At the bottom of our trouble lies the variation of costs of production on the same line of garments in the various groups of contracting shops, and I say that only by regulation and control of production, in so far as it affects wages, may we hope to eliminate competition between one shop and the other, and classify our grades of work in the industry by placing them under as equal as possible production costs.

With a joint control committee of this kind, as proposed in the recommendation, with a power of an impartial machinery, which could direct or influence every factor in the industry, and every employing interest, I think it would be possible to equalize costs to a material extent, and simultaneously to level up work-standards, the goal for which we are striving all the time. Let me emphasize my central thought: If competi-

tion must exist in our industry, it should not be at the expense of the worker's wages, but it should be exercised by the virtue of lower overhead, resulting from mass-production and mass-output. And it is clear to me that a joint control committee of that kind is bound to have a tremendous effect on the industry and of course help to standardize and to raise up the wages of our workers.

Delegate Schlesinger: Let me say in the first place that our industry originally, as far as my mind goes back, has been and still remains a small-shop industry. This was true of conditions forty years ago, as it is true of present-day conditions. Some of the old-timers on the platform will corroborate me when I say that even 45 and 50 years ago, when we had such shops as Friedman Brothers and Meyer Jonasson, these big establishments were essentially based on the small-shop system. It is common knowledge, for instance, that the Friedman and the Jonasson firms used to employ hundreds of contracting shops. In point of fact, the only period in the history of the cloak trade during which the so-called big shop did prevail was the period between 1894 and 1910, when the Union had hardly any influence in the industry and the manufacturers did everything they pleased with the workers. During those dark years they did have big shops, but inside those shops they had as many contractor sets as suited their interests, who exploited the mass of the workers not a bit less than the worst sweat shoppers or the meanest substandard shops of today. And I further believe that any effort in the direction of converting the cloak industry into a big-shop industry must fail. It is hardly worthwhile for the Union to spend great efforts in this direction. Instead of concentrating its energies in a realistic way on meeting the needs of the workers in our shops such as they are.

I am saying that, of course, not with the idea of criticizing the suggestions made in the report or of the resolution suggested by the Committee. But I have a few thoughts which I would like to outline in the form of suggestions, supplementing the recommendations made by

the Committee. There are a great many causes which make our industry different from other industries. I need not go into this matter in detail, but we all know what an over-stylized, seasonal industry it is. And you also know how insecure is the position of both employer and worker, as a consequence of this mad change of style, has been particularly in the last few years. There were years when an employer could manufacture stocks in the cloak industry. If a manufacturer found himself in the midst of a season over-stocked on a certain line due to the coming in of a new style, he still could find a market for his stock in such sections of the country where women were not particularly eager for brand new styles or actually did not know of their existence. Today, however, with communications so greatly improved, with the coming of the automobile, the radio and, last but not least, the movie, a manufacturer finds it absolutely impossible to prepare stocks for fear that the swiftly moving cycle of styles might force him to dump his stocks into the river. The woman in Oklahoma and Arizona today sees in the movie palace of her home town the styles the New York, Boston and Philadelphia women wear each season, and, naturally, she wants to get the latest for her money.

Mr. Ingersoll brought this out very clearly last week in his able talk to our delegates.

It occurs to me, nevertheless, that, while I approve of this plan for a joint control and trade committee, we must not be over-optimistic as regards its actual contribution to the individual earnings of our workers in the enormously large number of shops we have in our cloak trade. What we should lay greater stress on, however, is the question which strikes our men and women the hardest, the question of minimum scales, which I say are entirely too low in every one of our trades to meet the lowest needs of a worker's budget. Why, I ask, should a cloakmaker earn, on the average, less than a printer, bricklayer, painter, or any other worker in the organized trades? A minimum of \$50 a week may have been all right in 1914, in 1910, but who can honestly assert that in such a seasonal

industry like ours, with such short working periods, the existing minimum scales are anywhere adequate to satisfy the immediate needs of our workers? This is an issue that will appeal directly and strongly to all our men and women because it touches them vitally and affects their daily life immensely.

I conclude we must lay stress on this question of raising of scales for all our workers in the very near future in our negotiations with the employers. Let me repeat, I am not disparaging the report of the Committee, nor its suggestions. I agree with them very much. And even if this suggested joint committee of trade control should not bring about all the results that its proponents are hoping for it, it should be of great use in shedding light upon the living and working conditions of our workers and thus strengthen our hands in forcing to the front our demands for higher wages and greater earnings in the cloak and dress shops. I thank you. (Applause.)

Delegate Rosenberg spoke at length in favor of the resolution he introduced, and concluded his remarks by stating that the only way to make it possible to build up the Union is to accept the resolution as it has been introduced.

Delegate Gingold spoke in favor of the resolution saying that it was necessary to have some system in order to protect the worker, that the committee should take into consideration all the facts presented, and that this convention should go on record again for week-work and against piece-work in any form.

Delegate Halperin declared that he does not want piece-work even if delivered on a silver platter.

Delegate Kaplan took issue with Delegate Rosenberg, who advocated optional piece-work, saying that he did not represent the opinion of the membership, and that the fact that some operators are working piece-work does not mean that the Union should go back to the system of piece-work. He closed by saying that he hoped the delegates would vote for the recommendation of the committee, and reindorse week-work. (Applause.)

Delegate Ashbes also took issue with Delegate Rosenberg, saying that his con-

tention that piece-work would act as a tonic and a remedy for the Union was not a practical one and that if the Union took Delegate Rosenberg's suggestion, the cloakmakers would reject it anyway.

The chairman of the Committee on Officers' Report made some corrections, one being that a statement that had been attributed to Delegate Nagler, to the effect that 20 per cent of the shops that he controlled were working piece-work, was not so, and that his statement was that only 10 per cent of the shops in his district had that system, this number including the non-registered shops. The chairman also gave his reasons why Delegate Rosenberg's idea was not practical, expressing the hope that the incoming General Executive Board would be able to solve this problem.

President Sigman announced that no night session would be held, due to the fact that most of the delegates were very tired.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted, Delegate Rosenberg's being the only dissenting vote.

On motion duly made by Delegate Solomon it was decided that nominations be had at 11 o'clock the following morning for the incoming General Executive Board and for delegates to American Federation of Labor conventions.

At 6 P. M. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 A. M., May 17.

Tenth Day—Morning Session

Thursday, May 17, 1928

President Sigman called the session to order at 9:30 A. M.

The Committee on Officers' Report continued its report.

The Industrial Problems in the Dress Trade

In many respects the conditions of the Dress Industry in New York are similar to the conditions in the Cloak and Suit Industry. The same system of jobbing-sub-manufacturing prevails in the Dress Industry, with seasons getting shorter and shorter and workers more and more unemployed because of discontinuation

of shops. The system of a guaranteed minimum wage, with a price schedule for work, made a part of the 1925-1927 agreement in the Dress Industry, could have been beneficial to the members if enforced properly and if accompanied by a regulation of the jobbing-system similar to the one suggested for the Cloak and Suit Industry. But the Communist misrule in this important trade has demoralized conditions even to a greater extent than in the cloak trade. With practically all the provisions of the agreement unobserved and unenforced, with non-union shops flourishing under the rule of "dictatorship," the dress industry was in a condition of chaos at the time the International took over the New York cloak and dress organizations under its direct supervision in 1926. Since then a great deal of organization work has been done, and we are of the opinion that from now on the International should pay greater attention to the problems of the dress trade.

The entire wage discussion in the Cloak Industry does not, of course, apply to this industry, which works on a double basis—of piece-work and week-work. We believe that so far as the wages are concerned, the provision for a price schedule system with a guaranteed minimum of earnings for piece workers won in 1926, if properly enforced, should provide protection for all workers in the dress industry.

We hope that the basis for the re-enactment of this program in the Dress Industry—that is the establishment of stronger control over a greater portion of the industry through organization drives—may become an accomplished fact in the near future.

(This part of the report was unanimously adopted.)

Regulation of Migration of Workers Amongst the Various Branches of Our Industry

Your Committee has considered that section of the Officers' Report, page 180, which deals with the rise of the dress branch of our industry, and the decline of the cloak, suit and skirt trade. It happens that in the past few years, the

shift has been from the cloak, suit and skirt shops to the dress shops. But elsewhere in the report, on pages 258-260, where this problem is discussed in detail, it is clearly pointed out that while the heavy shift has been from the cloak to the dress shops, the whims of fashion and circumstance also shift considerable numbers of workers from the dress to the cloak, or else to the children's dress, housedress, waist, underwear and our various other shops.

It is a well-known fact that the change in styles, especially in the past few years, has led to a decline of the cloak and to a corresponding growth of the dress trade. It is also known that the dress industry, having a majority of women workers, has a great turnover in its personnel. If the New York Joint Board, which controls both branches of the industry, had been aware of the permanence of that change and of its extent, it might have planned a conscious and systematic transfer of unemployed cloak, suit and skirt makers to the dress shops.

This would have accomplished two important and beneficial results. In the first place, work would have been found for unemployed or underemployed cloak-makers, thus relieving that industry of two of its greatest evils—overpopulation and unemployment—and in the second place, the growing dress industry, instead of attracting a new and largely non-union element, would have had its ranks gradually and systematically filled with union men and women and union standards in the greater portion of the dress trade could have been controlled.

To a certain extent, a great many workers in the cloak industry have made this change for themselves. But they did it individually and, therefore, in a hit-and-miss manner, which in most cases did not work out for their benefit or for the benefit of the Union. Not only that, but their state of mind in the dress shop has been that of temporary workers; they kept looking to the day of the return of the suit, when they might go back to what they considered their legitimate trade. With such an attitude they could not, as workers in the dress trade, participate in the important task of main-

taining and uplifting standards in that branch of the industry.

We are convinced from our own experience and from the analysis given in this report, that there will always be some shifting within the various trades in our industry. At the present time we feel that the problem is of sufficient importance to warrant very special attention, and we do not believe it is too late still to plan some way through which union control in both branches might be strengthened.

We, therefore, recommend that a special committee of the incoming G. E. B. be appointed to study these problems, in conjunction with the officers of the various joint boards and locals, and devise ways and means to regulate this shifting of workers in such a manner as would benefit our entire membership.

(The recommendations contained in this part of the Committee's report were unanimously adopted.)

Your Committee has considered resolutions 75 and 76, both dealing with the introduction of machinery.

Your Committee feels that, although these resolutions refer specifically to Chicago, they have a bearing on the general policy of our Union with regard to the introduction of machinery. As an organization we cannot be placed in a position of being opposed to modern machinery and to technical progress in general. We, therefore, recommend that the incoming G. E. B. should bear in mind Resolution No. 3, endorsed by the Philadelphia convention with regard to the introduction of machines, providing that it shall be done in such a way and at such a rate as to permit the adjustment of workers to new conditions, and to assure the worker a share in the benefits accruing from their introduction.

This concludes the second part of our report.

(The recommendations of the Committee were unanimously adopted.)

Your committee wishes to call special attention to the portion of the Officers' Report, page 265, where it discusses the Needle Trades Continuation School in New York City.

According to the law in New York, young people who are leaving school under seventeen years of age must continue attending school one hour a day till they reach seventeen years. Many young people, boys and girls, who are employed in garment shops are attending five hours a week the Needle Trades Continuation School, where mechanics in our trades are instructing them in various operations, such as operating, cutting, pressing, etc. These young people will eventually work in our industry.

We are glad that our International is in close touch with the Needle Trades Continuation School, and we recommend that the incoming G. E. B. make a study of it and decide what our relations with the Needle Trades Continuation School should be.

(The recommendations of the Committee were unanimously adopted.)

Chairman Katofsky continued:

Part III

Our Union and Its Problems

Our discussion and recommendations in this part cannot, perhaps, be as specific as when we are dealing with industrial problems. Nevertheless, we feel that our union problems are very vital and deserve the most serious attention by our delegates and members.

This section of the report is written not only upon the basis of the officers' report, but upon our observations of general conditions both before and during this convention, and we set down our suggestions after the most earnest and sincere efforts to deal with the problems covered herein. We know that our industrial program, no matter how sound, how well planned and ably negotiated for with the employers, cannot be carried into real effect unless the spirit of solidarity, of unity, of devotion and self-sacrifice prevails throughout our membership, locals, and among all our officials. Back of the very best of collective agreements or arrangements, back of all the complicated machinery of collective bargaining, there is but one guarantee of a strong, healthy effective union—a united membership. We believe that the maintenance, or, if necessary, the reviving, of

that spirit of unity, of solidarity and devotion, is the distinct task of every delegate at this convention and of every active member—the solemn responsibility which rests on every one of us.

Your Committee is not pessimistic as to the possibilities for such a spirit. No delegate who has read the vivid account given in the Officers' Report—and we trust every delegate has read it—of the accomplishments since our Union was cleansed of the destructive Communist element, can doubt the possibilities for such unity and strength. Delegates, think of what the G. E. B., the provisional committees and the active members had taken over only eighteen months ago! Millions of dollars of debts—including a single item of over \$800,000 of employers' securities—completely exhausted local, joint board and international treasuries, and a membership so drained and impoverished by the disastrous six-months' strike, that it could not come to its own aid, to the aid of its own organization—a membership so exhausted spiritually and physically by the long struggle with Communist misrule that it required a miracle to prevent a total collapse,—a collapse from which it would perhaps have never recovered. Dozens of our rank and file workers—strikers and pickets—were in jail through the treachery of the Communists; they had to be freed and their families had to be aided. Every standard in the industry violated, the worn-out strikers were confronted with a new crop of non-union beggar shops, with a non-union element which had come into the industry during the strike, confronted with a great number of employers, who stood ready to exploit their misery to the fullest possible extent. Many of our locals did not even have a home—a place for the workers to come to—had it not been that our parent body, the International, and a number of the locals which escaped Communist misrule, were able to give them office space until our buildings, illegally held by the Communist ex-officials, were restored to us by due legal process.

When in the history of our Union have we confronted so terrific a task in the face of such seemingly insurmountable difficulties, followed by wretchedly poor

seasons, and who can say that the Union which we have today, not only in the cloak and dress industries, but in the miscellaneous locals of New York and in the great centers outside of New York, is not a proof of that miracle? Thousands of workers joined-volunteer committees defying Communist gunmen. Every imprisoned cloakmaker is free, today, our buildings, with one exception, have been recovered, hundreds of thousands of dollars of debts have been repaid, and certainly no one who compares conditions in the shops a year and a half ago with conditions as they are today can say that progress—unbelievable progress—has not been made.

Does that mean that we have gone as far as we, ourselves, and our membership which was in the front lines of the great task of reconstruction—expected of us, expected of themselves? We regret to state that, notwithstanding all the sacrifices of the first few months of the period, despite the superhuman obstacles surmounted by our G. E. B. and our membership, some of the progress made, not only with regard to work standards in the shops, but concerning the morale of our workers, has lately been undermined by the existence of activities which threaten the very foundation of our Union, the very essence of unionism.

We believe that the continued existence of "groups" in our various New York locals, the splitting up of the one great loyalty—the loyalty to the Union—has in it the seeds of the greatest possible danger to its very existence. For, just as it was solidarity, unity and devotion which rebuilt the Union almost destroyed by the Communists, it is the lack of these qualities which will most surely bring about the destruction of all progress that has been made; it is this spirit of sectionalism, of personal politics, of "clubs, groups and factions," which will inevitably, together with the inherent industrial evils from which our industry suffers—give the Communists an opportunity again to "capture" a demoralized and disillusioned membership.

We wish to explain the last statement. It has been said in this convention, and we believe, with great truth, that the Communists could never have gained

control had it not been for the suffering and the misery caused by unemployment and by the absence of a spirit of unity in some of our organizations. It was this combination which gave the Communists their opportunity, and they were not slow in seizing it.

Today we have practically no Communist leadership in our entire organization. But the Communist party still exists as a nation-wide and international organization, awaiting its opportunity again to take advantage of the sufferings of our workers and of the lack of sound unity amongst our leadership.

The various groups which existed during the period of Communist misrule and even in the first days of reconstruction have had, no doubt, their usefulness. But we do not believe these groups have any excuse for existence now. We have a union free of Communist control, free of outside interference by a political party which would make our Union the tail-end of its machinations. Our membership rallied, in the period of registration, to those leaders who represented sound trade unionism, constructive and faithful and idealistic guidance of their course. Shall we now permit these groups within our Union—well-intentioned though they may be—to accomplish what the Communists, what the employers, what all the enemies of unionism could not do? Is there any reason for the continued existence of such groups and factions? Cannot all shades of opinion—and there always inevitably will be differences of opinion—function through the legitimate sub-divisions of the union—the locals? Can we add to our strength, to the necessity for solidarity and for unity by dividing our ranks?

This committee makes a firm and strong and most earnest appeal for unity. We do not mean the "unity" of the various so-called peace proposals made to us since the Communists were defeated and eliminated from our Union. Such false peace proposals and movements, coming from Communists or their sympathizers, had led us to the very brink of destruction. We can make no peace, there can be no unity with Communists, who aim to make war upon the Union, to destroy our organization and

to ignore the interests of our members. We had enough of this "peace" before the Philadelphia convention and before the tragedy of the 1926 cloak strike.

The unity for which we plead, the unity we have a right to ask of ourselves, is a unity amongst ourselves, among the loyal trade unionists. The Union must stand above all! No clubs, no groups, no factions, no cliques shall stand in the way of unity; no political considerations shall assume such proportions as to stand in the way of the healthy development of our organization. We have fought a brave battle—in New York, Chicago, in Boston—all of us together with the thousands of rank and file members whom we here represent and who suffered for our union, as well as our friends in our organization. We have completed a task of which we can justly be proud. With all our industrial and organizational problems—and they are many and complicated—we are today a strong trade union worthy to be considered a member of the great labor movement of the country.

And shall we now, at this stage, permit the spirit of division, the spirit of cliques and groups, which assumed such threatening proportions in the last few weeks to break down this edifice built and rebuilt through the sacrifice, the devotion, the very lives of our membership?

Our answer can be but one. We cannot permit disunion and division. We must return to our cities and our locals with one message only—the message of unity. We must make it our business to see that these groups and divisions disappear. It is the understanding of our committee that the Committee on Law will discuss changes in our constitution which will make the continuance of such activities by any individuals impossible within the recognized body of our union. We trust that such amendments will be adopted, but the business of carrying them through in such a manner that the desired results would be effected, still remains with us. We have shown that unity and solidarity can exist, can be revived after the most terrific of tests. And now we must prove it again.

Delegates, let us not shift the burden of responsibility for the maintenance of

revival of this unit to others. It is our duty as responsible representatives of the workers who want peace, who want unity on a sound union basis, to bring back the message in such a form and in such a spirit, that our membership would recognize in us responsible leaders, capable of devotion, sacrifice and solidarity amongst the membership if we do not exhibit it ourselves. The responsibility is on each of us, we cannot shift it, and we do not believe that any man or woman who has gone through the suffering of the past eighteen months wishes to shirk it.

Let us leave this convention hall and go back to our shops and our locals with the message of solidarity and service. We believe there is room in our union for honest differences of opinion. But the absolute and indispensable essential is that, after all sides had been heard, after a decision had been reached, that that decision be honored and that there be but one loyalty and one consideration—the loyalty to our Union, to our membership. Without that loyalty we cannot exist. With that loyalty, we can—and we have proven it—withstand the attacks of enemies from within and without, be they ever so powerful or unscrupulous.

Delegates, the responsibility for the future is with us, with the leadership of our locals and our International. Let us carry out this sacred task with which we are entrusted in the only manner in which it is possible to meet the many serious problems confronting us. We are members and delegates of one great International Union, and to that Union and its accepted policies must go our undivided loyalty and devotion.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Fraternally submitted,

Committee on Officers' Reports.

A. Katofsky, chairman, Cleveland Joint Board.

Manny Weiss, secretary, Local 6, New York.

Delegate Katofsky: This concludes our report and I move the adoption of the entire report.

(The entire report of the committee was adopted.)

Delegate Riesel: I was honored by being a member of the Committee on Officers' Report, and I wish to say at this time that our committee worked under many hardships, and that all credit for this wonderful report should be given to its chairman and secretary, Brothers Katofsky and Weiss, and it is my opinion that their report is the most significant document of this entire convention, and, therefore, Mr. Chairman, I would like to move that this document of the officers' report be published in "Justice" and in the other weeklies of our Union. (Applause.)

Delegate Kaplan: I fully agree with Brother Riesel, but I would like to amend this, not only to have it printed in our weeklies, but also to have this document printed in pamphlet form and sent to each member of our International.

Delegate Ashbes: If we should print the entire documents with all the remarks it would take too much space, in my opinion, as I think that we should leave it to the G. E. B. to consider which are the vital parts to be printed, and I would therefore amend it to that effect.

President Sigman: I imagine that those who edit our weekly papers understand what material is important and which is not, and we can leave it to them to determine that. Do you still insist on your amendment, Delegate Kaplan?

Delegate Kaplan: I withdraw it. I am satisfied now.

President Sigman: The motion before you is to have the document of the Officers' Report published in our weekly publications. We will now vote on the motion.

The motion was carried unanimously, with an expression of gratitude to the committee for its services. (Applause.)

The President then called upon the Committee on Resolutions to continue its report.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

Delegate Hochman: I was almost sure that we were going to miss something in the report of the Resolutions Committee, and this was a part that was taken up by the Officers' Report, which is as follows:

Your committee was impressed with the wide range of our international activities of a social and civic character, as described in the officers' report, pages 328-336. We note on these pages that our international lent its support by actively participating on the Committee for Intellectual Freedom in the New York Public Schools, by assisting the teachers in their fight for freedom of expression and for the right to actively participate in the labor and progressive movements; by attending the Conferences of the National Council for Prison Labor, thereby protecting the interests of labor and being of assistance to the prisoners; with actively participating in the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Conductors, and assisting our colored brothers in joining the family of organized labor; by being represented on the Citizens' Committee of the Urban League, which assists in enlightening the white population of our country with the social and economic problems of our colored fellow citizens, in an effort to dispel the prejudices that unfortunately exist between the races. Through its active participation on the Citizens' Committee on Teachers' Salaries, it voiced its approval of the educators' demand for a salary high enough to equal the service they are rendering to our country. By attending the Reconciliation Conference against Militarism, it joined in an effort with our fellow citizens in a protest against oppressing the weaker nations. By actively participating in the movement for Old Age Security, it insists that justice be done to millions of workers who served their country on the industrial field. By lending its moral support to the League of Industrial Democracy it supports an organization which is tireless in its efforts to acquaint

our youth and educators in the colleges and universities with social and economic questions of the day as affecting the mass of our people. By actively participating in the development of Labor Age, a monthly labor publication, our International is showing its appreciation of the importance of an intelligent labor press to enlighten the workers with the problems confronting the Labor movement. In actively participating in the Naturalization Aid League, our International is assisting scores of workers to become American citizens, and thus enabling them to function on the political field. In actively participating in the founding and development of Pioneer Youth of America, our organization is doing a great service to the Labor movement and to society as a whole, in helping to develop the workers' children mentally and physically and developing in them an interest in the Labor movement. Finally, in participating in the conferences called by the Philadelphia Labor College for the purpose of discussing elimination of waste in industry and "How to Organize the Unorganized," the International is helping to solve problems of momentous interest to the Labor movement.

Your Committee commends our General Officers for their interest in the above mentioned activities and for the assistance given by them. This is, indeed, in accordance with our tradition.

We recommend that the G. E. B. should continue to support these organizations.

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.)

Delegate Hochman: Your Committee also finds that during the period of re-organization a number of individuals have actively participated and helped us in every way possible, and have been of tremendous assistance in our work. These names are enumerated in some part of the report. Your Committee recommends that the incoming G. E. B. be instructed to find the proper means of appreciation of these individuals who helped us during these critical times. I move the adoption of this report.

Delegate Miller: Does this refer to individuals outside of the organization, or in the organization?

- President Sigman: Outside of the organization.

Delegate Miller: I am satisfied.

(The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Secretary Baroff: We have at this convention sergeants-at-arms, who have ably taken care of the situation here.

These officers are as follows:

Joe. Weiner, chairman,
A. Lederman, Local 56,
J. Silverstein, Local 27,
Jacob Snyder, Local 2,
J. Magglo, Mt. Vernon, Local 113,
P. Cirrincione, N. J., Local 134,
L. Grafman, Local 5,
A. Sudin, Local 18.

I believe that the Convention should express its appreciation to these members who acted as sergeants-at-arms, and that some gift or token be tendered them in recognition of their service.

(This motion was unanimously carried.)

Delegate Kramer: I move that a vote of appreciation be extended to the Arrangements Committee, headed by Brother Polakoff, and that a token of appreciation should be given to them by this Convention. The Arrangement Committee consists of the following members:

H. Tockman, chairman, Local 12,
Sol. Polakoff, Local 9,
M. Feinblatt, Local 73,
H. Newman, Local 12,
E. Finkelstein, Local 56,
A. Dressner, Local 39,
M. Dressner, Local 39,
F. Dencino, Local 30,
I. Posen, Joint Board, Boston,
P. Kramer, Joint Board, Boston.

(The motion was adopted unanimously.)

On motion made by Delegate Aronsky, of Local 35, duly seconded and unanimously carried, the Convention expressed its heartfelt thanks and appreciation to the membership of the City of Boston for the courteous treatment and consideration which they extended to the delegates.

The convention adjourned at 12 M., to reconvene at 1 P. M.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT SIGMAN ON THE SUBJECT OF INSTRUCTION OF DELEGATES

President Sigman: On May 14, toward the end of the session, Delegate Spielman of Local 22 raised a point concerning the instruction given by the Board of Local No. 22 to its delegates at this Convention with regard to voting on the Referendum Resolution. The delegation of Local No. 22 split in the vote on this resolution, a part voting for the majority and another part voting for the minority report.

To clarify his point I wish to say that the delegates of Local No. 22 had a right to vote the way they pleased. The instructions of the Local are not binding on them in this instance, and the reason is because they were given to them after they were elected as delegates.

I have consulted legal authority on the matter and the opinion given me is that instructions, in order to be binding on delegates to a convention, must be made prior to the election, or simultaneously with the election, so that the people who voted for the delegates and elected them would be construed to have also voted for these instructions.

The Constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. governs the election of delegates to conventions. No local, and certainly no committee of a local, has the right to impose any additional qualifications or conditions upon candidates after delegates had been duly elected by ballot in the manner prescribed by the constitution, and the local has no power at a general meeting or otherwise to deprive a delegate so elected of his credential, nor has it the right to instruct the delegate how to vote.

To a similar question by Delegate Nagler, with regard to special conventions, whether locals may instruct their delegates how to vote at such special conventions, the same ruling, as above outlined, applies.

Ninth Day—Afternoon Session

Thursday, May 17, 1928

The afternoon session was called to order by President Sigman at 1:30 P. M.

President Sigman called on the Committee on Resolutions to submit its additional report.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

Delegate Hochman: In spite of the fact that the Convention has expressed its thanks to the Resolution Committee for its efficiency, it seems that we were not efficient 100%. We have missed a number of things and our attention has been called by some delegates to the fact that we failed to take up a very important matter that belongs to our committee, and that deals with our publications, which is referred to on page 312 of the Report of the G. E. B. to this convention, and which reads as follows:

Our Publications

The three weekly journals issued by the I. L. G. W. U.—Justice, Gerechtigkeit and Giustizia—have undergone the following changes since the last convention:

S. Yanofsky, who had been editor of our publications for several years, resigned at the Philadelphia convention. The G. E. B. in January, 1927, appointed Brother Max D. Danish, who had been managing editor of Justice since 1920, as chief editor of our publications. Subsequently, P. Kurinsky and P. Demblitzer were added to the Gerechtigkeit staff. Bro. R. Rende is managing editor of our Italian publication—Giustizia—as in former years.

The editorial policy of our publications reflects the opinion and policy of the General Executive Board on all matters affecting problems of the organization and of the industry. In the struggle of the Union to rebuild control throughout the industry, after the disastrous 1926 cloak strike, our publications have aided greatly in placing the situation at all times clearly before the membership.

Your Committee recommends that the convention express appreciation and give a vote of thanks to Brother Max D. Danish, the editor of our publications, and to his staff, who aided so splendidly in presenting the issues of our Union before our membership during the strike, during the internal struggle, and ever since. (Applause.)

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.)

President Sigman: We again have with us Comrade Hillquit, and I will call upon him now to make a brief address to the delegates.

Mr. Hillquit: Mr. President and delegates: I address you as fellow delegates because by this time I have come to consider myself a delegate to this convention. I am hardly a walking delegate, but I am a sort of riding delegate, passing my time within the last few days between Boston and New York, principally on railroad trains. I am, however, thankful to Brother Sigman for recognizing my rights and standing as a delegate and giving me the floor at this time.

I believe that we have reached the crucial business of this convention. All discussions and speech making are interesting, undoubtedly, but I may say without hurting the feelings of the orators, including myself, that, as a rule, many issues of a general character which, at the time of their discussion, may seem very important, sink into insignificance as soon as a decision has been reached. What remains after the convention adjourns is the group of persons chosen to carry on the business of this organization from day to day, to cope with its manifold problems, to do justice to the interests of the tens of thousands of workers, who, through you, have placed their trust into their hands. The administration which you are about to elect, including your President, your General Secretary-Treasurer, and your members of the General Executive Board will, during the next two years, have the sole responsibility for the welfare of the workers you represent, and this responsibility at this particular time will be exceptionally heavy. We need not go into the situation again.

You have all the problems that every labor union has, the daily struggle for betterment of material conditions, the daily struggles with your employers, and you have, in addition to that, the special problems which confront your organization—the physical, material and moral rebuilding of your movement. And in order to leave this convention with the consciousness that you have left this important task in proper hands, it is essential that you elect men and women as your administrators who will, in the next two years, do the work in a manner which will reflect not only credit on them but on all of you, and which will redound to the benefit of the many, many workers now in the organization, and of many more who should come into the organization within the next two years.

Now, my friends, you are placed in a peculiar position, I know. Usually, when it comes to the election of responsible officers in a labor organization, or in a progressive organization, we have great difficulties because of lack of proper material. We need persons of the highest possible mental and moral qualifications. We need persons who would carry and discharge a tremendously important public trust. We need persons who are ready to give their days, to give their nights to the work, to give their lives to the service of the cause, and we have very, very little to offer them in return,—neither money, nor glory nor, as a rule, simple comradesly, brotherly recognition.

In your particular situation you find yourselves, on the contrary, with an embarrassment of riches. You have more than one persons who seems to be worthy of your trust, and it is this which has given rise to the rather unpleasant and unattractive outward appearance of a rivalry and fight in your ranks.

Now, when I spoke to you the first time I had occasion to refer very frankly and somewhat personally to the two men who are foremost in your minds, and to express to you my honest opinion about both of them. I have noticed in the course of the discussion somewhat acrimonious remarks and reflections. All this is perfectly natural. Whenever we

are in a contest, each side, believing that it is in possession of the actual solution of the problem and of the full truth, and the other is mistaken, we are apt to get heated, and when we do get heated we are apt to overshoot the mark. We are apt to make statements which, in ordinary, sober circumstances, we would not make. I have heard, for instance, the statement that the membership of your organization has lost confidence in the administration and its leaders. Now, I cannot take a census of the sentiment of your membership. I doubt very much that anyone could. I doubt very much that anyone has conducted a fair and impartial referendum among your tens of thousands of members to ascertain how each of them feels, or how a majority of them feel. I can also understand at the same time that after what you have gone through, after all the trials and tribulations to which your organization was subjected, there would be a certain amount of dissatisfaction with any administration, even if that administration consisted of angels. But I will say to you, my friends, that I do not happen to be a rank and filer whose sentiments are supposed to be built and developed by general impressions. I talk of knowledge. I have seen your administration at work. I have taken some modest part in the work. I have had the good fortune to work together and observe your President, Morris Sigman, and I will say to you, my friends, that from my experience with him, I have confidence in him. I have one hundred per cent confidence in everything he does, in everything he stands for. It is not up to him. It is not, perhaps, up to any friends of his. He is a man who has been ready to give his life-blood, his health, every thought in him to the service of the cause without the slightest regard for any compensation or recognition. If anyone has actually—not figuratively—given his health and given it uncomplainingly in daily work, in daily troubles, in daily attempts to adjust a hundred and one difficulties, some of which were absolutely unnecessary and which were created falsely by his fellow workers; if anyone has been able to steer the organization

through such an extraordinary situation, such an unfortunate situation in which yours found itself, it was this man Morris Sigman. And if you go back to your rank and file and if anybody talks about confidence in the administration, tell them that while lack of confidence and suspicion is supposed to be a proletarian virtue, there is such a thing as overdoing a virtue until it becomes a vice. Tell them that if there is any man entitled to the fullest confidence, fullest support of the people in your organization, it is your present president, Morris Sigman. (Loud applause.)

I want to say, my friends, that I am not making a partisan nomination speech. He does not need it. I have made that statement briefly on the first occasion that I had to address you. I did not make that statement in order to be laudatory or boastful, simply a statement of fact in order to contrast this President of ours with another person whom we had in mind; oh, no, because I will say to you at this time that just as it has been my good fortune to work with and to observe your President in the most crucial moments in the history of your organization, it has also been my similar fortune to work in the same way for years and years with my very good friend, your former president, Benjamin Schlesinger. (Applause.)

As to Schlesinger, nobody will charge me of talking with a partisan feeling. In fact, I bear a grudge against him. That man, when he was in office, never realized that I was entitled to rest or sleep. He would call me up day and night, whenever a new idea would occur to him, or some sort of an improvement of the condition of the workers. He never hesitated to monopolize my entire time and attention, and with the intensity, with the energy which is characteristic of him, and of him alone, he would know how to make that problem easy of solution.

I am happy now to announce to you that, after a full and a thorough canvas of the situation, it was found that this convention, as far as I know, stands unanimously for the much-deserving reelection of Morris Sigman as President of this International. (Applause.)

In the tremendous task that will confront him, a task which no President of your organization at any time has had to face, in this tremendous task, which no single individual, even if he were a physical and mental giant, could possibly accomplish, he will share responsibility and labors with the one man of all men who is best capable of rendering assistance, of helping him to bring the situation to a normal and a sane condition, Benjamin Schlesinger. (Applause.)

I do not want to tell you anything about our secret diplomatic negotiations, when in the first effort Schlesinger was offered a post of honor, a great honor in the organization. He rejected it, as he cared nothing for honors, he said. I then said to him, "Will you take service?" Will you come actively in the organization to work for it as you used to work for it, to work for it with might and main without any particular promises of compensation — material, moral or otherwise?" Then he said, "Yes, I will come in; I will serve." (Applause.)

We are pledged to draft Benjamin Schlesinger into service as one of your vice-presidents, and member of the General Executive Board in special charge of the affairs and problems of the cloak and dress industry of the City of New York. (Applause.)

You will have his services; you will have continued the services of your President as the chief executive of this organization, and you must have an executive board efficient enough to support and to guide these services.

Now, my friends, you all understand that when it comes to negotiations to establish harmony between any group of people in any organization, no matter how trivial the issues are, no matter how unjustified the division is, certain feelings are engendered. A peace is not a peace unless it is a complete peace and satisfies both sides, majority and minority alike. (Applause.)

It is good and well that we have our differences; our disputes and our quarrels. That condition is unavoidable. When an organization like ours con-

fronts a situation of this kind, it would be useless and childish to sit back and to condemn one side or the other. It would be useless and childish to say that one side deserves all the credit because it happens to be in the majority. The wise leadership seeks to obliterate dissension, so as to have an actual united and lasting harmony. We have tried to do that in this case.

This suggested the problem, and I then made the suggestion in order to solve the problem that you elect two additional vice-presidents, one from New York, and one from the country. Remember, you make your constitution every two years. Nothing is permanent, and you can always adjust yourself to the situation as you are confronted with it. The interests of general harmony will be best furthered by this step, and I think you can do no less than vote for this change immediately and without discussion.

Now, my friends, let me close with this statement. I am today for the first time really and truly happy in looking at this convention. The mere thought of a division, of men leaving this convention dissatisfied with your present conditions, seemed to me so criminal, so suicidal that I could not countenance it for one moment. You came here primarily with the one purpose of undoing all the great harm that has been inflicted on you against your will. You came here with the one idea to leave this convention with the I. L. G. W. U. rebuilt physically—and above all morally. You have come here to satisfy the hopes and desires of your tens of thousands of members and only now when you have this problem of harmony to solve, not between two different factions having different points of view, but between men and women standing for the same things, in every way, you can easily do it.

When you go back to your respective locals, remember that all you have done here is to lay the plan of action, to forge the weapons with which to fight, but that the great fight to make good the damage that has been done is still ahead of you. It is the great fight on-

ward and forward, day after day, the great fight for elevating the conditions of the hundreds and thousands of men and women who have entrusted you with their fate.

In this spirit, my friends, we will have performed our duties as representatives of these workers; we will have laid the foundation here for fight and for victory; let us go home and work for it. (Applause.)

President Sigman: What is the pleasure of the convention with regard to the suggestion made by Comrade Hillquit?

Delegate Eaton: I would like to present a resolution before the convention which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 124

ARTICLE III, Section 1, to be amended to read:

The General Officers of the I. L. G. W. U. shall consist of a President, a General Secretary-Treasurer and 17 Vice-Presidents, 10 of whom shall be elected from the membership in the city of New York.

ARTICLE IV, Section 1, to be amended to read:

The General President, General Secretary-Treasurer and the 17 Vice-Presidents shall together constitute the G. E. B.

A. Kirzner, J. B., Toronto,
A. Eaton, Local 19,
Louis Maggio, Local 113.

Delegate Lefkowitz: I rise to speak against this resolution. Even though I am for solidification of our ranks in New York and outside of New York, I am of the opinion that this resolution will not be helpful in the situation. Why do we need any change in our constitution as suggested? Why shall we leave ourselves open to be laughed at by our enemies? What will our workers say when we come back and tell them about this resolution? What excuse can we give them for increasing our G. E. B.? Cloakmakers, what do you get from the convention? Three days' tax and two more vice-presidents. (Laughter). That will be the slogan, and you know that I was in favor of the tax. It will only make a laughing stock out of us. We are growing older and older, and getting more and more experience, and probably will get more and more candidates,

and there are always new ambitious men who desire to become leaders, and the time will come when the G. E. B. will be nearly as big as the convention is at present.

Delegate Eaton: One reason that I introduced this resolution is that we should be able to have Canada and the Western States have a representative on the G. E. B. and keep in contact with the trade.

Delegate Riesel: My conscience makes me rise to speak against this resolution. What excuse can I give to my local for the vote on the increase in the G. E. B.? Some time ago, there was a reason in the increase of the G. E. B., because at that time it was said that the International had increased to about 100,000 or so members, and that was a good and sufficient reason, but at the present time I must rise and voice my protest against this increase, and I want to go on record against this part of the resolution.

Delegate Kaplan: The purpose of this resolution is, no doubt, to bring about peace and harmony in our ranks. I think if this were the only thing that we should accomplish in this convention it is worthwhile. But I cannot see for a minute how this resolution will be able to help in that direction. I hope that this resolution will be rejected. (Applause.)

Delegate Halperin: The only thing that concerns me at the present time is the problem of getting peace and harmony out of this convention, and that is what this resolution was brought in for precisely. (Applause.)

No matter what your differences are; no matter what your opinions are, when it comes to our common enemy, we are all united, and, therefore, I say, please go back to your cities and be united amongst yourselves. (Applause). I appeal to the delegates since they have taken this matter up and every delegate has examined the situation, that you vote for the adoption of this resolution.

Delegate Farber: My question is why do we have to amend the constitution for the sake of peace, when I know just as well as everybody else here, that

there are some vice-presidents missing and I think that their places can be filled by those missing?

President Sigman: The question as to why this is being proposed I think was made very clear by Comrade Hillquit. We have more aspirants for high office than there are openings for them. Secondly, Comrade Hillquit explained that this measure is taken as an emergency measure to bring peace and harmony in this convention, or after the convention.

Delegate Schlesinger: I have something to say now here to Brother Lefkovits that may have some effect on this resolution, and, in fact, I have offered the suggestion to Comrade Hillquit, when he spoke to me, which would perhaps eliminate the sentiment that Delegate Lefkovits is concerned about.

I want to say this to every delegate at the convention here as well as to President Sigman, and to everybody sitting on the platform. I am perfectly willing to do all I possibly can for the International. I do not belong to any faction. The International is just as dear to me today as it has been during all the years that I have been actively associated with it. I want to assure you all that I did not come here to seek any office. I do not need any office. Why should you want to have me on the G. E. B. anyway? I am not looking for this honor, and I think I can work for the organization being outside of the G. E. B. I want to assure you, that when Brother Lefkovits a year and a half ago urged upon me to get into this situation and see what can be done to help, I was perfectly willing to help, and I want to assure Brother Sigman, that whether I am outside of the G. E. B. or inside of it, it will make no difference to me; I will do all I can for the International as I have said, and I want to repeat it that the International is as dear to me as it ever was. So leave me out of this proposition, then you will perhaps be able to do away with the suggestion of increasing the G. E. B. (Applause.)

President Sigman: It is difficult to rule and ex-president out of order, but I think Brother Schlesinger was out of place. We have a definite proposition

before the house that we have to pass upon. We will now have to vote upon the resolution.

The resolution was carried by a vote of 116 to 28.

The President announced that nominations were in order for the office of President of the International.

Delegate Stoller: I rise at this time to place into nomination a candidate for President, and I believe it is proper for me to say a few words previous to presenting his name.

I want to tell you that I come from a local where there is a spirit of loyalty. We may have internal disagreements, but when a matter comes to a vote and it is decided, every faction works in harmony with the other. And I hope and trust that this convention after we get through here, will adopt the spirit of Local No. 10.

With reference to the man I am going to put forward, I want to preface it with a bit of history. Some time ago, namely in 1923, when we were faced with a critical situation in the International, our local realized the fact that there is a man who should be called back to his task, and we got that man to serve us. After that we had several conventions, and at every convention one of us got up and nominated the same man. I am not now speaking of the qualities of the man. I am not speaking of his experiences. It will be simply repeating what has been said by persons who nominated him at other conventions and which has been time and again re-stated here. I want to say that we may have differences of opinion with regard to this administration in the future, but as long as we are going to agree and unite and decide on one person, no matter what our opinions might be we are going to support that man 100%. I want to say that as far as the man I have in mind is concerned, he has tried his best for our organization up to the present time and it is not disputed by his bitterest enemy that he has done his duty in full. I rise to nominate Morris Sigman as President of this organization. (Loud and continuous applause.)

Delegate Hochman: This is an op-

portunity that I have been seeking for many, many years, namely, to have the chance to say a few of the things that have accumulated within my heart in admiration of the loyalty, sincerity and ability of the man who has just been nominated.

We have been sitting here now for nearly two weeks, trying to meet the very difficult problems facing our industries throughout the United States and Canada, and particularly our situation in New York. We have worked out programs, and we have reached decisions, and now we finally reach the point when we have to elect not a President, but a leader to lead us in the next two years through this crisis and bring our Union to the place and power it once had, yes, even further than that. I propose that there is no man more fit for leadership in our Union at this time, or has there been at any other time, than President Sigman.

There are a few things that a leader must possess. First of all, he must be one of us. Secondly, he must have a full understanding of our industry and its problems. Then he must have character and backbone; he must be a leader not only in peace but a leader in war, and I challenge anybody to point to any other man in this convention who is more fit, who is more able, who possesses to a higher degree the qualities that I have just enumerated.

He has risen from the ranks and even today he is a rank and file, as we all know him, and no member ever feels any reticence when he has to go and see President Sigman, because, in spite of his office, in spite of being president, he is still at heart one of us. (Loud applause.) Delegates, I have been associated with this industry for a long time, and I pride myself with having a little intelligence and understanding, but whenever, at meetings of the General Executive Board, before the meetings of committees at this Convention, I sat with him listening to his analysis of the problems of our industry, I felt like a fly before a giant.

I say a man must have character. I need not dwell on that. We all know

that he has convictions, that he has principles, that he has the courage to stand up for them and fight for them against all odds. I say we must have a leader, both in peace and in war. While President Sigman has been associated with this Union for many years in time of peace he has contributed greatly to its constructive measures, and as the leader in war, give me a man who can compare with him as a captain and inspirer! There is not one that I know of, and I have been as close to him as anybody in the administration. And when we speak of the fight against Communist treachery, history will record that the man who rid our International of Communist domination and paved the way for the entire American labor movement is no other man but our beloved Morris Sigman. (Loud applause.)

Delegate Blais: Surely, after the eloquent speech made by Brother Hochman, I have nothing more to add. I fully and heartily concur with what Brother Hochman said. As delegate of the Chicago Joint Board, I take great pleasure in seconding the nomination of Brother Sigman as President.

Delegate Polakoff: I move that nominations should be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot for the President.

Further nominations were called for but none was made.

President Sigman: I, naturally, accept the nomination. I will make my speech after I am elected, but there is one request that I will make at this time. I do not desire to be elected by the casting of one ballot. I would like to have a vote and I will ask Comrade Hillquit to mount the chair and take a vote. The only plea I will make is that none of the delegates here should suppress their judgment one way or the other. There will be no ill feeling. In this case let us act like frank men and women. (Applause.)

A vote was then taken and President Sigman was unanimously reelected to the office of President.

Mr. Hillquit: Brother Sigman is hereby declared unanimously elected President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

President Sigman: We will now proceed with other nominations.

Delegate Reisberg: I am in somewhat of a better position than Brother Hochman. I did not have to wait for years to nominate the man for the office that I am going to nominate. It has been my good fortune to nominate the man for Secretary-Treasurer of our International at several conventions in the past.

I am, indeed, happy at the honor of nominating this man. He is a brother of ours whom you all know. The services which he has rendered during many years cannot be disputed. We have always appreciated, and I am sure we appreciate now, and admire and love the man in him, because his soul reflects everything that he does. We all know that man and we all love him. We all appreciate him, and it is my feeling that he should be retained in office. I nominate for the office of Secretary-Treasurer our Brother Abraham Baroff. (Loud applause.)

There were no further nominations. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Antonini.

Upon motion a unanimous vote was cast for Abraham Baroff as General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. L. G. W. U.

Delegate Nagler: It has been my privilege to place in nomination a candidate for the office of First Vice-President of our International at two preceding conventions. The man whom I am going to place in nomination before this convention has been one of the first men of his race to organize the Italian workers and have them become a part of our International Union. He was in the fold of our International Union prior to the year 1910. With his ability and courage and devotion he was able to bring his fellow nationals to the realization that no difference of race or religion exists within the International Union. For years he has occupied various positions within the Union. He is admired by his own local union and by the membership that he represents at this convention, and I do not believe he has missed any convention of our International since he has joined our Union. It gives me great

pleasure to nominate for the office of First Vice-President of our International Union Brother Salvatore Ninfo. (Loud and continued applause.)

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Carotenuto.

There being no further nominations, Delegate Salvatore Ninfo was unanimously elected to the office of First Vice-President.

President Sigman then called for nominations for the members of the New York Joint Board. He also stated that, in accordance with the new resolution nine members were needed.

Delegate Dubinsky: I believe I have a very easy task before me in presenting a nomination before this convention. I intend to nominate a man who has served with worth and dignity for nine years as president of this International Union, a man who is known to the delegates, who is known to the entire membership of the Union, who is known to the entire labor movement in this country.

I remember him from 1907, when the first strike of the reefer makers was conducted. Then I recall him in 1916, when the employers attempted to destroy the union by locking out tens of thousands of workers from their shops. He was the one that brought victory to the Union then. We remember him from the strike of 1919, and we remember him from the next lockout of 1921, when he again brought victory and defeated the desperate attempts of the employers.

He was the first one that brought the problems of our Union into the New York City Hall, when the then Mayor Mitchell conducted in 1915 the hearings and enlisted the aid of such distinguished citizens as Samuel Untermyer, Louis Marshall, Jacob Schiff, Professor Felix Adler, and even United States Senators, who became interested in the problem of our Union and in the sufferings of our members. This was accomplished by the man whom I intend to nominate. He was the first officer of our International to be honored by the American Federation of Labor to represent it as a delegate to the Labor Congress of Great Britain. It was through his efforts that

our International Union gained national and international prestige.

It is an open secret that the reason why we advocated the referendum was to have an opportunity to solicit his leadership to help us solve the complicated problems in New York City and help us unite our forces.

It was first in 1914, when our Union found itself in a critical condition, that we turned to him for leadership. We are proud that this man whom I intend to nominate stated openly on the floor of this convention, and stated in conversations with many delegates, and with Comrade Hillquit, that if his help is needed, irrespective of titles and honors, he is ready to serve and work and help rebuild and reconstruct our Union, which is so much in need of his, as well as everybody else's assistance. Knowing as I do what it would mean to the tens of thousands of the workers who have so much faith and confidence in his ability and his sincerity, in his devotion, and in his leadership in general, and what help it would mean in our great task to revive the morale of our membership, rebuild and reconstruct the International Union, it is the greatest pleasure in my life to present to you the name of our former president, our esteemed Benjamin Schlesinger. (Thunderous applause.)

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Kaplan amidst applause.

Delegate Dubinsky: I move, Brother President, that Brother Schlesinger be elected by acclamation.

The motion was seconded.

President Sigman: I sympathize with the motion, but I don't know whether the procedure is correct. Perhaps we had better wait with this motion until we hear all the nominations and see whether it will be necessary to ballot. I will take up your motion in due course of time.

Delegate Posen nominated Delegate Samuel Lefkovits.

Delegate Li Causl nominated Delegate Harry Greenberg.

Delegate Rufer nominated Delegate Jacob Halperin.

Delegate Perlmutter nominated Delegate David Dubinsky.

Delegate Bluestein nominated Delegate Hochman.

Delegate Goldberg nominated Delegate Gingold.

Delegate Sonia Farber nominated Delegate Antonini.

Delegate Reif nominated Delegate Joseph Breslaw.

Delegate Ninfo nominated Delegate Harry Wander.

All of the above nominees accepted the nominations with the exception of Delegate Lefkovits, who stated that being one above the number required on the G. E. B. he would decline the nomination in the interest of harmony, which statement was greeted with applause.

Delegate Schlesinger: Before you proceed with the election I would like to ask you this question: I understand that there are some strings attached to my nomination, and I would ask you to explain as to what is expected of me if I am elected.

President Sigman: It seems to me that Comrade Hillquit has explained the entire matter, but I will try to give you my version of it. Comrade Hillquit suggested that you become a member of the G. E. B. and become a paid officer of the I. L. G. W. U., and that in your official capacity you be placed to direct and supervise and organize the two great branches of our industry in the city of New York, that is, the cloak and suit and dress industry, which are so much in need now of rebuilding and reconstruction.

Delegate Schlesinger: I would like to have Comrade Hillquit give me his idea again.

Morris Hillquit: My statement was not merely a suggestion. My statement was practically a statement of an informal agreement. I think it is a great credit to Brother Sigman that the suggestion came first from him. I think we understand the situation very well. We are now electing vice presidents, and the understanding we reached was that you will give your whole time to the job; that you will be a salaried vice president and that your special duties would be,

as expressed by President Sigman and previously by myself, connected with the cloak and suit and dress industry in the city of New York in behalf of the international.

Delegate Schlesinger: What do you say, shall I accept?

Morris Hillquit: I have said so a number of time that you should, and I say that you must. (Applause.)

Delegate Schlesinger: I accept.

Delegate Lofkovits: I move that the election of the New York members of the G. E. B. be made unanimous.

Delegate Aronsky: I second the motion.

Delegate Schlesinger: I would like to have my name voted on separately, just as the President had his name voted on, and I believe I have even more reasons for asking it than the President. With you it is not a new thing. But with me it is like coming with a clear head into a sick bed, and I want to know how many want me and how many do not want me, because we still have time mutually to separate, as far as direct connections are concerned.

President Sigman: That request is granted. I declare that as far as the other nominees are concerned, they are unanimously elected, with the exception of Delegate Schlesinger, who wants to have a more definite form of expression by this convention on the same basis as I asked for, and I say that it is only fair to grant him this request. We will, therefore, now take up the election of Delegate Schlesinger.

The election of Delegate Schlesinger to the G. E. B. was unanimous, without a dissenting vote. (Great applause.)

President Sigman: We will now proceed to the nomination for members of the G. E. B. outside of New York.

Delegate Rubin nominated Max Amdur.

Delegate Stein nominated Elias Reisberg.

Delegate Friend nominated Charles Kreindler.

Delegate Di Maggio nominated Mollie Friedman.

Delegate Polakoff nominated Phillip Kramer.

Delegate Goldstein nominated Morris Bialis.

Delegate Schatz nominated Abraham Kirzner.

Delegate Baroff: I move that the nominees be elected unanimously.

Delegate Miller: I second that motion.

The secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for the election of the seven nominees named above as the vice presidents from cities outside of New York.

Delegates to the A. F. of L.

Delegate Kreindler nominated Abraham Katofsky.

Delegate Graber nominated Mannie Weiss.

Delegate Shapiro nominated Abraham Snyder.

Delegate Ninfo nominated Basil Destl.

Delegate Dubinsky nominated Isidore Nagler.

Delegate Amdur nominated George Rubin.

Delegate Becky Stein nominated Phillip Oretsky.

Delegate Bialis nominated Harry Rufor.

Delegate Antonini nominated Luigi Rea.

Delegate Klein nominated Nathan Reisel.

Delegate Kramer nominated Sol Goldberg.

All the nominees accepted.

President Sigman: I will now call upon the Committee on Jurisdiction to continue with its report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON JURISDICTION—(Continued)

Delegate Kreindler (D. Gingold, Secretary), Chairman of the Committee, rendered the following report:

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 100 on page 16 of third day's proceedings.

Your Committee is well aware of the importance of this resolution and knows that this jurisdictional dispute is of a nature that has caused much turmoil and disharmony among the cloak operators of New York and many times caused the creation of a false political background during election campaigns.

Your Committee is also aware of, and herewith desires to bring to the attention of the delegates to this Convention the fact that the existing controversy between the cloak operators was not a result of the amalgamation of the operator locals in New York, but originated even prior to the 1912 Convention, which was held in Toronto, Canada. Due to the growing changes that have come into the cloak industry because of the introduction of new machinery, simplification of styles, and accumulation of capital, the tendency of centralization of all grades of garments into one factory had sprung up. It inevitably led to a situation when it became well-nigh impossible to distinguish which of the local unions should control this, that or the other shop. Because members of both locals were obliged, due to new conditions of the industry, to work in one and the same shop, there ensued friction and constant strife between the two locals of New York cloak operators.

Local No. 1 has since then continuously complained and objected to the usurpation of control by Local No. 17 of large-size cloak garments manufactured in Local 17 shops. It became eventually impossible to divide the control of these two locals to the satisfaction of all the New York operators concerned. The idea of amalgamating all the operators into one local union was, therefore, accepted as the only solution to that problem.

Your Committee, however, finds, to its regret, that the amalgamation of these two locals into one, which was intended as a solution in meeting the new industrial development, has not brought about the desired harmony among the cloak operators. We find that there still exists considerable friction and dissatisfaction among them, not so much because of the industrial causes, but rather because of sentimental reasons. Notwithstanding all this, we find, however, that there still is a problem to which a solution, incorporating the demands of all dissatisfied parties and at the same time not conflicting with the demands of the industry, must be found.

Your Committee has, therefore, invited all conflicting sides and all those

interested in having this problem solved to appear before us.

Your Committee listened to all the conflicting arguments presented to us. Each side claimed that theirs is the only reasonable and sound way for solving this problem. The supporters of this resolution insisted that the granting of a charter to them will not only help in the organization of all the unorganized reefer makers of New York, but will also bring better conditions for all the operators employed in the cloak industry: therefore, there are ample organizational and industrial reasons for a reefer makers' local union in New York. On the other hand, those opposing the resolution argued that now, as before, there is no room for individual locals of operators and that in order to efficiently improve the conditions of the New York cloak makers, it is of paramount importance to continue all the operators in one local. They further argued that if the former members of Local No. 17 would have, once and for all time, made up their minds to work in co-operation and harmony with the other members of Local No. 2, the conditions of the reefer makers, as well as the conditions of all the other operators, would have been in a much better state than they are at present; also that their failure to mix is due to their aloofness and the continual refusal on the part of the former members of Local No. 17 to participate in the work of the organization, although they were invited time and again by the administration of Local No. 2 to do so. These members are convinced that there do not exist any organizational or industrial reasons for the division of Local No. 2.

Your Committee further finds that a committee consisting of former members of Local No. 17, and now members of Local No. 2 appeared before the General Executive Board at its seventh quarterly session, at the Unity House, Forest Park, and requested a charter for a local of reefer makers. The General Executive Board authorized an investigation, which was not completed, due to lack of time. Your Committee is, therefore, of the opinion that a complete

and thorough investigation of the industrial and organizational conditions prevailing at present in the cloak industry of New York must be instituted before a sound and satisfactory solution for this problem can be found. We, therefore, recommend the following:

That a committee consisting of four representatives of four different centers outside of New York, in conjunction with a representative of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, shall, upon the adjournment of this convention conduct such an investigation. This committee shall render a decision to be carried out by the incoming General Executive Board, the decision to be rendered not later than 90 days after adjournment of this convention.

I move the adoption of this report.

Delegate Leventhal: I want to make a plea at this convention.

President Sigman: If you want to make a plea, you will have to make it to the committee.

(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 115 on page 18 of the fourth day's proceedings.

Your Committee listened carefully to representatives of Local No. 91, the introducers of this resolution, who contended that their request for the jurisdiction over infant coat makers and the control over such shops was based on the different conditions prevailing in such shops as compared with those in the cloak shops. They made mention of the special element employed in these shops, which consists in the main of young girls who receive a wage much lower than the wage which is paid in cloak shops. Even the basis of production differs to such a degree that, considering all these differences, it is evident that it is absolutely impossible to bring the conditions of these workers at once up to those of the cloak makers. This is further proved by the fact that the selling price of infants' coats ranges from \$9 a dozen upward.

Your Committee is unanimously of the opinion that the infants' coat trade cannot be combined with the coat and

suit trade. However, since a question as to sizes has arisen, your Committee recommends that the incoming General Executive Board shall have full power to adjust the matter, such adjustment to be made immediately upon the adjournment of this Convention, in view of the fact that the agreements in the infant coat line expire on August 1, and unless such adjustment is made, Local No. 91 might encounter much hardship in renewing the agreements with the shops under their control and in its organization campaign against the non-union shops.

With this the report of the Committee on Jurisdiction is concluded.

Fraternally submitted:

Chas. Kreindler, Local 42, Chairman.
David Gingold, Local 20, Secretary.
(The motion was carried.)

Delegate Kaplan: It was mentioned here that the question of a reefer operators' local, which was at all times considered a children's and infants' coats local, should be referred to a committee in order to make a thorough investigation. I claim that infants' coats is a part of our work, and as it was decided to send the first question to a committee, I would ask this convention not to act on this resolution separately, but to send it to the same committee for a thorough investigation.

Delegate Greenberg: I am sorry to differ with Delegate Kaplan. If we pass this resolution here we will be able to get improved conditions for our workers, and for that reason I urge the delegates to adopt the recommendation of this committee. (Applause.)

Delegate Balaam: I am in favor of the recommendation that this resolution should be referred to the same committee, and that they make a thorough study of the distinction between infants' coats and infants' wear.

Delegate Dubinsky: I move, Mr. President, that this question shall also be referred back to the committee, for the entire matter involves the same problem.

Delegate Gingold: I shouldn't have any objection to Brother Dubinsky's recommendation but I think that it is absolutely necessary that this question

be taken up immediately after the adjournment of this Convention.

On motion the Convention voted to appoint a committee of four from places outside of New York to investigate the entire matter and to render a decision on same.

Delegate Kreindler: In view of the fact that the Convention has adopted the recommendation of the Jurisdiction Committee that delegates from four centers outside of New York shall be elected at this Convention to investigate the claim of former members of Local No. 17, I move that the President be instructed by this Convention to appoint this committee immediately.

(The motion was duly seconded and unanimously adopted.)

The following members were appointed by President Sigman to serve on this committee: Delegates Max Novack, Louis Frank, George Rubin and Benjamin Gilbert. The fifth member of the committee is to be named by the American Federation of Labor after consultation with President Green.

President Sigman: In accordance with the rules and practice at our conventions, we will now have an installation of officers. I will call upon Delegate

Abraham Rosenberg, an ex-president of this International Union, to honor us by performing the induction of the General Executive Board.

Delegate Abraham Rosenberg, in a stirring talk, inducted the newly elected General Executive Board into office. While speaking, he invited Vice-Presidents-elect Schlesinger and Breslaw to shake hands with President Sigman as a token of unity of purpose and action.

Pending the report of the tellers on the election of delegates to the A. F. of L. convention, President Sigman, Vice-President Schlesinger and General Secretary Baroff addressed the Convention.

The following was the report of the vote on delegates to the convention of the A. F. of L. for the next two years, as announced by Delegate Samuel Lefkovits, chairman of the tellers:

	Votes
Ab. Katofsky, Cleveland.....	120
Mannie Weiss, New York.....	102
B. Destl, New York.....	96
I. Nagler, New York.....	99
Philip Oretsky, New York.....	92

At 7.30 P. M. the Nineteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. adjourned sine die.