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REPORT
OF THE
General Executive Board
TO THE
EIGHTEENTH
CONVENTION

OF THE
★ International Ladies' Garment
Workers' Union

Monday, November 30, 1925

EAGLES' TEMPLE

PHILADELPHIA, PA.



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TO THE DELEGATES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CONVENTION
OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT
WORKERS' UNION

Greetings:

The General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. herewith presents for your consideration a report of its activities for the period from May 12, 1924, when they were elected by the Seventeenth Convention to direct the executive work of our organization, to this date.

The present convention is in more than one sense an extraordinary gathering. It is convened in advance of the regularly prescribed time by virtue of a vote of our general membership in response to a call issued by the General Executive Board. It follows upon the wake of an internal upheaval in the life of our Union such as it has not experienced in all the years of its existence. And although this storm has now subsided, it is nevertheless, felt keenly in our midst that not until the fundamental issues involved in that conflict are definitely adjusted, can a durable peace be possible. Such an adjustment, of course, can be made only by a convention of the whole Union.

Furthermore, the disturbance which our organization has passed through during the last six months has made deep inroads into its fighting strength, financial stability, and its general efficiency as an instrument for the protection of the workers in our trades. The General Executive Board feels that it is in duty bound to lift the curtain in a frank, candid spirit upon all events which transpired in our organization in the last few years, their antecedents, causes and results, so that the dele-

gates and our membership at large may have a clear and unobstructed perspective of the horizon of our activities and be in a position to judge them in an honest and an unbiased way. Our members may also learn from the presentation of these facts to what extent the present state of affairs in our Union has come to us as the inheritance of but a recent past and as the aftermath of failings for which the present administration of our Union can in no wise be held responsible.

On the whole, the past year and a half in the life of our organization has been one of the most difficult periods in its history. Not only has it been heavily afflicted by the curse of internal warfare, but our workers have had to pass through unprecedented unemployment which has caused them untold sufferings and has multiplied the Union's burden. We battled persistently for the establishment in our industry of a number of important industrial reforms, which in the consensus of the opinion of our members, would have ameliorated materially the condition of the workers in our main trades, but as yet, these reforms, with the exception of two major achievements, have not materialized. Needless to say, the tremendous amount of energy wasted by all of us in internal fighting has only brought the day of the accomplishment of these important reforms a little farther away from us and has made the fight for them still more difficult.

We do not hesitate to state that in our view this convention is an emergency convention summoned for the purpose of saving the organization from the impossible situation it finds itself in today. We are honestly convinced that the great mass of our workers, of all shades of opinion and conviction, want a strong union in our trades. We are equally convinced that, upon mature thought, our members appreciate that the union in the past fifteen years of its existence has actually liberated them from a condition of semi-slavery—in spite of all the normal and abnormal obstacles with which a labor body is confronted in trades like ours—with their shifting fashions, short periods of steady work, long periods of unemployment, and the facility for the rise of innumerable small shops. Our workers who think in honest terms know what the union has accomplished for them in the past two decades just as they know that there are in our industry conditions over which the union has no control and for which the union cannot be held responsible.

This convention will be confronted with as solemn a task as that which faced the pioneers who laid the cornerstone for this organization of ours and planted the seed which later grew into a magnificent tree. Let us be frank about it: The life of our Union depends upon the spirit, the will and the faith of the delegates to this present convention. It is not the prestige, the ambition, and the personal satisfaction of this or that group within the Union that is at stake but the very existence of this organization. If we rise above personal hankerings and cease to make issues out of irrelevant matters that do not concern us as a trade union directly, if we put recent animosities aside and become imbued with one unifying idea to preserve our International Union as an organization that was called into being for the mission of serving the life interests of the workers in a great industry, nothing on earth can stop us from continued progress and unbroken growth.

The administrative officers of your Union have no alibis or apologies to offer for the course of action in the internal and external affairs of our organization for the past period. There may have been disagreement on the wisdom or expediency of one or another measure which they have advocated or carried out during this term, but hardly a voice has been heard to say that the General Executive Board has not acted within the instructions of preceding conventions or mandates of the constitution which they had sworn to uphold and maintain. And the General Executive Board is ready today, as it has been all during this time, to pay the highest price for this faithful adherence to the laws of our Union, for they know only too well that a trade union the moment it ceases to abide by its own laws ceases to be a trade union and becomes a mob.

We shall now proceed to give you a detailed report of the situation of each of our trades in every city and district where we have organizations, and a true portrayal of all problems and conflicts, external and internal, that we have had to cope with. We hope that this account will aid in serving you as a guide for solving the burning issues which are facing our organization at this hour and for framing the future policies and tactics of our International Union.

THE NEW YORK CLOAK INDUSTRY

The cloak and dress industry of New York is the pivot upon which our organization rests today. It is the controlling factor in the destiny of our Union, and its development—for better or worse—shapes our organizational policies. This industry literally holds in its hands the life and the welfare of the tens of thousands of workers it employs, who compose by far the largest majority of the membership of our national organization.

It is quite evident, therefore, that no serious analysis of the condition of our industry and of our Union may be attempted without a review of the principal phases of the situation in the New York cloak and dress market, the trend it is taking, and the probable development it is likely to reach.

The Negotiations in the Summer of 1924

Shortly before our last convention in Boston, the New York Cloak Joint Board, it will be recalled, had begun a series of conferences with the three employers' associations in the cloak trade, namely, the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, the sub-manufacturers; the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association, the jobbers; and the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association, the old manufacturers' organization in the industry. The agreements with these three organizations of employers were to expire on June 30th, 1924.

The negotiations with these employing groups had a tardy start, and from the very outset it became quite evident to the representatives of the Union that the Protective Association and the Merchants Ladies' Garment group were both determined to dodge responsibility for existing conditions. Already after the first conference with the Union, the jobbers issued a statement in which they declared that they "do not accept the principle enunciated by the Union that they are direct employers of labor; and that there must be unlimited freedom of choice by the jobbers and stock-houses in the selection of contractors and sub-manufacturers." The Protective Association also, at its first meeting with the Union's representatives, assumed the attitude that the "Union is responsible for all the evils in the industry."

The American Association was the only employing group in the industry which met the demands of the Union in a spirit that evidenced a desire to get to the bottom of the deplorable conditions which afflicted every factor in the industry.

The conference committee of the Union continued negotiating with the jobbers, the sub-manufacturers and the Protective Association all through April. The committee consisted of President Morris Sigman and Secretary Abraham Baroff representing the International Union; the general manager of the Joint Board, Israel Feinberg; the district and department managers, the chairman of the Joint Board, and the managers of the locals affiliated with the Joint Board—Louis Levy of Local 1, David Rubin of Local 3, Louis Hyman of Local 9, David Dubinsky of Local 10, Harry Chancer of Local 11, Jacob Heller of Local 17, Isidore Scheinholtz of Local 22, Louis Pinkovsky of Local 23, Joseph Breslaw of Local 35, Salvatore Ninfo of Local 48, M. J. Ashbes of Local 82, and Luigi Antonini of Local 89.

The conferences were interrupted for two weeks by the Boston convention, but were resumed immediately upon the return of the Union's administration to New York City. But on May 19th, after a brief meeting held with the committee of the Protective Association, it appeared that the prospects of reaching an understanding with this group before the expiration of the agreement were exceedingly slim. The reply of this Association amounted to an ultimatum, which, in substance, meant a declaration of war. It refused to discuss five of the Union's major demands on the ground that they were "undebatable" and declined to go into any conference in which these demands would be a subject for discussion. These five demands included the guarantee of a minimum number of weeks of labor, unemployment insurance, the 40-hour week, the union label and an increase in the existing minimum wage scales. The reply was prefaced with a pious and rather meaningless wish to "stabilize our industry and to take it from the frightfully chaotic conditions that it is in, and to place it on a sound footing."

In reply to this statement of the Protective Association the conference committee of the Union, headed by President Sigman, ordered the strike machinery of the Joint Board mobilized and meetings of all shop chairmen in the cloak trade were called to prepare the workers for a general walkout. The meeting held in Cooper Union on May 27, 1924, reaffirmed the de-

mand of the Union for the introduction of the program of reforms in the cloak industry and empowered the leaders of the organization to "utilize every means at their command to make these industrial reforms a practical reality, by peaceful means if possible, and by bringing into effect the full economic force of our organization, if necessary."

State's Industrial Commission Takes a Hand

During that week, President Sigman received a letter from New York State Industrial Commissioner Bernard L. Shientag, urging that "some amicable adjustment of the differences be reached before May 31st," and expressing the belief that "if negotiations would continue uninterrupted much more would be accomplished for everybody concerned." President Sigman replied, after reviewing the course of the negotiations for the past three months, that the Union is still negotiating with the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association and will leave nothing undone to reach an agreement, if possible, with this group of employers. He also declared that the Union is still ready to resume negotiations with the Protective group, but that the employers must be prepared to discuss fully and frankly around the conference table all the issues involved.

Strike Referendum Taken

In the meantime, in accordance with the policy of the Union to consult the general membership on all matters of major importance to the organization, and to crystallize the opinion of the cloakmakers on the pending issues in controversy, the Joint Board ordered that a referendum vote be taken on June 4th. A general strike committee was organized, with President Sigman as chairman and Vice-president Israel Feinberg as vice-chairman, which prepared a draft of a new agreement with individual manufacturers, irrespective of their belonging to associations or not.

The referendum resulted in an overwhelming vote for a strike. But the conferences with the jobbers' association still continued, though without tangible results. The representatives of the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association again indulged in voluminous discussion but seemed just as unwilling to state definitely how far they were ready to go in meeting the demands of the workers and averting a strike. They gave their final reply

on June 12th in a written statement submitted to the Union's conference committee which proved thoroughly disappointing. The reply of the jobbers entirely ignored the demand for a guaranteed time of employment, the 40-hour week and the label.

The Union Offers Arbitration

In a final effort to avert a strike, President Sigman, on behalf of the Joint Board and the International Union, offered the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association arbitration of the demands of the workers before an impartial board. In a letter addressed to this Association, President Sigman and Vice-president Feinberg stated that "It is quite evident that we shall not reach an agreement with your association through conferences and discussions. We propose that the demands of the Union be submitted to the judgment and determination of an impartial body of citizens acting as a Board of Arbitration. Should you reject this only possible method of peaceable adjustment of our dispute, the responsibility for the consequences will rest entirely upon you."

The Governor's Intervention

On the next day, another development occurred in the controversy between the cloak employers and the Union which was reaching a climax by that time. It came in the form of an effort by Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York to break the deadlock between the two contesting sides.

The Governor's proposal came after a hearing on June 13th, which was attended by a group of the Union's representatives headed by President Sigman, a committee from the jobbers' association, and some leaders of the Protective group. Toward the end of the hearing Governor Smith stated that he would appoint a commission of five impartial mediators who would receive testimony on the state of the industry, its ills and the remedies suggested by all parties concerned. This commission would hold public hearings, and, after they had acquired all the material facts in the controversy, would render their findings and recommendations with regard to the demands presented by the Union. These recommendations, the Governor told the conferees, would not be mandatory and would be backed by moral force only, but, while not binding on either side, they would carry sufficient

weight, he hoped, to have a decisive influence in breaking the deadlock and bringing about an understanding.

After the parties present at that conference had agreed to accept the proposal, Governor Smith announced that he would name the commission at once and that the hearings would begin on Tuesday, June 17th. The personnel of the commission was made public the following day; it consisted of Bernard L. Shientag, State Industrial Commissioner; Lindsay Rogers, professor of politics in Columbia University; George Gordon Battle, a prominent attorney, and Colonel Herbert Lehman and Arthur D. Wolf, bankers.

The Governor's Commission at Work

The Special Commission began its hearings at City Hall on June 17th to which was invited every group directly interested in the controversy,—the Union, the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association, the Protective group and the American Association. After eleven sessions devoted to arduous discussion, presentation of facts, examinations and cross examinations, the Commission ended its hearings on June 27th and went into executive session to consider recommendations on the basis of the information they had acquired in the course of the hearings from every side.

The Union's position, in brief, embodied its program of industrial reforms submitted originally to the jobbers, the Protective Association and the sub-manufacturers, with the demands for limitation of contractors, guaranteed time of employment, unemployment insurance, a union label on garments and a substantial rise in the minimum wage scales in the forefront. During the hearings President Sigman, Morris Hillquit and Vice-president Feinberg delivered the principal arguments in defense of the Union's program. Both the jobbers' organization and the Protective Association persistently opposed every one of the Union's demands, the former principally on the ground that they were not manufacturers and should not be made to shoulder responsibility for labor conditions and standards, and the second group under the pretext that the Union alone is to blame for whatever evils there exist in the cloak and suit trade and that the inside manufacturers, for whom the Protective undertook to speak, have been the

greatest sufferers from the failure of the Union to exercise proper control over the jobbers and to treat them as regular manufacturers responsible for the maintenance of union standards in the sub-manufacturers' shops. The Protective representatives also charged the workers with lack of productivity and with "soldiering on the job" in their shops, a fact which, they claimed, was responsible for driving many of their members into the jobbers' camp, predicting that many other inside manufacturers would soon become jobbers unless the Union assumes better control over the jobber situation, on the one hand, and undertakes to discipline the workers into greater productivity, on the other.

On June 27th, the Special Commission rendered the following report containing a number of recommendations for incorporation in the new agreement between the Union and the various employers' associations in the industry. These recommendations follow:

Recommendations of the Commission

"1. The Commission believes that unless all of the different factors in the industry, union, inside manufacturers, sub-manufacturers and jobbers, are brought together under a harmonious arrangement there can be no lasting peace in the industry. The question of the recognition of the union is not involved in this controversy. The union has been recognized by both the jobbers and the manufacturers who many years ago decided that it was to their advantage to deal collectively with the union and to maintain union standards in the industry. One point, and that is fundamental, must be emphasized. A group cannot agree to maintain union standards and then be permitted to resort to practices the only effect of which is to break down and weaken the very standards they have agreed to maintain and which they profess to regard as essential.

"The only hope for the future of the industry is to have the four elements mentioned assume mutual obligations that will bring about fair dealing, that will not give one group unfair advantage over the other and that will tend to restore stability and insure the maintenance of proper Labor and sanitary standards in the industry.

"2. In order to eliminate the chaotic condition that has been created by the multiplication of the sub-manufacturers and contractors who conduct shops in the industry, the union has requested, and all factors in the industry have approved, a reduction in the number of shops in the industry from 3,000 to nearer 1,500 by a process of consolidation that will permit no shop to be recognized under the agreement unless it employs

at least fourteen machine operators and a corresponding number of employees in other branches of the work and is operated under a contract with the union. This will tend to bring about greater stability in employment and the maintenance of proper sanitary and working conditions.

"3. The parties have agreed that they would have their garments produced in union shops as recognized by the agreement. We recommend further that, if they purchase garments from manufacturers, they do so only from those conducting such union shops. Unless this practice is followed there will develop an unfair form of competition and the opportunity will be afforded to break down all of the requirements of the agreement and to bring about a demoralization in working conditions.

"4. The Commission does not recommend the adoption of a union label as requested. It does, however, recommend that an appropriate label shall be adopted by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, which is made up of representatives of employers and employees in the industry and of the public, to designate that the garments carrying the same have been manufactured under proper sanitary surroundings. The Joint Board of Sanitary Control shall furnish such labels at cost to manufacturers conducting union shops and maintaining the sanitary and safety standards of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. Each member of the association obligates himself to handle or deal in no garments that do not bear this label. Any dispute as to the form or manner of use of such label shall be determined by the impartial chairman.

"Pending the time the sanitary label is prescribed in jurisdictions outside of the New York market, this Commission will lay down rules under which the manufacturer or jobber may deal in garments produced in such outside jurisdictions provided such garments can be shown to have been manufactured or produced in shops having contractual relations with the union. In this connection it should be noted that in practice, manufacturers or jobbers in the New York market do not buy from outside markets. Such purchases may be made in exceptional instances, hence this reservation.

"We make the recommendation for the sanitary label because we believe that it would protect the consumer against garments made under unsanitary or improper working conditions. It will operate as a very powerful influence in maintaining proper Labor standards and in preventing their undermining by unwholesome competition. Such a guarantee to the consuming public represents a considerable advance in enforcing enlightened sanitary and Labor conditions in the interest of all the parties in the industry.

"5. We believe that all of the factors in the industry should be represented on the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and share in the expenses thereof. In that event, the board, which has

done such excellent work for over twelve years, would be able to continue and expand its efforts to bring about better sanitary and working conditions in the industry and to improve the health and efficiency of the workers.

"6. We recommend that the manufacturers and jobbers' associations shall cooperate with the union in establishing and maintaining an unemployment insurance fund for the benefit of the members of the union. The fund shall be made up by contributions from the manufacturers, sub-manufacturers or contractors, and the union or individual members of the union; the contributions of the employers to the unemployment insurance fund shall be equal to 2 per cent of the weekly payroll and that of the workers to 1 per cent of their weekly wages.

"The fund shall be administered jointly under proper rules and provisions to be agreed upon by both parties.

"We believe that the parties in a highly seasonal industry as the cloak and suit industry should establish an unemployment insurance fund by voluntary arrangement, with a view to encouraging the lengthening of the seasons of employment and to relieving the employees from some of the more acute hardships that a highly seasonal industry imposes upon them.

"7. The Commission recommends 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 their employer for such jobber, provided that such liability shall be limited to one full week's wages in every instance. We do not recommend that the jobbers' association as such guarantee the payment of such wages.

"8. We do not recommend the request of the union for a reduction of the hours of labor from forty-four hours a week to forty hours a week. We do not believe that such reduction is advisable at this time.

"9. We do not recommend in the form submitted to us the demands of the union for a limitation of the number of sub-manufacturers to work for each jobber, and for a guaranteed period of employment. Those demands have as their object a more equitable distribution of the work in the industry and a more equal opportunity of labor to the workers. With this purpose the Commission is in full sympathy. The subject, however, is a very complicated one, highly technical in character, and we are not in a position to pass upon the points involved. We recommend an impartial investigation of this, as well as other technical problems of the industry, by a group of experts designated by the Commission to conduct these investigations in such form and manner as the Commission may prescribe, and to report it not later than January 1, 1925. The expenses of these investigations are to be borne by the four organizations in the industry to which reference has been made. When this report is submitted to it, the Commission will be in a position

to make definite recommendations on the technical problems presented to it based upon knowledge of the actual facts and conditions as they exist.

"10. The Commission is firmly of the opinion that in order to maintain peace in the industry and to promote the welfare of all the parties concerned, as well as of the consuming public, machinery should be set up for the impartial determination of all questions in dispute that may arise between the four factors already mentioned—that is, the union, the inside manufacturers, the sub-manufacturers and the jobbers. Each party to any dispute may name a representative to serve on a trial board, but in the event that the representatives do not reach an agreement satisfactory to all of them, the decision of the impartial chairman shall be final and binding upon the parties involved. If the parties are unable to agree upon the impartial chairman within two weeks after the agreements have been entered into, he shall be appointed by the Commission.

"11. The American Association, the association of sub-manufacturers, should be given a definite standing and the necessary recognition by the other factors in the industry. In connection with their arrangement with the jobbers, we recommend the adoption by all of the members of the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association of the uniform order blank, which apparently is satisfactory to all of the members of the jobbers' association, but which most of them have not used in their transaction with the sub-manufacturers. We also recommend that such order blank contain a provision that the cost of insurance be not charged against the sub-manufacturers. We further recommend that a committee of three impartial business men designated by this Commission having no connection with the parties in interest be appointed to formulate a code of trade practices to govern the dealings between the jobbers and sub-manufacturers. The findings of this committee shall be submitted to the Commission. The latter will then make such recommendations on the subject to the parties in interest as it deems necessary and proper. The Commission recommends that the proposal of a minimum labor cost discussed at considerable length in the hearings should be included in the expert investigation which the Commission has proposed outlined in paragraph nine thereof.

"The Commission has already recommended the participation of the American Association in the machinery creating an impartial chairman for the adjustment of any disputes that may arise between any parties in the industry to which reference has been made.

"12. The Commission recommends that the terms of the present contract be for a period of one year in order that there may be an opportunity for the Commission to act on the report of the expert investigation, and to submit such recommendations for changes in the contract as may be deemed advisable after such report has been received.

"12. If there is any dispute concerning the interpretation of any of the recommendations made by the Commission, the dispute should be submitted to the Commission, whose decision shall be final."

The Union's conference committee, though far from satisfied with the findings of the mediators, accepted the recommendations as a basis for a permanent settlement later, in the hope that the work of the Commission was not at an end and that the investigation to be conducted under its supervision would result in the granting of its other principal demands. The representatives of the sub-manufacturers' association also accepted the Commission's recommendations, and the Protective Association expressed itself ready to accept them, declaring that it would reestablish its labor office which had but recently been closed.

But the jobbers rejected the findings of the Special Commission and demanded that they be given the right to amend them. The clauses which the jobbers objected to most were those referring to the sanitary union label, the listing of contractors for each individual jobber instead of collective listing as heretofore, and the curtailing of the right of the jobber to buy garments in the "open market."

The rejection of the Commission's recommendations by the jobbers was a signal for the Union to get its strike machinery in fighting shape. Strike halls were hired and announced, and all the sub-committees of the general strike committee were organized at once and were given instructions. At the last hour, however, the jobbers withdrew their opposition and accepted the Commission's recommendations.

Prior to the signing of the agreement, the conference committee of the Union requested the Commission to embody in its recommendations several supplementary clauses, among these one that would insure the employment of Union designers and examiners by all members of the employers' associations employing such workers. In reply, the Commission, on July 15, 1924, issued the following supplemental recommendations:

Supplemental Recommendations of the Commission

1. With reference to Supplemental Request No. 5 of the Union, "that all members of the association employing designers or examiners shall employ Union members in such capacity," the Commission finds as follows:

(a) The Commission does not recommend the request of the Union with reference to the employment of designers. From the facts presented to us we do not believe that the time has arrived in this industry when employers should be required to employ only union designers.

(b) As to examiners:

The Commission finds that the facts are not sufficiently clear to justify it at present in reaching any definite conclusion and therefore recommends that this question be included in the expert investigation which the Commission has proposed, as outlined in paragraph 9 of its report to the Governor. In this connection the Commission desires to say that it will view with great concern as a menace to the entire industry any disposition on the part of employers to discriminate against their designers or examiners on account of their union affiliation, or on the part of the Union to penalize employers through shop strikes or otherwise for having in their employ designers or examiners not affiliated with the Union.

When the recommendation of the Commission on this subject was announced, President Sigman raised a question concerning the firms whose agreements with the Union in the past provided for union designers. He demanded from the Commission an explanation whether under its ruling these Union designers be left unprotected and deprived of the rights they enjoyed under the old agreement if their firms joined the Industrial Council of the Protective Association. The Chairman of the Commission replied that this question would be taken up in full at the next meeting of the Commission.

Several days later, after a meeting, the Commission issued a statement that its recommendation regarding the designers was meant in no way to infringe upon the rights of such of them as are already under contractual relations with employers and that it reiterates its position against discrimination of any kind by employers toward designers for membership in the Union.

The General Stoppage

In accordance with the decision of the Joint Board, and in order to carry out the provision of the Commission's recommendations that were to become a part of the new agreement in the cloak industry, a general reorganization stoppage was called in the entire cloak trade of New York City on July 8, 1924, to "eliminate from it the petty and greedy exploiters who have

all but destroyed it, to place due responsibility upon the jobbers, the true employers in our industry, for labor standards and conditions and to reorganize the cloak trade upon a sound and wholesome basis."

The fight therefore, instead of being an out-and-out fight against the jobbers, was directed principally toward the reorganization of the industry on the lines suggested by the Special Commission's report, an undertaking which, it was thought at that time, could not have been carried out without calling the workers out of all the shops. The response to the strike was unanimous, though it was not marked by special enthusiasm. In the course of the following week, agreements were signed with all the associations, and the workers began to return to the shops. The stoppage lasted about four weeks and came to an end on August 11th. It resulted in several hundred of the smallest shops going out of existence and some of the workers formerly employed in them being placed in other shops of a larger type. The picket committee, however, continued to function, as a number of shops were still left unsettled, and even some big shops were still out on strike.

In the meantime the Special Commission met several times with the representatives of Union and of the associations and agreed upon an impartial chairman for the whole cloak industry, Mr. Raymond V. Ingersoll, a well-known attorney of New York City; and also took steps to organize the Unemployment Insurance Fund. Arthur D. Wolf, a member of the Special Commission, was selected as the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the fund, an honorary post without compensation; a staff was quickly organized, headquarters hired, and on August 18th the first payments by the employers and the workers began.

A sanitary label division was also organized without loss of time in the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, with Dr. Henry Moskowitz as director. The Union took steps to effect an organization of label custodians in all shops and instructed the shop chairmen to act as such. A few months later, the Joint Board organized a Label and Unemployment Insurance office, under the management of Charles Jacobson, to help in carrying out vigilantly the provisions of the sanitary label and the unemployment insurance system under proper control throughout the industry.

At about the same time the auxiliary trades label on embroidery and ornamental parts became effective and the District Council of the Miscellaneous Trades, with which were affiliated the embroidery and novelty workers' locals in New York City, was entrusted with its enforcement, in cooperation with the Cloak Joint Board and the Label Division of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. (Special chapters on the operation of the Unemployment Insurance Fund and of the "Prosanis" label will be found elsewhere in this report).

The Report of the Investigators

The Special Commission appointed on October 2nd three expert investigators, Morris Kolchin, Harry Viteles and Dr. John Dickinson, to proceed with the investigation of conditions in the New York cloak industry. The investigators worked for more than six months, rendering their report finally on April 3rd, 1925. The report contained nearly 160 pages. It was replete with facts and showed painstaking and honest research. It, however, withheld definite recommendations, though its findings were impressive enough to justify the contentions of the workers as embodied in the program of demands submitted by the Union in the Summer of 1924. A summary of the report issued by the Commission stated that "while there has been a marked increase in wages since 1914, their proportion to the total value of the product has actually fallen from 17.5 to 14.9 per cent. Workers in the cloak and suit industry, if they are employed in larger and better type shops get forty weeks of employment and average yearly earnings of \$2,106. (It must, nevertheless, be stated that by far not the full complement of the workers even in such shops average earnings approximating the minimum budget of a workers' family and that the number of men and women who do not even approach the above-given average is very considerable.—G.E.B.) The small shops account for three-fourths of the New York production, which has an annual value of \$370,000,000 and is 80 per cent of the entire national production. The number of shops in the industry, the report further states, has been increasing and the size of the shops has been decreasing. Under present conditions, about one-third of the sub-manufacturing shops in the industry go out of business every year. Approximately 67 per cent of the workers receive wages above the minimum scale; 20 per cent work at the scale and 13 per cent, it is estimated, are below the scale.

The report concluded that the determination of real or actual labor costs as a basis for a minimum price between sub-manufacturer and jobber is impossible, but the approximation of a standard cost by agreement between the parties is feasible.

The following table, prepared by the investigators, containing figures showing the number of shops and workers in the industry since 1911, disclose an interesting movement. They are based on reports received from the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

Year	Number of Shops	Number of Workers
1911	1,783	
1912	1,888	45,199
1913	1,735	51,872
1914	1,741	48,987
1915	1,785	48,618
1916	1,957	47,487
1917	2,001	45,181
1918	1,772	42,285
1919	2,028	29,418
1920	2,128	47,357
1921	2,099	26,391
1922		
1923	1,939	27,927
1924	1,725	33,153

Some light may be shed on the question of comparative production by the census figures which show amounts expended by the New York cloak and suit industry for wages, rent materials, and fuel in 1914 and 1919 respectively:

	1914	
	Amount	% of value of total product
Total value of product.....	\$165,000,000	100%
Wages	29,158,000	17.5%
Materials	89,799,000	54.1%
Rent	3,513,000	2.1%
Fuel	428,000	0.25%
Salaries, Contract Work, Taxes.	16,428,000	9.9%
Surplus over expenditures.....	26,293,000	15.8%

	1919	
	Amount	% of value of total product
Total value of product.....	\$393,743,000	100%
Wages	58,502,000	14.9%
Materials	89,799,000	54.3%
Rent	4,112,000	1.0%
Fuel	591,000	0.15%
Salaries, Contract Work, Taxes.	32,821,000	8.3%
Surplus over expenditures.....	79,769,000	20.2%

Hearings in April, 1925

Shortly after the report was issued the Union's conference committee met and prepared a draft of demands to be presented to the Commission on the basis of the investigators' findings. The hearings before the Special Commission began on April 13th and lasted for nearly two weeks. The Union's list of demands, as amended later in a final memorandum submitted by Morris Hillquit, attorney for the International Union, was summarized under the following heads:

1. A minimum guaranteed period of employment for all workers in the inside shops and in sub-manufacturing establishments.
2. The designation of a minimum number of steady sub-manufacturers by each jobber with definite obligations on the part of the jobber towards such sub-manufacturers, including the obligation to furnish them with work to enable them to give their workers the minimum period of employment mentioned above.
3. An increase in wages.
4. A reduction of working hours.
5. That all examiners employed by members of the associations shall be Union members.
6. That all members of the Industrial Council of the Protective Association shall use union-made embroideries, buttons and other trimmings.

The Merchants Ladies' Garment Association and the Protective Association countered with proposals in which they opposed every one of the Union's demands. They declared that they were opposed to the week-work system and desired the re-introduction of piece-work; they were equally opposed to any raise of the minimum wage scales and to a guarantee of a fixed number of weeks of employment. The Protective representatives in addition insisted upon the right of free discharge of workers and the right to "reorganize" their shops. They opposed the equal distribution of work and regarded the sanitary label "as superfluous and a failure." The Protective Association also reiterated their old charges that the Union was encouraging "soldiering on the job" and was pursuing an industrial policy which tends to stimulate "non-productivity in the shops."

The hearings before the Special Commission, which were conducted in the Bar Association Building, lasted for two

weeks, after which the Commission adjourned to consider the arguments made by each side in defense of its demands. On May 12, 1925, the Union forwarded to the Commission a final supplement which clarified some of its demands.

The Renewal of the Agreement

The Commission delayed its recommendations for nearly ten weeks. It was confronted with a very difficult task as the demands of the parties were widely apart and at times appeared irreconcilable. The Commission further claimed that with the facts which were supplied to it by the investigators it could not conscientiously recommend or reject such vital demands as presented to it by the Union, much as it sympathized with the general position of the workers' organization to bring stabilization in the industry and relief to the insecure and deplorable status of the workers employed in it, on the one hand, and to give some relief to the inside manufacturers, on the other.

Confronted with these difficulties, the Special Commission requested all parties to consent to a renewal for another year of the existing agreement as amended by its recommendations of July, 1924, proposing that a research bureau, under its auspices be organized at once, which would proceed to gather additional facts and data that would shed greater light upon the demands of the contesting parties, and that upon the presentation of a report by this research bureau, the Commission would be ready to issue a final decision recommending a settlement of the controversy on the basis of its findings. This additional report of the investigators was expected to be reached a reasonable time ahead of the expiration of the agreement, so that the parties in interest might have sufficient time to prepare for its results and for whatever consequences might arise from it. The Commission also promised that it would consider the specific demand for a wage scale increase and render a recommendation concerning it not later than November 15, 1925, unless the Union and the employers' associations reach a settlement on this subject between themselves prior to that date.

Confronted with the alternative of calling a strike without delay or accepting the recommendation of the Commission to renew the agreement for another year pending the final report of the investigators, the Joint Board decided to recommend to the workers the acceptance of the Commission's sug-

gestion. The Union added a stipulation that the final decision of the Commission on the demand of the workers be issued not later than May 15, 1926. A referendum vote of the cloakmakers held on July 17 approved the decision of the Joint Board by a vote of 10,337 against 3,781 and the renewal of the agreement until June 30, 1926 thereby became a fact. The associations also later concurred in the recommendations of the mediators.

The research bureau, under the auspices of the Special Commission, began its work in August, 1925, under the direction of Professor Lindsay Rogers, a member of the Commission, who is being assisted by Morris Kolchin, and at the time of this writing is engaged in an investigation of the cloak trade particularly with a view to the determination of the Union's principal demands—the limitation of contractors, the guaranteed time of employment and an increase of the minimum wage scale.

Survey of Industrial Changes

In commenting upon the outstanding events in the cloak industry for the past eighteen months, we desire to set down at the very outset the fact that the cloak and suit trade has shrunk materially in the last few years and that the contraction of this great industry appears to continue unchecked. The cloak trade today exists practically on coats, and even the manufacture of coats has been materially affected by the phenomenal development of the women's fur coat industry since the war. The suit trade, which used to be one of the mainstays of the season in the cloak shops, has practically disappeared.

Another fact is that in the last few seasons the cloak trade has developed a simplicity of style, taking the form of straight lines and a plainer, looser garment, which is making essential inroads in the amount of labor required for the production of a garment. It can be stated, as the consensus of general opinion, that the former method of tailoring garments is fast disappearing and less skill and painstaking are now applied in their production. This has had a direct effect upon the employment of our workers, and, in addition to shortening seasons, has actually left many workers without jobs. Still another factor which is contributing to lack of work in the cloak trade is the steady growth of the dress industry, and the continued expansion of the manufacture of this lighter garment is fast replac-

ing the heavier cloak, as from all evidence at hand, the American consumer has adopted it as a substitute for the suit.

It is not an exaggeration to state that in our industry, in the making of women's garments, the dress branch is taking the place of priority formerly held by the manufacture of coats and suits, and that in volume output the dress trade is already occupying first place and is still growing. In the last few years another trade factor has developed which has contributed to the taking away of some of the work which used to be made in the cloak shop by operators and finishers and which was regarded as a legitimate part of their job. We have in mind the growth of the auxiliary outside shop for the making of piping, hemstitching, tucking and other novelty and embroidery work, which used to be done on the premises by regular operators and finishers and which is now being sent out by cloak and dress shops to special shops to be made up before it reaches the hand of the cloakmaker or the dressmaker. This change has made a serious dent in the amount of work to be done on cloaks and dresses, but of course hurts the cloakmaker most, in view of the already serious shrinkage which is affecting the industry upon which he has to rely for his living.

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The next very striking development of the last few years in both the cloak and dress industry is, of course, the advent of the jobbing system and the controlling influence it wields. We shall not at this point, enter into a detailed analysis of the present-day jobber situation in our industry. This subject has received such wide discussion in our press and at our meetings that the general facts concerning it are by this time quite familiar to all our active workers and to the delegates to this convention.

It is, nevertheless, important to note here that, in addition to all other complications which the jobbing system of production has brought to the trade, it has made the task of the Union in controlling labor standards many times more difficult. As the jobber has no inside shop, the Union has no inside factor of control of the jobbers' production insofar as observance of union rules and standards is concerned. In the case of the jobber, the Union has but the investigation of his books to rely upon for such control, and this has time and again proved

difficult, if not impossible, as many of the jobbers, in order to escape such control, have resorted, and are still resorting, to the keeping of more than one set of books.

Another thing must be borne in mind as we discuss the jobbing system, and that is that it has by far not reached its last phase of development, nor is it in a stationary, rigid condition. The fact of the matter is that the jobbing system keeps on developing, with one purpose in view—to keep as far as possible from the eye and the arm of the workers' organization and to avoid its control.

Thus we find in the cloak and dress trade the latest evolution, the "sub-jobber" or as he is graphically described, the "cutter-up." The sub-jobber receives his material in large quantities from the jobber, cuts it all up for him, and forwards it on his account to the contractors. Not infrequently, the jobber would order his mill to ship material directly to this "cutter-up," who in turn distributes it in the capacity of a subordinate jobber to the so-called non-union "bundle" shops. Frequently, both jobbers and "cutters-up" employ more than one firm name or label, one for their union business and the others for dealing with non-union "bundle" shops, where a good deal of their work is being done and which are naturally far more difficult of detection by the controlling force of the Union. And in a similar way, this tendency to get away from direct responsibility for labor conditions affects even the union sub-manufacturer. The latter is now actively encouraging the growth of another subordinate producing unit to himself—the "sub-contractor," a type of petty non-union employer to whom he farms out part of his work, and, as a great many of the sub-manufacturers keep their bookkeeping system under their hats, it can be easily perceived how difficult it is to control such "sub-contracting" and into what a chaos such a state of affairs may develop. At the bottom of all this lies, of course, the uncontrollable competition fostered by the jobber which brings hosts of new sub-manufacturers each season into the trade, most of them equipped with cheaper labor outfits, whose competition the older sub-manufacturer must, by hook or crook, overcome if he is to survive.

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In dealing with the sub-manufacturer, at the present moment and in the future, it is well to bear in mind the primary

causes which have called forth the astounding development of the jobbing-sub-manufacturing system, and shape our policy and remedy accordingly.

It is not true, as some claim, that week-work has been and is one of the causes which is responsible for the origin of the sub-manufacturing and jobbing system. The cloakmakers, we are certain, still remember the sub-manufacturers' strike in 1913. Already then the development of the sub-manufacturer and of the small shop was looming up as a big problem for the Union, and at that time, of course, the thought of week-work was quite strange to the cloakmakers.

When week-work was introduced in 1919 in the cloak trade, it is a generally known fact that we had at that time signed an agreement with a jobbers' association, which in itself is proof conclusive that long before week-work existed in the cloak trade, the jobber system had flourished side by side with sub-manufacturing.

In the dress trade today the system of piece-work still prevails. If we were to accept the conclusion that the jobber in the garment trades is the product of week-work, the dress industry should be entirely free of the jobber, sub-manufacturer and the "bundle" shop. As a matter of fact, however, it appears that the dress trade is affected with the same jobbing system and the evils that go with it as is the cloak industry.

At one time we all assumed that sub-manufacturing would stop at the low-priced garment and would not go any farther. We have argued that the better-class work could not be made up in the "outside" shop, as it would require a measure of personal supervision by the jobber or manufacturer. Today, however, we are compelled to revise this theory; the simplified styles and methods of production make it possible to produce even fine garments in the sub-manufacturers' shops, and high-priced cloaks and dresses are made up in large quantities in "outside" units.

In the early stages of sub-manufacturing, and even as late as 1923, we have endeavored to apply in the sub-manufacturer problem the "big-stick" policy. As the small shop was beginning to take the place of the bigger inside unit, our Union determined to drive the sub-manufacturer out of the trade by sheer force. The strikes of 1913, 1923, and the recent stoppage of 1924, are examples of this policy and they clearly show the absurdity of it. It is quite obvious by this time to most all

the responsible factors in our trade that this method cannot check the growth of sub-manufacturing in it. And it stands to reason that if the sub-manufacturer has come to stay, the Union must seek ways and means of making his presence in our industry a source of benefit and not of harm to the workers.

It is quite patent that, insofar as this sub-manufacturer is dominated and oppressed by the jobber and manufacturer, he has both directly and indirectly several interests which are common or identical with those of the workers. Each pressure which the jobber brings to bear upon the sub-manufacturer reacts at once as a double pressure both on the latter and upon the workers in his shop. The innumerable so-called special arrangements which have been discovered in the sub-manufacturers' shops between the workers and the bosses, these acts of collusion which undermine union standards in the sub-manufacturers' shops, can all be traced directly to the continued oppression of the sub-manufacturer by the jobber and the feverish efforts of the former to keep his head above water by every means available, fair or unfair. The artificial competition stimulated by the jobbers between sub-manufacturer and sub-manufacturer, the "auction" system of handing out work, the "freeze-out" method, and similar sharp practices existing in jobber-sub-manufacturer relations have tended to demoralize union conditions in the sub-manufacturers' shops and have contributed to the breaking down of standards in these production units. We must realize the psychology of the worker in the shop of a sub-manufacturer who is faced with the problem of a short work-season and who realizes that he might lose the "season" entirely if he starts out in search of a better "sub-shop". He knows of the terrific pressure which the jobber is bringing upon his employer and the bitter competition which his employer must endure in the sub-manufacturing market. It is only natural, in view of this, that such a worker is driven into a state of mind where he feels that he must "help" his sub-manufacturer to go through as best he can even with a poor season. And that accounts for the innumerable private "deals" between workers and employers in the "sub" shops, deals which the Union is fighting hard but is not always able to prevent.

It is self-evident therefore that there exists, to the extent outlined above, the need of collective dealing between the union and the sub-manufacturer in order to meet adequately the jobber problem. Basically, of course, it is the principle of self-

interest on the part of our workers who must seek allies wherever they may find them, to strengthen their front. The second consideration is that dealing with individual sub-manufacturers has proved to be a very difficult task for the Union in the past, involving frequent and costly fights, while by dealing with associations the control of shop conditions is made much easier and a great deal of avoidable friction is eliminated. We must also bear in mind that while the Union is concerned with the problem of checking the further growth of sub-manufacturing, the sub-manufacturer, as a member of an organization, is equally interested in checking over-expansion in the sub-manufacturing business and in having less shops of this type in the industry. Individual or "Independent" sub-manufacturers find it quite possible to play one shop against the other and, by creating competition between the workers in these shops, to debase work conditions in them. Collective agreements with sub-manufacturers give the Union a much stronger hand in fighting this artificial competition and in avoiding its evil consequences. Still another consideration is the principle of industrial balance, for it is quite clear to us that the stronger the jobbers become at the expense of the sub-manufacturers, the sooner will they turn this acquired strength and influence against the workers and their union.

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What can save the industry in New York from chaos, what can arrest this destructive tendency towards splitting up its productive units into tiny, irresponsible particles that will beyond doubt bring it back to an even more deplorable condition than that in which it found itself before the trade was organized?

The phenomenal growth of the petty shop is not an accident in our industry but the result of a conscious and premeditated effort and policy on the part of the jobbers and bigger manufacturers, a policy which they claim is dictated to them by the pressure of present-day devouring competition. They further claim that the larger shop, inside and outside, cannot be restored in the cloak trade until the cost of production is made uniform in the industry and overhead costs to all producers are more or less equalized.

That there is a measure of truth in these assertions cannot be denied. Of course, the attempt of the employers, both the

jobbers and the manufacturers, to place the responsibility for this absence of uniformity of cost of production in the trade upon the Union is absurd and unreasonable. The now flourishing jobber system was given its first start not by the workers' organization but by such manufacturers as had already grown weary in the early days of the existence of our organization, of living up to regular union work standards in their shops and who sought to escape direct contact with the workers by giving up their shops and engaging sub-manufacturers to work for them. These individual manufacturers-jobbers were later joined by groups of business men from outside the industry who never were manufacturers but who took to cloak jobbing as they would take to hardware jobbing, relying upon the jobbing system as such to keep them out of any relation whatever with the organized workers in the cloak trade. And as jobbing in the cloak trade has proved a lucrative business it attracted, and is still attracting, large numbers of business people, until today, it may be fairly stated, even this business is over-expanded and is already suffering from violent competition within its own sphere, a state of affairs which adds to the general instability in the industry and which the Union and no doubt the jobbers as well, should very much like to see regularized.

It must, in addition, be borne in mind that, while jobbing originally came into being in our trades as a method of production with the aim in view of avoiding control by and relations with organized Labor, it has won for itself a place of permanency in the women's wear market through some of the commercial advantages which it offers to the distributors and buyers. And once we recognize the permanency of the jobbing system in our industry, we must seek to place upon it the full obligation for labor conditions which it should assume as the most important and permanent employing interest in it.

The remedy of measured production, as a means of bringing back the big shop in the cloak trade, has by this time been given up by all sober-minded observers of the workings of the cloak shop, especially in New York City. Standards of production are, by common agreement, an unworkable proposition as far as the cloak and dress trades are concerned, and whatever argument there may have been advanced in its favor in the past in other cloak markets is entirely inapplicable today in the cloak industry of New York City, its biggest and most important center.

The Union's answer to these burning questions was given by the General Executive Board in the constructive program of industrial reforms more than a year and a half ago. This program has been the principal basis of discussion in our ranks during this period, and upon the most important points of this program, the cloakmakers of New York still pin their only hope for saving their industry from the abyss into which it will otherwise sink.

The two outstanding points in this program are the limitation of the number of steady contractors to be employed by the jobbers, and its twin demand, the demand for a guaranteed period of employment for the workers in the industry—the only kind of guarantee that would put meaning and teeth into the first reform and force the jobber into the responsible position of a manufacturer. The only way we may stop the irresponsible growth of sub-manufacturing is, as we have seen already, not by the application of force against the sub-manufacturer, but by checking it at its source of supply—the jobber and the manufacturer-jobber. Contractor limitation plus a guaranteed time of employment will regulate sub-manufacturing and put it in a proper and controllable place in our industry.

It should be the business of the Union to deal, inasmuch as it can possibly achieve it, only with a jobbers' association, a body which would hold itself responsible for the industry and for the conduct of its own members. This may not sound quite harmonious to some ears, and some will be found saying that we are embarking once again upon a policy of fostering and encouraging employers' associations. To this our reply is: The notion which prevails among some of our people that a collective agreement is less favorable, as a rule, to the Union than an individual agreement with a single firm, is a wrong impression. A collective agreement with a group of employers can be made as forceful and as advantageous to the workers as any individual agreement. On the other hand, in the case of a collective agreement, the Union obtains a far greater security for its enforcement by the individual firms comprising the employers' group, namely the collective security of the association for the observance of union standards in the shops of its members.

The influx of new-comers in the jobbing field, which causes over-expansion in it and gives rise to unwholesome competition,

can also be better regulated through the influence of the jobbers' association. These new comers must be made to feel that cheating is not done with immunity and with ease. These must be taught that there is such a thing as trade responsibility in dealing with labor in the cloak industry, a responsibility which goes at least as far as that imposed by any of the other essential factors in industry.

It must, nevertheless, be stated here that we do not propose this policy of dealing with associations in preference to dealing with individual employers as a permanent policy or an iron-clad principle. It is a tactic which we believe at this time to be expedient and of service to the interests of our workers and to the industry.

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Not the least of our problems, past and present, is the one dealing with the minimum scale of wages in the cloak industry and the control of wages above the minimum scale. It is an open secret that the method of control of wages above the minimum scale employed by the Union divides the workers into two competing camps, and in the course of the last few years, it must be candidly admitted, the lower wage workers have gradually pushed the higher paid workers, either entirely out of the shops or, down to their own wage level, thus contributing to the weakening of union control of wages.

The double form of protection to both minimum and above-the-minimum wage scales given by our Union to the workers, is paradoxical. It may sound illogical that the Union would undertake, first to secure a minimum wage for its members and then to wage a steady defensive fight for workers who are getting a scale higher than the minimum rate agreed upon in the industry. The fact of the matter, however, is that our Union could not commit itself to the protection of the minimum wage workers only. It must be borne in mind that the minimum wage scale in our industry was not established as a result of scientific investigation or careful research of any kind. It did not come about as the result of calculation derived from the average period of employment of our workers during the two seasons of the year, nor was it based on the minimum budget of a cloakmaker's family. It could hardly even be said that remuneration as measured by this minimum wage scale reflects in our industry skill or work experience. Take, for example, the skilled cutters and the not less skilled tailors and

piece tailors who have to go through a long period of apprenticeship before they may qualify as mechanics. Their scales are lower than those of the operators whose training periods are no longer and who do not require more experience before qualifying for their jobs.

On the whole, it may be said that our minimum wage scale for the former piece workers, operators and finishers, when first introduced in the industry after week-work took the place of piece-work in 1919, was fixed more on a guess basis than on anything else. The operators at that time were piece-workers and were making more money than the finishers, and were therefore given a somewhat higher scale than the finishers. The cutters and pressers were week-workers, and as a class an underpaid group of workers, and their minimum scale was fixed approximately on the basis of their past average wages.

On the other hand, the above-the-minimum scales were established in 1919 for piece workers on the basis of their piece-rate earnings during the two preceding seasons. As long as such workers remained in their shop they were safe with their higher scale, but the moment they left it, at any time after 1919, and had to look for a job, they could get the Union's protection only as far as the minimum wage but no higher. And here lies the whole inconsistency and absurdity of this double form of protection, which on closer analysis does not protect the biggest number of the workers in our trade at this time, the above-the-minimum workers, at all, but leaves them in the position of individuals who have to do their own bargaining and fighting for whatever dollar they are able to obtain above the minimum scale.

Our trade is a seasonal trade, and because of that it frequently occurs that our workers leave their shops at the end of the season, and before each new season large numbers of workers are forced to seek new jobs. Hundreds of shops in our industry go out of business every year, a fact substantiated by the report of the Governor's Commission, and the workers formerly employed in them are left jobless and cast out on the market. As the height of the season does not occur in the cloak trade at the very outset and as the supply of workers at the beginning of the season is much greater than the demand for them, it stands to reason that the employers, whose workers had left them at the end of the previous season, or such as are

opening new shops, would utilize the chance of engaging new workers at much lower wages. This creates a double form of competition—between worker and worker, and it also enables the employer who gets his help at lower wages to compete with other employers who still retain their old help and have therefore to pay them higher wages. In addition, many of our employers are able, from time to time to effectively get rid of their above-the-minimum workers by giving up temporarily their shops for a season or two, only to enter business again the following season under new firm combinations with a set of lower-priced workers who can be obtained for the asking in the market. And once such an employer has equipped his shop with such workers, he can be in a position to compete effectively with his former rivals who may still be employing a number of above-the-minimum workers, and thereby force them to resort to the same method of giving up their shops for a time to re-equip them the following season with minimum-scale workers.

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What safeguards could the union put up against this deplorable trend of wage lowering which is rampant today in the cloak trade?

The Union, as we have stated already, is in a position to defend the minimum scale of all workers, but it can protect the above-the-minimum scales only of old workers, of workers already in the shop, but not of newly engaged workers. The Union can enforce the rule that when a worker is engaged on a new job he or she is to get no less than the minimum scale. If the worker succeeds in getting from the employer \$20. above the minimum, his price cannot be reduced as long as he works for that firm. If such a \$70 worker, however, loses his job—on account of the firm's going out of business or through having been discharged for cause, or by giving up the job in a "slack" season, and he takes up a new job where he is compelled to work for fifteen or ten dollars a week less, the Union cannot compel the new firm to pay him the wages to which he is entitled according to his ability as long as his wages are not below the minimum scale.

Essentially at fault, of course, is the entirely too low minimum scale prevailing in our industry. The Union's remedy for it is quite simple. We must raise the minimum scale

for our workers and base it scientifically upon the minimum budget of a worker's family, leaving the bargaining above such a minimum wage scale to individual workers and employers. In this case we shall be at least satisfied that the workers who depend for a living upon the cloak industry will earn as much as they need in order to meet the wants of their dependents, though this would not eliminate entirely competition in production cost or even competition between worker and worker. Or else a machinery of wage adjustment should at once be established in the trade which would control and regulate the earnings of the workers in the shops, both of old workers and of newcomers, on the basis of their ability in a given line of work.

But in order to bring about such an equitable wage regulation, it would be necessary for this joint wage machinery to classify all the shops in our industry in order to establish which of these shops have fallen below the legitimate wage standard for such type of shops originally fixed for the workers employed in them when week work was first introduced. It would be necessary to raise the wages of the workers in such shops, minimum and above-the-minimum as well, by a process of comparison with a standard type shop at present existing in each line or grouping of the trade, on the one hand, and by applying the process of comparative ability of the individual workers in these lower-pay shops with the workers in the standard shop where a similar line of work is made.

It, no doubt, is a big task, but it is not an impossible one, and, while it may take a season or two until it becomes operative throughout the trade, when it is accomplished, the worker would be sure to get his wage no matter where and when he goes to look for a job. Competition between worker and worker would be greatly if not entirely eliminated and it would likewise remove the incentive for any manufacturer to seek reorganization to get cheaper labor or for a sub-manufacturer to give up his shop temporarily in order to open up a shop next season and be able to compete with another contractor who already has a cheaper set of workers. Besides, it would put the Union in a position to give the above-the-minimum worker real protection in and outside the old shop, instead of the present unreal and illogical system of double protection which in reality does not protect.

The first suggestion, that of a fair and substantial rise

in the minimum wage scale, might be put forth in preference to the second method largely because its realization is less involved and it might give quicker satisfaction. The second remedy, nevertheless, is admittedly the more thorough one, and goes down to the root of the wage trouble in our midst. It can hardly be, however, denied that, if our workers are awarded a minimum wage that is based on a minimum budget, and not upon guess work, it would go a great deal toward making our industry a more dependable source of livelihood for them.

We hope that the convention will very seriously take up these proposals and make an earnest effort to find the solution for the wage problem in the cloak trade of New York which vitally affects every worker in this dominant branch of our industry.

The Merger of the Three Locals

During 1924, the General Executive Board carried into effect in New York City an organization measure of far-reaching importance.

The existence in New York of three cloak operators' locals had for a long time been regarded as a detriment and injury to the welfare of the operators in the trade. For years it had been the source of unending jurisdictional shop troubles, despite the fact that under the laws of the I. L. G. W. U. no more than one local of the same craft is allowed to exist in one city. The existence of three locals made it quite impossible to exert local control over individual members among operators, as very often members who would commit a violation against the rules of the Union in one of these locals would drop their membership in it and seek to enter the other local in order to escape fines. Local 17 was the principal offender in this respect and not only would it accept members from Local 1 and 11 without any preliminary investigation, but it even initiated Italian members and finishers in order to gain more taxpayers on its rolls.

Local 17, at one time a local of reefer makers, was in recent years composed wholly of cloak operators, as the reefer trade became practically extinct in the New York market, and very few such garments were being made in local shops. Local 11 of

Brownsville, a section of Brooklyn in Greater New York, a mixed local of operators and finishers, was composed of workers who for the most part were employed in New York City shops and its existence as a separate local was therefore without justification. At former conventions the representatives of Local 1 had made persistent though unsuccessful efforts to obtain sanction for the amalgamation of the three operators' locals into one. When the case would seem to go strong for Local 1 and it would appear that the overwhelming majority of the delegates would vote for such a merger, the matter would be so manipulated by the leaders of Local 17 among the delegates that it would inevitably result in the rejection of the plan.

During the past year, and particularly in the course of the last cloak stoppage and during the settlements, the conduct of the officials of Local 17 became decidedly unbearable. It is a matter of record that the manager of that local arbitrarily monopolized one of the settlement rooms and signed up a number of shops as Local 17 shops under lower standards of security, or without security at all, though they had nothing whatever to do with reefer making,—which, by the way was a practice he had indulged in frequently even before the stoppage. If a shop was found to yield a better living wage and a better season, it would be claimed as a Local 17 shop whether the claim had any reason or basis for it or not. This method of shop grabbing produced a very bad and demoralizing impression upon the workers.

The last convention of the International in Boston referred action on this matter to the General Executive Board. At the third quarterly meeting of the G. E. B. in Philadelphia, in September 1924, a committee representing Local 1, consisting of Brothers Levy, Weinstein, Shally, Nachlin, Horowitz and Maser, appeared before the Board with a request that the G. E. B. reopen their claim. The committee of the operators' local emphasized the fact that the presence of three locals of the same trade in New York City constitutes a danger to the morale of the Union as a whole for the following reasons:

1. When, because of a grievance against a certain shop, Local 1 does not want to send in operators and therefore does not grant working cards, one of the other operators' locals will grant a working card to the same shop if one of its members obtains a job in it.

2. When a member commits a violation for which he is

called before the grievance committee, a punishment is usually meted out to him. But he evades it by not paying his dues until he is dropped, and then he is accepted as a new member by either of the two other operators' locals, without any investigation whatever.

3. The existence of several locals in the same trade has made it possible for a certain privileged class of workers to develop. It is well known in New York that Local 17 has the better shops and that its members are earning a better living than those of the other operators' locals.

4. Because there are too many cloakmakers in the industry and new ones are constantly coming in in spite of the fact that the trade is continually decreasing, a policy of some slight restriction is necessary. This cannot be put into effect because a man who is refused admission by one operators' local will be accepted by one of the other two.

5. The reefer trade is going out so fast that there are only about 12 shops that actually make reefers. Yet, Local 17 controls many shops which are actually cloak shops and not reefer shops. There is no justification for its existence when the trade over which it is supposed to have jurisdiction has dwindled away. 95 per cent of Local 17 members are working on regular cloaks. At the 1920 convention, it was understood that a decision had been reached that the Local 17 shops would be controlled by the Joint Board and that, since there are no more reefer shops, Local 17 should take in no more new members. But since a good many cloakmakers had been initiated in Local 17 in the past year, the question is: Where do they come from? Local 1 asserts that they are former members of their local.

6. From the viewpoint of economy, it is advisable to have but one local, and thus eliminate the present situation where three locals having the same membership are maintaining three staffs, have three offices, when only one is needed.

7. The Brownsville office is not needed any more than special locals would be needed in Harlem and the Bronx. With present rapid communications between Brownsville and Manhattan, its members are to a large extent employed in Manhattan and Bronx shops.

The General Executive Board thereupon decided that the amalgamation of the three locals should not be postponed any longer and appointed a special sub-committee consisting of Vice-presidents Feinberg, Halperin, Wander, Perlstein and Amdur to aid President Sigman to carry it into effect. On October 12th, 1924, the International Office, over the signature of President Sigman and Secretary Baroff, forwarded a letter to Locals 1, 11 and 17 notifying them of the decision of

the G. E. B. and instructing them to turn over their property to the General Office, in accordance with the constitutional provisions governing such transactions. Local 1, and later, after some dilly-dallying, Local 11 obeyed the order of the International Union, but Local 17, under the leadership of Jacob Heller, its manager and at that time a member of the G. E. B., declined to carry out these instructions and assumed a defiant attitude. President Sigman appointed Vice-president Meyer Perlstien provisional administrator of the combined local which was to be called Local 2.

It is hardly necessary to give here a detailed account of all the treacherous acts committed by Heller and his group in resisting the decision of the International Union and in violently opposing the carrying out of the merger of the three operators' locals. Suffice it to record here that in the course of the seven weeks the fight lasted, the ringleaders of Local 17 procured an injunction, against the International Union forbidding it to carry out this merger, and recklessly squandered the treasury of the local in fighting the parent body of our Union. An attempt on the part of Heller to enlist the sympathy of the late President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor failed miserably, as the old chief of the Federation reproved him and his co-leaders for their insubordination and strongly urged them to obey the mandate of the General Executive Board.

The following two messages from the late chief of the A. F. of L. to Secretary Baroff, and to Heller, cast a light upon the sound and organization-like viewpoint from which Gompers treated this unfortunate act of trade-union insubordination. The telegram to Brother Baroff reads:

El Paso, Texas, November 22, 1934.

ABRAHAM BAROFF, 3 West 16th Street, New York;

I am astounded to learn that some members of former Local 17 of Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union have sought and obtained an injunction from a court enjoining the International Union General Executive Board and other loyal members of the organization from carrying into effect a decision rendered by the said General Executive Board. I had and now have all the information before me bearing upon this question of the decision of the said General Executive Board, and in the main it was conveyed to me by Brother Heller and several other members, who orally and later in writing, submitted to me their ob-

jection to the General Executive Board's decision. As to the advisability of the decision of the General Executive Board on this or any other question, it is of minor consideration. What is important and binding—had the Executive Board the right and the power to pursue the course it did in this case? I insist that the Executive Board did not exceed its right or authority in the premises. It is bad business and contrary to the interests of the wage earners for Brother Heller and his associates to have invoked the courts to decide an internal dispute in a trade union. The courts are usually governed by the legalistic point of view while the trade unions must act for the economic efficiency and for the protection of the rights and interests of the workers and to make the unions more efficient and effective. I am sending you this telegraphic night letter so that no one may again claim that I question the authority of the General Executive Board of the International Union to render the decision in this case. Am sending telegram to Brother Heller for whom I have always entertained respect urging him to conform to trade union law and procedure rather than a court injunction.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President American Federation of Labor

Gompers' message to Heller reads:

El Paso, Texas, November 27, 1924.

Your night letter telegram to hand. The course you have pursued is exceedingly disappointing to me who has always respected and had confidence in you. You misinterpreted the purport of my telegram. You undertook to have a judge issue an injunction as if that would settle an internal dispute in the bona fide Labor movement and when the Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union proposed that the dispute as to its decision be referred to a referendum vote of the entire membership of the International Union, the proposal was flagrantly rejected. We cannot expect to be in entire agreement with every decision rendered by a Local Union, by an International Union or even by the American Federation of Labor, but once a decision has been reached, the course of true trade unionists and faithful men and women is to abide by the decision reached in the interest of your own good name and standing and more than all else in the best interests of the men and women whom you have so long so ably and faithfully represented. You should see to it that by your course they shall not be dissipated or destroyed. Comply with the decision and help to carry it into effect is my advice.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

After a struggle which lasted nearly seven weeks, the group of injunction procurers of former Local 17, after they had spent

the funds of the local on reimbursing their adherents for trying to work up some sympathy for them in labor circles, had to admit themselves defeated and withdrew their active opposition to the Joint Board and the International Union. Some of their ringleaders, including Heller, left the trade entirely and went into business. Heller was subsequently dropped from membership on the G. E. B.

It must also be recorded here that in the course of this fight waged by Heller and his henchmen against the International Union he received some hearty support from rather unexpected quarters. He succeeded, namely, in confusing the minds of some influential persons in the press which is favorable to our cause by trying to make it appear that the fight of Local 17 against the International was just a family squabble in which "both were right and both were wrong." The General Office, however, soon made it clear that the treachery of the ringleaders of former Local 17 was not a subject that could be "mediated" and that the I. L. G. W. U. was capable of taking care of these injunction procurers without outside aid.

Another group in our Union which helped Heller and his group under cover was composed of some Local 35 people who, while in the open professing to be loyal to the International in this case, were giving them on the quiet their support. It is, for instance, a matter of record in the General Office that, during the heat of that clash, when the International Union withdrew the charter from Local 17 and its secretary could no longer obtain stamps from Secretary Baroff, the office of Local 35 purchased 20,000 stamps from the General Office, ostensibly for their own local, but which later transferred to Local 17.

On the evening of December 12, 1924, ex-Vice-president Meyer Perlstein, the administrator of Local 2, and a member of the merger committee of the G. E. B., was attacked while walking along Second Avenue in New York City and severely beaten up by a gang of unknown desperadoes, barely escaping with his life. The International Office made every effort to apprehend these assailants and to trace the source of this atrocity but without any results.

Locals 1, 11 and 17 have now been amalgamated as Local 2, Cloak, Suit and Reefer Operators of Greater New York. The legitimate aspiration of the overwhelming majority of the cloak operators to have one local of their craft in New York City

was thus finally realized. The rank and file of Local 17 joined the new local in a body, with the exception of several bitter-enders who needed a separate organization for their own sordid and selfish motives. It must be added, however, that a few of this group, now organized as "Friends Forever of Local 17," though members of Local 2, retain enough bitterness and animosity toward the General Executive Board and the Joint Board to hamper it by underhand tactics whenever they see an opening for mischief, in which they are continually being advised and encouraged by Heller and his henchmen from the outside.

The Internal Fight in Locals 2, 9 and 22

The turmoil which has but recently come to an end in our Union, is still too fresh in the minds of all of us to allow a dispassionate, objective review of all its causes, phases and results already perceivable or potential. In this report, which is submitted by the General Executive Board to the delegates, it is, of course, our duty to present a brief account of this stirring event from the viewpoint of the General Executive Board.

The Boston convention of the I.L.G.W.U., in May, 1924, declared itself unmistakably on the subject of Communist domination in our organization. Having become convinced that this activity is the result of a planned and organized scheme to obtain power in our Union, first, by "preparing the ground through a campaign of personal abuse and calumny, and later, through the means of "nuclei", small groups planted within the locals who owe allegiance to no one but the central Communist authority and whose order they are unquestioningly to obey, the convention adopted resolutions forbidding members of the "Trade Union Educational League" and all other "leagues" or groups controlled by outside influences to hold office in the I. L. G. W. U. Broadly viewed, this was not a discriminatory move against any political party or doctrine, but rather a measure of self-preservation, as the convention, in speaking for the I. L. G. W. U., expressed through that resolution its protest against the attempt of any political party to subvert our Union for its political ends and at the same time emphasized its faith in the immediate program and mission of our Union as primarily an economic organization formed for the purpose of protecting our workers on the economic field and of winning higher standards of work and living for them.

Right after the merger of the three locals, the General Executive Board appointed a provisional executive board for the consolidated operators' local, No. 2, to administer its affairs until the merger would be completed. Vice-president Perlstein, as mentioned already, was appointed supervisor of this combined local, with Charles Fine as his assistant. This provisional executive board consisted of Brothers M. Nachlin, chairman, R. Zuckerman, S. Orizitzer, S. Student, M. Kushner, J. Weinstein, L. Levy, B. Golub, B. Riesner, J. Miller, I. Herman, A. Nagoshiner, M. Wilson, S. Sanders, J. Rubin, D. Krawetz, H. Perlmutter, M. Sackin, S. Heiferling, Harry Lapidus, M. Sobel, Elias Horn, M. Brass, N. Sakstein, Samuel Morris and Abraham Goldstein—all of them active workers or former executive members in the three merged locals.

A few months later, after the merger had been completed in November, 1924, the General Executive Board ordered Local 2 to make nominations for a regular executive board and to elect one. After the nominations had been made in Local 2, each of the candidates declared to the election and objection committee of the G. E. B. that they did not belong to any "league" controlled by outside political groups and that when elected they would live up to the provision of our constitution which makes it an offense for any member of the I. L. G. W. U. to "hold membership or office in a dual union or in any other organization attempting to shape the policies, determine the choice of officers or influence the actions of the I. L. G. W. U. or any subordinate body of the same, or otherwise to usurp or interfere with the legitimate functions and rights of the I. L. G. W. U., its subordinate bodies and its officers, or for active support of such an organization." (Article X, Section 13, I. L. G. W. U. Constitution, 1924).

The Sub-Committee of the General Executive Board, though it knew that a number of these candidates for executive board in Local 2 were Communists, nevertheless deemed this pledge as sufficient guarantee that they would conduct themselves in office as trade unionists. At about the same time, Local 9, the cloak finishers' local, held nominations for executive board officers, and their candidates gave a similar pledge and were allowed to run, though some of them were known as avowed Communists. Later, in April, 1925, Local 22, the Dressmakers' Union, held an election for executive board and their candidates all signed a pledge in which they disavowed their belonging to

any "league" within the meaning and scope of the groups proscribed by the Boston convention. The text of that pledge was as follows:

April 17, 1925

"I, the undersigned, a member of Local No. 22 of the I.L.G.W.U., having been nominated as candidate for the Executive Board of my local, hereby make the following statement:

First, that I am not a member of the Trade Union Educational League or any other organization which is inimical in its character and actions to the principles, policies and actions of our International Union, and that I will not participate or give my support to any group or organization which consistently maligns our International Union.

Furthermore, I state that I consider such organization and groups as mentioned above, a menace and a detriment to the trade-union movement and to the Labor movement in general.

I hereby declare that, as a member of the International Union, I will act in the performance of my duties in accordance with the constitution of the I.L.G.W.U. and will be guided by the decisions and the interpretations of the constitution made by the General Executive Board."

Very soon, however, it became evident that the hopes entertained by President Sigman and the General Executive Board that these men and women once in office would continue their posts as a stewardship of an industrial organization and not as a tool for some political outfit on the outside, were premature. It became manifest in every one of their acts that their reactions to the everyday activities of the International and the Joint Board were antagonistic and bitterly inimical and that some power from the outside was having full sway and control over them. At the Joint Board proper, and outside of its meetings, the executives of these three locals formed among themselves a junta for joint action, and the Communist press not only in New York City but all over the country at once assumed the task of speaking for them, as if they were not a part of the International Union but an enemy organization whose task was to fight and degrade our organization.

Then followed in quick succession a number of acts which proved conclusively to the General Executive Board and to the Joint Board that it had misplaced its confidence entirely when it for a while supposed that the Communists in these executive boards and those who were under their thumb would behave

like union men and women. These three locals invited to their May Day meetings speakers from the Communist party who were quite notorious among our workers as bitter assailants of the I. L. G. W. U. and of its leaders. Of course, the simple act of inviting to any meeting of this kind a Communist amounted in itself to little, but the circumstances under which it was done and the fact that they ignored their own representatives showed clearly the trend of their minds and the spiteful attitude which they exhibited upon every occasion. As a matter of fact, they converted these May Day meetings into full-fledged Workers' Party affairs, completely eliminating from them the economic and trade union color of our organization, and thus helping to create an impression at large, among the public and in the press, that the I. L. G. W. U. had gone Communist.

In general the abusive language with which they carried on their "criticism", invariably smacked of the tone, style and contents of the vituperative propaganda carried on daily against the International Union in their name in the columns of the Communist press in New York City, notably in the "Freiheit".

The patience of the Joint Board and of the G. E. B. was then about approaching a point of exhaustion. On June 11, 1925, after consulting the other members of the General Executive Board in New York City, Vice-President Feinberg brought charges in that body against the executive boards of Locals 2, 9 and 22, and the Joint Board thereupon voted to suspend them from office, and appointed a special trial committee to sift the charges preferred against them and bring out a verdict. These charges follow:

To the Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit, Skirt, Dress and
Reefer Makers Unions of New York.

Brothers:

I, Israel Feinberg, a member in good standing of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of Local No. 2, ledger No. 208, hereby prefer charges against the following persons, constituting the Executive Boards of Locals No. 2, 9 and 22, in their official capacity as members of the said Executive Boards and officers of the said Local Unions.

I charge the above named officers of Locals No. 2, 9 and 22 with a violation of the Constitution of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the commission of acts calculated to impair the usefulness of the International Ladies' Garment

Workers' Union and Locals 2, 9 and 22 and unbecoming to the dignity of the offices held by them.

The specific acts upon which these charges are based are as follows:—

On May 1st, 1925, the Executive Boards of Locals No. 2, 9 and 22 and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Locals called and organized public meetings under the guise of May Day demonstrations, which upon the invitation of the Executive Board and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Locals was addressed by avowed enemies and opponents of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; the speakers who were so invited to address the meetings were members of organizations opposed to all the settled principles of trade unionism and particularly those of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the American Federation of Labor, with which it is affiliated, i.e., The Workers Party, the Communist Party and the so-called Trade Union Educational League. The speakers so invited advocated at the meetings methods of violence and dictatorship, which were widely reported in the public press and conveyed the false impression that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and its locals were committed to the aims and methods of Communism, and were calculated to impair the reputation, standing and usefulness of the organization.

The meetings were designed to be used and were actually used for the purpose of furnishing avowed enemies of the International and its officers an opportunity to publicly slander and defame the organization and its officers.

Since the meetings had no connection whatsoever with any legitimate activity of a Local Union of the International, but on the contrary gave support to the enemies of the organization, the payment of the expenses, made out of the regular revenue of the Locals, was a violation of Article V, Section 9 and 10 of the Constitution of the International.

I charge that the acts above set forth are in violation of the Constitution of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, inimical to the interests of the organization and unbecoming to the dignity of the offices held by the accused.

"I further charge that the members of the Executive Board of Local No. 22 and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Local grossly violated the provisions of Article V, Sections 9 and 10 of the Constitution by using property of the Local derived from its regular revenue and held in trust for all of its members, i.e., bonds of the value and amount of \$2000, i.e.:

4th Liberty Bond	E 01389285	\$1000.00
4th Liberty Bond	F 01389286	1000.00

as collateral security for a loan of an organization known as Camp Nitz Gedeiget, which organization has no connection with Local 22 or the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, but, on the contrary, is hostile to the latter."

I request a full hearing on these charges.

ISRAEL FEINBERG.

The Joint Board also appointed a committee to take over at once the offices of these three locals and to administer them temporarily until the trial committee would bring in its verdict. This step became necessary in view of the fact that as soon as the charges had been lodged against them, the officers of Locals 2, 9, and 22, anticipating that the Joint Board and the International Union might demand from them a transfer of the property and of the finances of their locals pending the trial, had determined to defy these orders in advance and to hold their offices at all cost. So they installed new locks upon the doors in these offices and organized a system of watchers, some of them hired, who were stationed daily and nightly in them to guard against the Joint Board officers. The Joint Board succeeded in taking over the offices of Locals 2 and 9, but the office of Local 22 was held by the sympathizers of the suspended executive board of that local who barricaded themselves and would not permit the committee of the Joint Board to enter it.

The suspended executives had meanwhile got together and formed a joint action committee, and with the aid of finances obtained from the treasury of Locals No 2, 9 and 22, opened up headquarters in the building of Local 22, 16 West 21st street, New York City, and started a counter-offensive against the International administration and the administration of the Joint Board. The Communist press gave them loyal support, and the fight soon was carried from union headquarters into the shops, creating tumult and confusion among the workers.

The General Executive Board thereupon proceeded under the right granted to it by the constitution, to attach the funds of these three locals on deposit in the International Union Bank and also the bonds owned by Local 22 amounting to ninety odd thousand dollars on deposit with the Empire City Safe Deposit Company. We succeeded in attaching their cash accounts, but the Joint Action Committee having in the meantime engineered a false election of new trustees for Local 22, obtained possession of these bonds and later spent nearly all of the huge sum realized from their sale in fighting the International Union in the course of the next three months.

To enumerate here each act of outlawry, insubordination and violation of trade union principles and ethics practiced by

the opposition in the course of the three months that the conflict lasted, would require a great deal more space than this report allows. Suffice it only to mention here a few of the more glaring examples, such as the lawsuit started by the joint action committee against the International Union and the Joint Board to compel them to surrender to them the funds of Locals 9 and 22 on deposit in the International Union Bank; their appearance before the District Attorney of New York County to inform him that "the joint action committee has succeeded in keeping the vast majority of the members from paying dues to the Union and that the International Union and the Joint Board were employing gangsters to terrorize the members into obeying the Union officials and paying their dues," and pressing for an indictment; their campaign urging the members of the International in New York and elsewhere to stop paying dues to their locals and to cease taking orders from the officers of the Union,—acts which tend to destroy the morale and the discipline of a labor organization not only for the moment but which are bound to leave an injurious effect upon it for years to come.

The General Executive Board and the Joint Board, on the contrary, during the entire conflict abstained from going to court to prevent the oppositionists from spending the Union's money in fighting the International, or to dispossess them from the building of Local 22 which they had converted into their headquarters. In accordance with the finest traditions of the Labor movement, the International would not stoop to the use of either injunctions or any other judicial proceedings to settle a dispute which should be fought out by trade union methods and tactics only.

The fight lasted over eleven weeks and caused the Union incalculable damage. The conflict had started as a fight against Communist control of some of our local unions but soon, partly through tactical oversight on our part and partly through adroit maneuvering of the opposition, the issues of the fight became diverted to other channels, which benefited our opponents and befogged the real issue of the fight. Thus there were brought into this fight such issues as the change of the representation system at the Joint Board, the question of higher dues, fraudulent elections, the extravagance of the Joint Board and of local offices, the election of officers by referendum—and a widespread impression was created to the effect that we were fighting to ~~retain~~ the status quo in the Union, that we were opposed to the

bitter end to any reforms and any organizational improvements, and similar stories to which the opposition was trying to give wide circulation in order to arouse sympathetic publicity for itself.

In point of fact, however, nothing was further from the truth than this propaganda spread broadcast by the groups which were fighting the General Executive Board. It is a matter of general record, which the leaders of the joint action committee knew very well, that for the past three years, President Sigman has conducted a very effective campaign to clean out the undesirable element in the Joint Board and has succeeded in smashing up what used to be known as the Joint Board machine. In this same period, the General Executive Board carried out the amalgamation of the operators' locals, a task which has been regarded in the past as an impossible one, and consolidated the two New York joint boards into one in the interest of efficiency and economy. It carried out the amalgamation of several other locals for the same purpose, and helped in uniting the two secretarial offices in the Joint Board. The General Executive Board did not approve of the act of the Joint Board in raising dues without the vote of the general membership and our press editorially criticized this move. There is no doubt but that President Sigman with the cooperation of the G. E. B. would have completed in full the program of internal reforms in the Joint Board and throughout the organization, were it not for the poisonous agitation injected by the Communists which diverted the energy of the Union to the fight against its enemies within and without, and hampered it in its consistent and steady work to improve internal conditions and the administrative personnel of the organization.

The amount of energy and money spent in this conflict would probably have been sufficient to carry through successfully a general strike in our largest industry. The Union had from the outset attempted to keep the fight within the ramifications of decent opposition, refraining from attacking personalities and giving it the dignity of a clash of principles. Unfortunately, the opposition, perhaps due to the fact that its spokesmen in the press were a group of Communist partisans who mock at labor ethics and who have little if any regard for the intrinsic values of the trade union movement, made use from the start of the most intemperate tactics, slandering and abusing its opponents without regard to any code of decency and charging them with crimes and abominations to

which obviously neither they themselves nor any fair-minded outside observer could give credence. It is no exaggeration to state that the very atmosphere of the fight had been poisoned by these waves of vituperation, and the moral damage caused by these tactics will probably take a long time to repair in our organization.

The high spots of the conflict were the meeting at the Yankee Stadium staged by the opposition on July 9th and the stoppage in the cloak and dress trade which this committee attempted to carry through on August 10th. Both these large scale moves were only moderate successes from the point of view of numbers, but they showed, nevertheless, that the opposition had enlisted a substantial mass of workers on their side, though it once again made clear that these workers were neither Communists, nor even sympathizers with the Communist cause.

The ugliest feature of the conflict, however, was the fighting which it produced on the "picket" lines established by the opposition in front of a number of shops in the garment district, where it had called strikes to force the reinstatement of some of its followers who had been removed by the Union for non-compliance with its orders or discharged by firms for having stopped off from work in violation of agreement. In a number of instances, too, the opposition had called strikes in union shops in order to force the employers to do business with their committee as the organization, which they claimed, had already replaced the regular Union with which these employers were under contractual relations. These clashes created a tremendous amount of bad feeling and bitterness. It is in place, however, to record here that right after the stoppage which the oppositionists attempted to carry out, when several hundred of their followers were discharged for this act by their firms, President Sigman, at that time temporary general manager of the New York Joint Board, succeeded in reinstating all of them by bringing influence upon the employers to take these workers back to work so that they might not pay too dearly for their hysterical folly.

These excesses, however, had a sobering effect as they began clearly to prove that the fight, if prolonged, would destroy the union and little if anything would soon be left to fight over. After the stoppage had proved to the opposition that it only had a minority of the workers on its side, it felt itself

beaten and displayed unmistakable signs of it. Some of its leaders approached the editors of an afternoon Jewish daily in New York City and suggested that this newspaper start a movement for peace—which was promptly taken up by this journal and which expressed itself in the form of several editorial pleas for harmony in the ladies' garment workers' organization. Simultaneously, a strong movement was started among some of the older and active men of the cloakmakers' organization to bring about peace. Committee after committee came to President Sigman to consult with him about ways and means of effecting a reconciliation between the opposing elements in the Union.

The General Executive Board met on July 27th, and at that meeting, Vice-presidents Feinberg and Perlstein, general manager and manager of the Protective office of the Joint Board respectively, tendered their resignations as Joint Board officers. Their act was prompted largely by an impression, which was shared by some people, that their retirement would allay the discontent which had been aroused by the opposition. Vice-president Breslaw strongly supported the resignation of Perlstein and, in fact, stated that if Perlstein retired from office, the cloak and dress pressers, the members of Local 35, who had until now given but lukewarm and half-hearted support in the fight of the Joint Board against the oppositionists, would throw themselves unitedly into the conflict and help bring it to a speedy and desirable conclusion. That it was unnecessary and damaging to our cause to have accepted these resignations is now generally admitted by everybody. It hurt the fighting morale of the Union, and it was falsely interpreted as a sign of weakness by our opponents and among the general public. It is needless to emphasize that the resignations of these two officers were offered by them and approved by the General Executive Board only in the spirit of utmost loyalty to the larger interests of the Union and cast no reflection upon their personal conduct or their ability. It was, like many other moves made in the course of this hectic struggle, but another sacrifice brought for the safety and welfare of the Union as a whole.

Finally, on August 28th, President Sigman, at a meeting of the General Executive Board, offered a proposal of a peace settlement which was, after a lengthy discussion, accepted by the Board. The plan included the granting of another trial to the

suspended executives, the election of a general manager and the settlement of the dues rate question by a referendum, and the calling of an early convention to settle the fundamental issues brought to the surface by this conflict. The plan also proposed that the new trial, as well as all elections in the locals of the Joint Board and of delegates to the convention, be conducted by a joint committee of shop chairmen, representatives of the Joint Board, and of some outstanding representatives of the Labor movement outside the Union. The Joint Board, a few days later, approved the peace plan presented by President Sigman.

The Joint Board shortly thereafter called a mass meeting of shop chairmen on September 3rd before whom President Sigman laid its program. It was the first big gathering of shop representatives called by the Union since the outbreak of the conflict and was presided over by Vice-president Dubinsky. After a turbulent discussion, in which ovations for President Sigman were mingled with organized booing under the direction of the Communist "shock" detachments in the hall, it was decided to call another meeting a few days later at which all such chairmen as wanted to discuss President Sigman's plan would be given an opportunity to speak and some practical steps would be taken to further the peace suggestions proposed by the G. E. B.

The second shop chairmen's meeting took place in Cooper Union on September 10th and resulted in a committee of five shop chairmen being elected from the floor which was empowered to enlarge itself to consist of 15 members. This committee was instructed to proceed to consider all proposals made in the direction of peace and to endeavor to bring the opposition and the Union together on the basis of true reconciliation.

The shop chairmen's committee which consisted of Brothers Hurwitz, Shally, Fried, Laskowitz, Abrahamson, Cohen, Osherlick, Felerstein, Hiller, Sommer, Rogers, Cherkiss, Winnuck, and Miss Rose Wolkowitz, worked indefatigably for several days discussing with both sides the terms of a possible peace, until conferences were finally arranged and the Union's committee headed by President Sigman, who was assisted in the negotiations by Julius Hochman and Vice-presidents Halperin and Wander, met the leaders of the opposition and arranged the terms of the settlement. On September 25th, the understanding was finally

reached and it cleared the air in the ladies' garment workers' organization not only in New York City but all over the country, where the effects of this devastating fight were felt just as keenly as in the place of conflict proper.

The terms of this understanding were as follows:

1. On the subject of tolerance of political opinion. It is agreed unanimously by the conferring parties that tolerance be recognized as a basic principle in the Union and that all discrimination for political opinion be abolished.

2. On the subject of proportional representation. It is agreed that, since the present method of representation at International conventions and joint boards is causing dissatisfaction in our Union, it is the unanimous opinion of the conferring parties that this question of representation be taken up and decided by the next convention. To settle this matter in an adequate and satisfactory manner, it is, in our opinion, necessary that the next convention refer the final solution of it to a general vote of the membership of our International Union, and that both majority and minority viewpoints be submitted in this referendum vote.

3. After the question of representation is determined by the convention and is referred to a referendum vote of the members, the committee to be elected or appointed by the convention to supervise the referendum be composed of an equal number of members representing all shades of opinion on this subject.

4. During the coming election of delegates to the convention, it is agreed that in the event of any candidates making a demand that they be allowed to watch the balloting, the president shall afford them the possibility of doing so.

5. On the matter of the suspended executive boards, it is agreed that the committee of chairmen is to make a general appeal to the General Executive Board on behalf of the suspended executives and officers and request the setting aside of the verdict of the Joint Board. The General Executive Board is to act on this appeal in conformity with the first paragraph of this agreement.

6. After the verdict of the Joint Board is set aside by the General Executive Board, all members shall become eligible to run as candidates for the ensuing election for executive boards which shall be called at once in Locals 2, 9 and 22.

7. On the subject of office staff and general manager, it is agreed that an election of all officers of the Joint Board shall be held not later than two weeks after the election of local officers in the above enumerated three locals. The election shall be carried out under the supervision of the Joint Board together with the committee of 15 shop chairmen. The basis for this election shall be the same as that of last year.

8. As regards members of the other locals of the New York Joint Board who aided the suspended executives of Locals 2, 9 and 22 and who were punished for such political activity, the chairmen's committee is to make individual appeals for each of them. In cases where it may appear doubtful whether the nature of their offense is political, such appellants are to appear in person, upon the request of the General Executive Board, before the Appeal Committee of the International Union at the time their appeals are heard. The Appeal Committee of the International shall treat these political cases in conformity with the decision adopted with regard to the suspended executives.

9. As regards all other members of the International Union punished for political offenses, it is the opinion of President Sigman, that, as the next convention is to be a harmony convention, it will doubtless adopt a measure for amnesty.

10. It is also understood that the Joint Board officers of Locals 2, 9, and 22 are to be reinstated.

11. On the question of dues, the conferring parties agree that the referendum that is to decide this matter shall be carried out at the same time that Locals 2, 9, and 22 will have an election for executive boards. The members shall be able to vote on the referendum ballot for three proposals: (a) for 35c, the old rate; (b) for 40c, on the ground of the increased per capita to the International, and (c) for 50c as decided by the Joint Board last year. This referendum shall be carried out under the supervision of the shop chairmen's committee together with committees from the locals. It is also agreed that the new rate of dues, to be decided by the referendum, shall be retroactive as to July 1, 1925, and that dues owed prior to that date shall be paid by the members on the basis of 50c per week.

12. On the question of economy in the Union, it is agreed by all sides that immediately after the election in the three locals, the question of economy shall be taken up and decided by the Joint Board.

13. On the question of organizational activity and organizing work in the Joint Board, it is agreed, that, immediately after the election in the three locals, this question shall be taken up and that all active members of the Union be drafted into these activities.

14. In the matter of our demands to the employers, the Governor's Commission, our expectations with regard to it, and the question of the Union's reaction to these problems, it is agreed that, immediately after the election in the three locals, shop chairmen and member meetings shall be called at which the members might discuss and act upon these matters.

15. It is also understood by all parties that this agreement shall become operative after the shop chairmen's meeting has ratified it.

It is the general opinion of the conferring parties that we must now all undertake the task of rebuilding our Union and making it strong enough to defend the working standards and to improve the living conditions of our workers.

The final chapters of this stirring controversy were enacted shortly after the peace terms were agreed upon. The General Executive Board lifted the sentence imposed by the trial committee of the Joint Board upon the suspended executive board members of the three locals and made them thereby again eligible for office. Executive board elections were soon afterward held in these locals in which most of the former executives, and the local managers, were reelected. The locals also elected new Joint Board delegations which were readmitted into the central organization of the cloak and dress makers of New York City on the old terms, and a committee was elected to work out plans for the election of a new staff of business agents and district managers of the Joint Board in place of the old staff which stepped out to make room for such others as might be elected to take their places in the interest of harmony and greater cooperation between all the elements in the Union. The resignation of the business agents and district managers of Locals 2, 9 and 22, which was later followed by resignations of other members of the staff, including the agents of Local 35, was submitted to and adopted by the Joint Board on September 30th, and reads as follows:

To the Joint Board of Cloak, Skirt, Dress & Reeser
Makers' Unions.
130 East 25th Street,
New York City.

We, the officers of the Joint Board, assembled at a special meeting Wednesday, September 30th, 1925, adopt the following resolution, which also includes a statement about the recent occurrences in our Union.

For the past few years a group of members in our Union have been influenced and led by outside forces, whose sole aim it is to belittle and brand every officer by means of the most despicable methods. In order to accomplish these ends they are aided by a blackmail sheet whose existence can only be secure in chaos and confusion. They have systematically conducted this crusade in order to discredit in the eyes of the large membership every responsible officer of the Union. These instigations and falsehoods have caused a civil war, which lasted fifteen weeks and during which time attempts have been made to destroy our mighty Union which has been built up with so much self-sacrifice.

During this fight the mistrust of the membership towards the officers was such that it was hazardous at times for an officer to visit a shop or address a shop meeting. More than once we were tempted to resign from our offices because we

observed that the majority of our members, who elected us to represent them in the dealings with our employers, were instigated to such a degree of bitterness, which caused them to consider us betrayers. Nevertheless we did not leave our posts for we were convinced that the fight against the Communist groups in our Union is a just one and were we to leave the battlefield at such a time we would be betraying the Union.

Now, however, when peace has been declared and the Union has been saved we feel that we can't stay in office any longer. The continued propaganda of the mistrust of the officers has been indelibly impressed upon the minds of a large percentage of our members and under such circumstances we are absolutely unable to work harmoniously for the welfare and betterment of the conditions of our members. We feel that we cannot conscientiously represent them any longer and it is therefore time for us to make room for those persons who believe that they will represent the members better, more efficiently and in a more progressive manner, for as we all know their treacherous propaganda has been particularly on this.

We are resigning our offices and hope that our successors will do their utmost for the good and welfare of our Union.

In conclusion we desire to express our appreciation to all the loyal members of the Union in general and to the Joint Board particularly for the confidence they have placed in us during the period we were in office. We are resigning as officers of the Union; our activity, however, for the good and welfare of the cloak and dressmakers will not cease.

We therefore request the Joint Board to accept our resignations which are to go into effect not later than Saturday, October 10th.

With fraternal greetings.

Local 2:

Benj. Mocer
Abe Schwartz
Jacob Press
Chas. Fine
M. Solomon
M. Cohen
Wm. Barcan

Max Kushner
Meyer Elkin
Sam Flum
Bernard Gollob
Saml. Ringer
Louis Palter
F. Wetter

Local 9:

Louis Helt
Max Sommer

Hyman Goldberg
Jos. Keeten

Local 22:

Jos. Shapiro
Sadie Raich
Abr. Einick
Abr. Staum
Hyman Greenberg

Jos. Spielman
Saml. Ballinson
Max Moskowitz
Harry Miller
S. Kaplan

It must be stated in all fairness that many of the business agents have during this fight conducted themselves with utmost loyalty to the interests of the organization as a whole and their voluntary resignation at this time only adds testimony to their unselfish and principled attitude toward their posts in the Union which some of them have held for a great many years and for which they were splendidly equipped.

• • •

The General Executive Board would consider the account of this event in the life of our Union incomplete were it to fail to mention the loyal, courageous and unselfish part of those active workers who, in response to the call of duty and of their international organization, have occupied the posts of executive board members and of executive officers of these three locals during the time the internal struggle was going on.

Immediately after the trial board of the Joint Board had found the suspended executives of the three locals guilty of the charges preferred against them and had declared their office vacant, the International Office issued a call to the membership of these locals calling upon them to hold meetings and to nominate and elect new executive boards and managers to administer the affairs of their organizations. On July 20th, 1925, Locals 2 and 9 held nomination meetings and Local 22 nominated candidates on July 23rd. The elections of Local 2 and 9 took place on August 11th and the election in Local 22 followed on August 18th. The new executive boards of Locals 2, 9 and 22 were installed on August 18th, 19th and 24th respectively at impressive mass meetings.

The officers and executive board members of the locals were the following persons:

Local 2—Manager, M. J. Ashbes; Chairman—Nathan Hines; executive board members:— A. Vetter, A. Abramson, H. Ingber, J. Block, S. Gordon, B. Miller, R. Zuckerman, M. Gans, Max Rubin, J. Sackin, B. Kaplan, Ph. Sapir, J. B. Hollander, J. Gutterman, B. Becker, H. Lapidus, H. Perlmutter, S. Ginsburg, Wm. Bloom, S. Resnick, S. Rudin, A. Goldstein, L. Rosenzweig, D. Ganser, J. Animowsky.

Local 9—Manager, Isidore Sorkin; executive board members:— Max Brettschneider, Sol Bender, Sam Berman, Carl Bercovici, Max Goldstein, Sam Goldstein, Harry Gartnet, Rose Henning, Jos. Horowitz, Hyman Wachtler, Sam Lefkowitz, Kate Mandress, Hyman Saltzberg, Celia Somers, Isidore Siegel, Abra-

ham Sloboda, Jacob Friedman, Sam Zuckerman, Abraham Cohen, Isidore Cohen, Abe Cohn, Louis Kaufman, Nicolas Kurtzman, Meyer Kushner and Morris Schneider.

Local 22—Manager, Max Bluestein; executive board members:— Isaac Canal, Harry Levin, Sam Haber, Simon Farber, Goldie Sherr, Fannie Shapiro, Meyer Fine, Max Cohen, Jacob Deutschman, Ben Leibowitz, Morris Balan, Mildred J. Taylor, Max Hochfeld, Philip Dinnerstein, B. Unger, Rose B. Mirsky, Yetta Kimmel, Ed Fish, Harry Golub, Meyer Rosen, Z. Kantrowitz, Esther Mashitz, Jos. Coopersmith, Sol. Silver, Meyer Nudelman.

The readiness to serve their Union and to suffer personal discomfort and to face persecution and abuse displayed by these loyal Union workers, with no other compensation save the consciousness that they were rendering aid to their organization in one of the most difficult periods of its existence, deserves the highest commendation. These executive boards, and the men who served as secretary-managers of these locals, Brothers M. J. Ashbes, Isidore Sorkin and Max Bluestein of Locals 2, 9 and 22 respectively, later displayed a real spirit of self-sacrifice when they actively supported the negotiations and the peace settlement, and without a murmur vacated the places to which they were elected on the executive boards, making room, in accordance with the understanding arranged by the Union, for other executive boards that were to be elected under the auspices of the shop chairmen's committee of 15.

Let it be stated here, nevertheless, that the joint action committee, which, in accordance with the terms of the understanding was to have been disbanded after the settlement was reached, has as a matter of fact not been dissolved as yet. It is still functioning to the best of our information and has but recently sent out emissaries to many cities outside of New York where we have organizations to influence them against the International and the General Executive Board.

• • •

The recent outbreak in some of our most important locals in New York City was seized upon with feverish eagerness by the Communist fraternity as a means of furthering their propaganda in the needle trades organizations, of enhancing their party prestige, of bolstering the circulation of their party press, and of all-round mischief-making without regard to consequences to the involved labor unions.

To substantiate our charges against Communist intrigue in our unions and their designs to capture our organization and the other organizations in the needle trades for political ends, we shall reproduce here quotations from some documents and publications issued by them and having a direct bearing upon our situation. Some of them have already appeared in our press and in the general Labor press and their authenticity has never been challenged. They follow:

I

This is an official statement forwarded on April 24, 1925 by Acting Secretary E. R. Browder of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America to all branches in New York, and issued by the Central Executive Committee of that party. It is entitled "A Statement on the Needle Trades Situation," presented by the Central Committee on April 12. It reads:

Statement on the Needle Trades Situation

In the trade unions, the Communists, through the T. U. E. L., as Communists must strive to fill the most important strategic positions in the unions. In the struggle between the left-wing and the reactionary officialdom, we must always have uppermost in our minds the political significance of the struggle.

To capture official positions in the unions is good, but this is not our main objective. Our candidates, communist or left-wing, running against the bureaucrats in elections must do so on a definite left-wing program of action. How revolutionary these programs of action will be depends, of course, upon the political level of the rank and file of each particular union or industry.

In this struggle for leadership, it will follow a see-saw course. Our comrades will be elected to office and then removed from office. But, whether in or out of office, ideological and political leadership is the Communist principle. In the struggle for official position in the trade unions, we must always give the Communist interpretation of the struggle, connecting the inner trade union conflict against the Bureaucrats and the employers with the broad class struggle against the capitalist state. In office this must be done with even greater vigor.

The Needle Trades National Committee of the T. U. E. L. has swerved from this Communist path. The difference of opinion of the majority of the Needle Trades Committee is not a difference in tactics alone, but a fundamental difference in line of thought.

The struggle in the I. L. G. W. U. is an example of this deviating from a Communist conception of the function of the left-wing movement. Since the expulsion from the union of many of our comrades, the course followed by our comrades in New York has led them to gradually fall into the error of thinking that the destruction of the Sigman machine and the holding of local offices was the only immediate task of the left-wing. The result of this false reasoning and misunderstanding of the tactics, led to all the other mistakes that have been made.

The policy and program of the left-wing became of secondary importance, and is fast becoming but a memory. We do not imply, nor do we wish to create, the impression that our comrades in the needle trades are opportunistic. By no means. We recognize full well the many hard, difficult, and dangerous conflicts that they have waged against the Sigman machine in the interest of the rank and file and with the purpose in view of strengthening the left-wing and building up our Party.

But, making the fight for official positions of first importance, was a mistake and the next logical step to take was to lock the policies and program of the T. U. E. L. in the safe until the official positions had been gained. And then the next step, in this wrong direction, was to support a part of the machine (which had had a temporary quarrel with the other part) that the left-wing is out to destroy. Then comes the following and almost unbelievable step,—the endorsement of Meyer Perlstein, a black reactionary, the man who originated and carried out the expulsion policy in the I. L. G. W. U.

The C. E. C. points out that these mistakes followed inevitably from the first mistake will lead to greater and more disastrous blunders, unless the first wrong step is recognized and corrected, and the left-wing in the needle trades brought back to the Communist line of thought, namely, the fight for leadership based upon the T. U. E. L. class struggle program of action.

One of the results of their wrong policy, we must point out to our comrades, is the almost complete abandonment of the fight for the reinstatement of the expelled members, which compelled the National Committee of the T. U. E. L. to accept the terms laid down for their readmittance to the Union by the Perlstein-Sigman machine. We feel sure that if our New York comrades had made use of the favorable position they occupied to push the demand for the reinstatement of our expelled comrades, these comrades would now be members of the Union under much more favorable conditions. This, of course, we recognize as theoretical. But the fact remains that with the rest of the program this point became nearly a dead letter.

The Needle Trades Committee deviated so far from the actual line of struggle, that the "Freiheit" of March 20th, was forced to publish a friendly criticism of those progressives who voted to support Perlstein's candidacy, at the same time sounding a note of warning against any such procedure in the future. It is a deplorable situation indeed when our party press

has to criticize an action carried out under the direction of party members.

The C. E. C. points out the following as some of the major mistakes made by the committee and by comrades following the general line of the committee.

1. Failure to carry on the fight upon a national scale for the reinstatement of the expelled.

2. The failure to fight against the reactionary Perlstein for Manager of the Protective Department of the Joint Board.

3. The proposal to support Feinberg for Manager of the Joint Board.

4. Failure to present our own national program of organizing the unorganized as against the program of the administration.

5. The issuance of a leaflet by the National Committee of the Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L. amounting to a practical endorsement of Hochman, candidate of the Sigman machine.

6. The policy carried out in Local 9, namely, the agitation by our comrades in Section meetings, calling for the approval of the decision of the local executive to withdraw the advertisement from the "Freiheit" upon the request of the Sigman machine.

7. The decision of the National Committee of the Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L. to recommend that the Executive of Local 22 sign a statement by Feinberg condemning the left-wing and pledging investigation and disciplinary measures towards those responsible for issuing and distributing the election leaflet.

8. The vote for Perlstein by the Comrades of Local 2 Executives.

The above policies, decisions, and actions of the Needle Trades Committee are in violation of the policy of the T. U. E. L. and the Workers' Party in the I. L. G. W. U. and are detrimental to the building up of a militant left-wing in the union.

This meeting reaffirms the correctness of the W. P. policy in the I. L. G. W. U. and declares its readiness to carry on a militant fight in the Union along the lines of these policies. We further call upon the National Committee of the Needle Trades Section, T. U. E. L., to inaugurate a militant national campaign to execute and put into effect these party policies.

II

The following are quotations from the pamphlet entitled "Theses and Constitution of the Communist International," Russian Edition, published by the American Communist Party.

Paragraph 9 of these "Theses" prescribes:

"In all organizations without exception, in the trade unions, in political, cooperative, and educational societies, there must be created groups or 'cells' of Communists, open or secret, which must be closely affiliated to the Party center.....and conduct propaganda and agitation..... It is very important in this connection to work out the required differentiation or the 'responsible representatives' who are hopelessly corrupted by petty-bourgeois and imperialistic prejudices (such leaders must also be mercilessly exposed and driven out of the labor movement) on the one hand, and toward the masses, on the other.

We must learn to approach the masses with patience and care so that we may learn the special and individual characteristics of the psychology of each stratum of the mass."

Paragraph 18 of these "Theses" states:

"In each union, where only three persons in sympathy with Communism may be found, there must at once be organized a Communist nucleus cell. Such Communist nuclei working in nonpartisan organizations must be unconditionally subject to the Party organization as a whole, without regard to the fact whether the Communist Party in that locality exists at that moment in a legal or illegal form." ("Theses" page 26).

Paragraph 5, touching on the relations between the Communists and the Labor unions, states:

"Viewing the aim and the substance of the unions as greater than their form, the Communists in the unions must not stop before splitting the unions, if the alternative may mean the giving up of revolutionary activity in the unions, the giving up of the attempt of converting them into a weapon of revolutionary struggle." ("Theses," page 29).

Paragraph 7 reads:

"The Communists must strive to create, as far as possible complete unity between the unions and the Communist Party and to place the unions under the leadership of the Party as the vanguard of the workers' revolution. For this purpose, the Communists in all unions must form Communist factions and with their aid to govern spiritually the unions and lead them. ("Theses," page 30).

III

This is a very recent order issued by the Communist International to the American Communists:

"In America the regular work of party members in the unions should be regarded as fundamental work upon which depends the success of the Party in other fields of activity, and especially in the struggle for a Labor party. Therefore, every tendency to minimize the importance of this work must be ener-

getically combatted. In each trade union organization, the Party members must be organized in Communist factions and must act as a unit upon each question. The factions receive their instructions from the Party and work under its control.

"The Party must support energetically the Trade Union Educational League and do everything possible to develop and spread the League. An attempt must be made to convert the Trade Union Educational League into a great opposition movement of the Left bloc. All attempts of the reactionary trade-union bureaucrats to isolate the Trade Union Educational League, to undermine its influence in the unions and to limit the activity of its members to Communists and their closest sympathizers only, must be energetically combatted." (See "Freiheit," Monday, May 25, 1925).

IV

In his report to the 1923 congress of the Moscow Red Trade Union International (Profintern), Losovsky, its chief director, stated that in the course of one year, the Moscow executive of the Profintern had dealt 33 times with matters pertaining to agitation in the American trade union movement. (Minutes of Congress, Russian edition, page 21, Moscow, 1923).

Losovsky reports further:

"During this time we have carried out the decision concerning the joint work of the 'Profintern' (Red Trade Union International) and the 'Commintern' (Communist International). Anyone who is familiar with the A. B. C. of the International movement will admit that the revolutionary minorities in the old unions in an overwhelming majority of the countries find themselves today under the influence of and are being led by the Communist Party." (Minutes, Page 26).

Specially about America Losovsky reported as follows:

"During the past year, there has been formed in America with the aid of the 'Profintern' (Moscow Trade Union International) and directly with our participation a movement which workers under the banner of the Trade Union Educational League. This movement has embraced wide masses and today represents the root of the American revolutionary Labor movement.

This, no doubt, must be placed to the credit of the 'Profintern', as this movement, about which I speak, adopted our program and our tactics, and through it our ideas are being spread throughout America. . . . This opposition is becoming the united opposition in the American Trade Union movement" (Minutes, page 38).

V

Among the instructions of the Communist International,

published in No. 14 of the Communist "International Press Correspondence", of February 24, 1924, it is stated:

"All Communist factions in the Unions, regardless of size and importance, must be subject to the Party organs (the executive committee of the nuclei) or to the central committee. These Party organs must give the necessary instructions to the Communist factions, and all questions with regard to which these Party organizations had adopted decisions, must be treated by these factions in strict accordance with these decisions."

And Further:

"Communist factions in the unions elect with the sanction of the proper Party committee, their executive committee, which is responsible to the Party organ for the activity of these factions. The Communist factions in the local executive boards, in the trade and labor councils, state federations of Labor, etc., are to serve as the leading organs for all Communists in these organizations."

"All the factions must submit to the control of the local or district committee of the Communist Party."

Paragraph 7 of these instructions reads:

"The Communist factions in the unions must reach an agreement with the proper Party organs with regard to candidates for executive boards in the above mentioned organizations and organs."

Paragraph 10 Reads:

"Each question which is to be decided in the non-partisan institutions or organizations in which the Communist factions carry on their activity, must first be discussed at a general meeting or at the executive board of the Communist faction."

Paragraph 12 States:

"At the general meetings of the non-partisan organizations (trade unions, cooperatives, etc.) all members of the Communist faction must act and vote as a unit in all questions. Members violating these rules will be punished by the Party."

VI

The Trade Union Educational League, the industrial branch of the Workers' Party, prepared for the Third World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, held in Moscow, July, 1924, the following statement of its aims and program:

It shall emphasize the revolutionary aims of the left wing to establish a Communist society through the dictatorship of the proletariat: develop its own program in all struggles of the workers to improve their working conditions; organize the unorganized by stimulating the A. F. of L. unions to admit the

non-unionists, build up the independent unions, and help found new unions; build up a Labor Party; organize the unemployed into national and local councils, closely tied up with the unions; continuously fight for centralized industrialized unions; carry on the united front from below to win the masses away from the reactionary leaders; expose the corrupt leaders; propagandize for recognition of Soviet Russia; insist upon equal social, political and industrial rights for Negroes; lead in the fight against injunctions; organize the expelled, and if the League is attacked with overwhelming force, "It shall become a secret organization"; endorse autonomy for Canadian unions; fight for affiliation of unions to the Red International Labor Union; propagandize for shop committees; and advance the slogan of "workers' control of industry."

The Trade Union Educational League sends delegates to the Congresses of the Red Trade Union International and reports on its activities and strength. In the year of 1922, the Trade Union Educational League delegates have reported their strength in the United States to be 422,000 (British Labor Year Book), 50,000 of this number is supposed to be within the needle trades.

Their method of reporting this large exaggerated number is by taking the votes cast for the different officers or Executive Boards that they put up into the field during the different local elections and count the people who vote for such officers as sympathizers and adherents of the Red Trade Union International.

The Red Trade Union International is a part of the Third Communist International and is represented on the Executive Committee of the Communist International by three (3) delegates with deciding votes.

The Communist national is represented in the same manner on the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International.

VII

Excerpts from Program of Trade Union Educational League as adopted by the World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, held in Moscow, July, 1924. (Published by the Trade Union Educational League, 1118 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.)

2. United Front (Page 51)

The T. U. E. L. shall pursue the policy of the United Front. It shall seek to unite all the workers for revolutionary action along class lines. The United Front shall not consist of alliances or blocs with trade union bureaucrats—though some of them may be dealt with under favorable circumstances—but it shall be based upon a common understanding, unity and action, of the rank and file, of the labor organizations involved in the struggle

against the bourgeoisie. The United Front shall not be conceived as an aim in itself, but as a means to win the masses away from the reactionary leaders and to unite them upon the basis of a revolutionary program and action.

3. Expulsions (Page 51)

The league shall continue the present policy in case of expulsions from the trade unions. Wherever the expelled workers are few in number they shall be kept in the local leagues and in close connection with the National Industrial Committees. But when they are great in number, they shall be formed into unions of the expelled. These expelled members shall endeavor to fight their way back into the old organizations, except in such cases where the best course is plainly to form a new organization. For this purpose mass movements of the rank and file should be organized to fight against expulsions and for reinstatement. Where the bureaucrats attack the league in overwhelming force, it shall become a secret organization.

4. Industrial Affiliations (Page 52)

The league shall intensify its campaigns for the affiliations of the trade unions to the R. I. L. U. Capitalism is international, and labor must internationally resist the assaults of the world-wide capitalist class. This must be driven home to the American working class, which as yet has hardly acquired a glimmering of the need for international solidarity and action of the working class. The league must point out the fallacy of the present policy of isolation and seek to bring the American workers into relationship with the workers in other countries. For this purpose, resolutions on the question of affiliation to the R. I. L. U. shall be presented in all trade union convention.

5. The Structure of the League. (Page 53)

One of the most urgent problems confronting the league is to consolidate the existing revolutionary sentiment into concrete organization. The league does not and must not rest solely within the realms of propaganda. It must redouble its efforts to build a real organization. It must follow up its various campaigns with work to bring the sympathetic elements into definite organization. At the same time it shall take the necessary precaution to protect itself from the attack as a dual union, by the trade union bureaucracy. To these needs the following organizational measures are necessary:

a. National Industrial Committee. In each industry there shall be a national committee, alive and functioning vigorously. These committees shall serve to unite all the revolutionary and sympathetic elements in their respective spheres. As soon as possible there shall be created sub-national committees within the national industrial committees to correspond with the important unions in the several industries. The national industrial committees shall each aim to keep a paid secretary in the field. These committees shall keep in close touch with the In-

ternational Propaganda Committees and shall send them regular quarterly reports, and such other information as may be necessary to keep them in touch with the development of the American Labor Movement.

b. Local General Groups. In each city there shall be organized a local general group. These local general groups shall consist of all the revolutionary elements in the vicinity, either members of or eligible to membership in the trade unions. These members shall be required to subscribe to the class struggle propaganda fund, subscribe to the Labor Herald and to satisfy a local committee as to their sympathies with the movement. The local general groups shall be sub-divided into local industrial groups, and these shall be affiliated to their respective national industrial committees. The local general groups are of the most vital importance to the league, and every effort should be made to have them established in all industrial districts.

6. Red International Committees. (Page 55)

The league shall be the representative of the Profintern (Red Trade Union International) in the United States and Canada. The revolutionary nuclei in the independent unions affiliated to the Profintern shall be party nuclei, and as such, under party control. As soon as practicable, the R. I. C. shall engage a paid secretary and issue a bulletin.

7. Relations of the League with the Workers' Party.

Build the Party. The political and economic struggle of the working class is inseparable. The league recognizes the futility of carrying on the trade union work merely for itself. The chief aim of all its efforts shall be the building of the revolutionary mass political organization of the working class, the Workers Party. To this end, all the struggles of the workers shall be directed into political channels, and all the campaigns of the league for the Labor Party, amalgamation, etc., etc., shall be utilized to strengthen the membership and leadership of the Workers Party.

Build the League. The league recognizes the impossibility of its functioning effectively without the full and wholehearted support of the Workers Party. To develop this support it shall carry on a campaign to bring all the working class members of the party into the unions and into the league, to make them subscribers to the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund, and to have each branch and official of the Workers Party held responsible by the Workers Party for the establishment, maintenance and functioning of the league in their respective localities.

VIII

And finally, in order to clinch the evidence, that this whole agitation was Communist nurtured, raised and bred, we shall

quote here from the speech delivered early in October by William Z. Foster, former chairman of the Communist Party (Workers' Party) and the patron saint of the Trade Union Educational League, before a convention of the Young Workers' League, as reported officially in the Chicago Daily Worker of October 9th, 1925, in which he gratefully acknowledges the "trust" vested in him by the Central Executive Committee of that party in having appointed him to handle the fight against the I.L.G.W.U. and the settlement. Says Foster:

"As for myself, I feel there is at least one thing I am grateful to the minority for, that is, the present majority of the CEC, that they entrusted me with particularly important work—that is the handling of the needle trades conference and the handling of the I. L. G. W. U. settlement to a great extent in New York—a very difficult problem—and I tried to put that into good shape and my policies were endorsed by the CEC almost completely."

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It would, however, be quite unsound to assert that the recent turmoil in our Union was exclusively the handiwork of the Communists, though they admittedly led it and took to themselves the credit for it. There must have been many deeper contributory causes which have demoralized a great many of our workers and, by lowering their trade union morale, made it possible for the demagogues to influence them against their organization and the leadership of their Union. We shall attempt to analyze some of these causes.

Let us restate some of the facts concerning the cloak industry prevailing in it since 1922. The changes in styles, the advent of dressmaking as a substitute to a large degree for the heavier cloak and suit, the vogue of the fur and semi-fur coat, the growth of embroideries as an ornamental part of the coat, and the general depression in the economic life of the country created a dreadful situation in the cloak market proper. Season after season went by with very little work in the shops and with most of our workers finding themselves without the absolutely necessary means for supporting themselves and their families. At the beginning, the cloakmakers were not inclined to look for work in the dress shops as a permanent change of trade, but later, of course, driven by the hopeless situation in the cloak shops, they switched to the dress trade in quite large numbers. But the dress trade in New York City, it must be frankly stated, is far from being a fully organized trade. It is

today a tremendously large industry with no less than 85,000 workers engaged in it, a large majority working in non-union shops under non-union conditions. In other words, the large number of cloakmakers who were admitted into dress shops, found themselves working not in union shops but in factories where the majority of workers employed were unorganized women—native English-speaking, German-American, Jewish-American, Negroes—against whom they were to compete.

Along with this trade depression and lack of work in the cloak industry there came the bewilderingly rapid growth of the sub-manufacturing system with the accompanying splitting up of the larger and medium shops into smaller units. The workers, experiencing the havoc which this development of the petty shop was creating and seeing their own earnings and means of livelihood constantly shrinking, wondered why their Union did not stop this growth of the sub-manufacturer. They could not, and under the circumstances would not, conceive that this development was taking place for the time being, irrespective of and beyond the control of the organization and for that matter beyond the power of any individual factor in the trade.

On the other hand, we have had for some years past in our industry another factor which has served as an element of demoralization and has taken advantage of every chance to harm the Union. It must be remembered that during the past half dozen years several thousand workers, of the more ambitious kind, encouraged by either the jobbers or the manufacturers, quit the shops and became "bosses" for themselves. This army of sub-manufacturers, contractors and sub-contractors has a constantly shifting complexion inasmuch as a great many of them fall, under the heavy whip of the jobber, to "make good" and these naturally drift back into their former trade for a living. These individuals, ex-contractors and sub-manufacturers, not organized in a group, are, nevertheless, sufficiently numerous and active to cause the Union a great deal of trouble after they come back to the shops. They regard the organization as the cause of their failures and such of them as had been forced out of their puny shops as a result of the 1924 stoppage, are bitter and at heart relentless enemies of the Union and are trying to harm it whenever they are able to. And these former contractors, whose savings were devoured by their "boss" ambitions and who were squeezed to the wall

by the jobber, were found eager to fall in line under Communist leadership, together with the more sincere opposition elements in the fight against the administration of the Union.

And finally, as we already mentioned, there had been aroused a considerable amount of dissatisfaction among our workers by the failure on the part of some former leaders in the Joint Board to maintain closer contact with the masses and by acts of favoritism of some groups at the expense of others. This element in the Joint Board was steadfastly fought by President Sigman until its influence was permanently eliminated. But this influence, while gone, has left a bad after-taste and feeling among many of our workers which the opposition has sought to make the most capital of for its own ends and against the administration of the International Union.

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Such were, in the opinion of the General Executive Board, the main contributory causes which played into the hands of the demagogues who, by taking advantage of the economic misery of our masses, have succeeded in arraying many of our workers against their organization. This outbreak is all the more deplorable because it has, for the first time in the history of our Union, given rise to an organized outlaw movement which has for weeks openly trampled under foot the collective law and the authority of our Union and has encouraged in the weaker and the less disciplined element in our midst the spirit of reckless defiance and outlawry.

The final issues of the fight will, nevertheless, have to be fought out and determined here at this convention, which has been called five months ahead of its regular date for this purpose. Here, in a deliberate, calm way, as befits a democratically managed and organized trade union, we shall put our heads together to devise ways and means of permanently eliminating such causes and organizational and industrial evils as have wrought havoc and disaster in our midst in recent months, and shall attempt to repair some of the deadly damage to our Union which this catastrophic conflict has caused.

CHICAGO CLOAK MAKERS

Shortly after the Boston convention, the Chicago Joint Board began negotiating terms of a new agreement with the two cloak manufacturers' associations of that city to take the place of the old one which was to expire later in the year.

In view of the unsettled condition in New York and its immediate influence upon the Chicago market, the discussion of the terms of the agreements was left in abeyance for a number of months, the status quo meanwhile prevailing in all shops with regard to work conditions, wages, hours, etc. In November and December 1924, the Joint Board began to prepare a set of new demands to present to the manufacturers for incorporation in the new agreement in the trade. The conferences with the manufacturers began on January 15, 1925 and lasted for several weeks, finally culminating in an agreement which was signed on February 25, 1925, and which is to last until December 1, 1926. The agreement was subsequently ratified by the workers without change.

The Committee which represented the Union at these conferences consisted of President Morris Sigman, Abraham Sherr, the chairman of the Joint Board, D. Feltelson, F. Davis, R. Glassman, M. Bialis, H. Rufer, B. Dolnick, M. Novack, M. Rapoport and M. Goldstein.

The most important provisions in the new agreement are the following: Both sides agree to make an investigation of the industry in Chicago along the lines of the investigation made in New York City under the direction of the Governor's Commission. Both sides also agreed that the recommendations of the New York special commission, if and when adopted by the employers and the Cloak and Dress Joint Board of New York, should become the basis for the establishment of standards in the coat and suit industry of Chicago. Another important clause is that an unemployment insurance fund shall be established in the Chicago cloak and suit market to which the manufacturers will contribute one and a half per cent of their weekly payroll and the workers three quarters of a percent of their earnings.

A board to supervise the unemployment fund, which is to operate along the lines of the New York fund, was agreed upon. It was also decided to select an impartial chairman for the entire

local industry. It was also agreed to adopt, in principle, a sanitary union label for all garments, and to organize a board of sanitary control in the trade. Several wage advances were also made. The scale for button-sewers was increased from \$20.50 to \$24, and of edge-basters and fur-sewers from \$31 to \$35. The minimum scale of cutters was raised from \$45 to \$50. An additional change was made, giving skirt operators permission to make coats when no work on skirts is available. Skirt operators who generally have very little employment in the fall, were heretofore prohibited from working on coats in Chicago union shops.

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The Chicago cloakmakers union, as the most influential part numerically and traditionally of the Chicago Joint Board, has borne during the past few years not only the brunt of its own burden but also the burden of the other less organized and more dependent branches of the ladies' garment industry of that city.

The aid which the Chicago cloakmakers have given for years to their sister organization in the dress industry—from the historic strike of 1917 to the great conflict in 1924—and ever since, need not be restated here. Not only have the cloakmakers given liberally of their earnings, at times taxing themselves substantial amounts weekly in support of the striking dressmakers but they have also fought side by side with the dressmakers on the picket lines, suffering persecution, assaults, and even jail sentences, during their bitter and protracted strikes.

The cloakmakers' organization of Chicago has conducted itself during the past year and a half in a commendable trade-union-like manner, carrying out its obligations to the International Union and playing its part as a progressive section of the Chicago labor movement to the best of its ability. The condition of the Chicago cloakmakers and the condition of the Chicago cloak industry in general naturally reflect the state in which the cloak industry all over the country finds itself today. The jobber problem, which in Chicago takes the form of branch offices of New York jobber firms, the small shop and the lack of control of work conditions in such shops, the tendency of contractors' shops to leave the main market for small towns where the union cannot reach them,—all these problems and evils are confronting the Chicago cloakmakers and their organization just as they confront our organization in other cities.

It can hardly, however, be stated that factional squabbles have entirely disappeared in the Chicago organization. Only last summer, several Chicago members had charges brought against them for conduct unbecoming union men and after they had been penalized, a few of their friends withdrew from the Joint Board. As a result of this, new delegates have taken their places and a better spirit now prevails in that body. Vice-president Halperin visited Chicago, at the request of President Sigman in connection with this case.

In the summer of 1924, the Chicago Joint Board appropriated \$5,000 for organizing activity in its "out-of-town" territory, and the International Office came to its aid by placing Brother Ben Dolnick, and later Alexia Smith and Mollie Friedman in charge of organizing work in Chicago proper and adjoining territory for both the cloak and dress trades. The "out-of-town" work in the Chicago territory, while it has not proved very effective with regard to organizing new shops, has, nevertheless, succeeded in checking the development of such shops in some localities.

On the whole, it may be stated that the agreement in the cloak industry in Chicago is quite a satisfactory industrial instrument. The Chicago cloakmakers, however, know that without a strong union of their own they cannot make any headway, no matter what progress is made in other markets. Only with ranks solidly organized will they be able not only to follow in the footsteps of their New York fellow workers, but to take the initiative and place themselves in the van of progress in our main industry.

THE CLOAK TRADE OF PHILADELPHIA

The past year and a half in the cloak industry of Philadelphia were not marked by any particularly stirring events or changes.

The cloak trade in Philadelphia has been on the decline for some years past, suffering heavily from the gradual disappearance of the suit from the market, a garment that used to be made up in large quantities in that city, especially in the lower or medium grades. In the last few years, a number of cloak and suit firms gave up their shop and went into other business, some of them into the dress line. A number of cloakmakers were on that account compelled to seek occupation

elsewhere and many of them became dressmakers. Most of them, however, could not make the change and, compelled to rely upon cloakmaking as the sole means of their existence, they have endured and are still enduring many privations.

As in all other cloak markets, the jobber problem in Philadelphia presents to our workers and to their union the most serious problem to cope with. In 1923, it will be recalled, the Philadelphia Joint Board was compelled to call out on strike all the workers in the small contractor and "corporation" shops in order to check the growth of this irresponsible type of production-unit and to organize some control over it. The strike, which lasted two weeks, succeeded in placing some obligations upon the local cloak jobbers for the work-conditions in the shops of their subordinate sub-manufacturers.

Toward the end of 1924, a few months after the New York Joint Board had won some of the demands embodied in its program of constructive industrial reforms for the cloak industry through the mediation of Governor Smith's Commission, the Philadelphia Joint Board, headed by Vice-president Max Amdur, its veteran leader, began conferring with the local Cloak Manufacturers' Association, the body of "legitimate" manufacturers in the trade, for the purpose of renewing the agreement along the lines of the New York contract. The Joint Board demanded a 6-machine minimum clause, (which for Philadelphia was considered a proper minimum); the sanitary union label, and the limitation of the number of contractors to be employed by jobber members of this association. It also asked for direct dealing by the jobbers with the Union, a guarantee by the jobbers of the wages of workers employed by contractors, and access to jobbers' books by the Union's representatives in order to ascertain whether or not they are sending out work to non-union contractors.

President Sigman took part in these conferences, with the result that on January 31st, 1925, the agreement between the Joint Board and the Association was renewed and subsequently ratified by a member meeting of the workers. The Joint Board, however, decided to call out, on February 4th, all the workers employed in the contractor shops and in the "independent" shops to make these firms comply with the new terms included in the agreement with the Association.

The strike lasted less than a week. On February 7, Presi-

dent Sigman, Vice-president Amdur and the Joint Board committee met the representatives of the jobbers' group and signed an agreement which met all the demands of the workers. In the course of the week, the Joint Board also signed agreements with the "Independent" shops and the trade resumed normal activity.

In July, 1925, Vice-president Amdur left Philadelphia to become International representative in Montreal. Brothers Domsky and Rubln have since then been in charge of the Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union.

The situation in the Philadelphia cloak trade, and of its workers, concretely speaking, resembles in a miniature form the conditions prevailing in New York. Its development, or what is true its demoralization, and the effect of this demoralization on the earnings and work-standards of our workers, are substantially the same in every respect. And as in New York, the condition of the Philadelphia cloakmakers cannot be expected to improve materially until the conditions which make for this irresponsibility and absence of shop control are eliminated from it, and the jobber, together with the "legitimate" manufacturer, is compelled to assume real obligations for every garment manufactured, inside or outside, insofar as work conditions are concerned.

In a small market like Philadelphia the limitation of contractors and the guaranteed period of employment to the workers are even more urgent and practicable than in the larger market for the reason that in such a market the excuse of "necessity," which the New York jobber presents for his opposition to these measures, is entirely absent. The Philadelphia jobber, if he encourages the growth of sub-manufacturers and petty contractors is doing it clearly for the purpose of dodging Union control and lowering the earnings of his workers and other work conditions, and he should by all means be prevented from such ruinous practices.

It must also be borne in mind that Philadelphia cloak shop conditions depend a great deal on conditions in the New York market. Both markets are so close to each other that laxity of enforcement in New York makes it all the more difficult for the Philadelphia organization to control work conditions adequately.

These vital reforms, cannot, of course, be introduced in Philadelphia separately from all other markets. But the winning of these paramount industrial changes in New York will doubtless be the forerunner for their introduction in all other places, including Philadelphia.

THE CLOAKMAKERS OF BOSTON

The Boston organization of our International, like most of our organizations outside of New York City, has in the past year and half led a comparatively quiet existence, save for some short strikes called out for the purpose of compelling the employers in the several local trades to sign agreements with the Union.

The 1924 agreement in the cloak trade in Boston expired on July 1st, and the Boston Joint Board asked the employers to talk over with their committee the terms of the new contract. As both sides, however, were tensely awaiting the outcome of the then pending controversy in the New York market, neither showed any eagerness to rush matters. They began conferring by the end of July when the New York situation cleared up to a large extent, and the Joint Board's committee, headed by Vice-president Seldman and former Vice-president Monosson, insisted that the Boston employers conform to the new conditions in the New York market. A minimum of six machines for a standard shop, unemployment insurance for the jobless, and a sanitary label were among these new demands.

A week later, Secretary Baroff visited Boston to take a hand in the negotiations, but as the efforts of the Union's conferees to obtain the changes in the new agreement by peaceful means failed, the cloak industry of Boston was stopped off on August 21, 1924, and the workers left the shops at the call of the Union. The Joint Board was determined to fight out the issues involved in the strike if it took months of struggle. Conditions in the Boston cloak trade had reached a point of demoralization that was well-nigh intolerable. The demand of a minimum of six operators to a shop in addition to other workers was fully justified in view of the fact that contractor shops in Boston consisted usually at that time of one or two

operators, while a shop with three operators would be considered a "big" place. Each of these shops was usually run by two or more partners, all of them working as operators or cutters. During the season the workers could manage somehow to earn a few weeks' wages, but when the slack period arrived, the "bosses" would appropriate whatever work there would come into the shop, leaving the operators to shift for themselves. The Boston cloak trade is not a large one, employing all told about a thousand men and women. It can be easily visualized that, with more than a hundred contractors themselves working at the machines and cutting tables, the trade has become entirely chaotic from the point of view of work conditions.

The strike, called out at the beginning of the season, and preceded by a long layoff, did not last long, however. The employers were brought to terms after eight days and on August 29 the Boston Joint Board signed an agreement with the local cloak manufacturers' association which granted in full every demand made by the Union and corresponded in its main features to the New York agreement. The fight, it must be borne in mind, was directed largely against the jobbers and the small non-union contractors who, in the last few years, have thoroughly degraded work conditions in that city. The legitimate cloak manufacturers, representing about seventy per cent of the local trade, had agreed to accept the terms of the Joint Board before the strike was called out, and as far as their shops were concerned, the strike was a demonstration only.

The principal clauses of the new agreement called for the strict registration of contractors by jobbers, the minimum of six machines manned by six operators to a shop, the formation of an unemployment insurance fund, a sanitary union label, an impartial chairman for the entire cloak trade, equal distribution of work among all contractors, no discharge of contractors during the season without just cause, and an obligation assumed by the Boston jobbers not to purchase any non-union made garments within the state of Massachusetts. In case of a strike, the mere notification of the jobber by the union was made sufficient for the jobber to cease to have dealings with the affected shop. Neither the unemployment insurance fund nor the label have as yet been introduced in Boston. The last two cloak seasons were exceptionally poor in that city and the Joint Board

considered it advisable to hold off the introduction of these two features for a time.

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Shortly after the last convention, the General Executive Board adopted a decision to merge Local 24, the skirtmakers of Boston, with the dressmakers organization, Local 49. The merger of the two locals, it was pointed out, would benefit the workers in both trades who were largely employed in the same shops.

President Sigman visited Boston in October, 1924, to meet with the local executive boards and to take stock of the situation in the Boston women's garment trades in general and particularly for the purpose of carrying out the merger of the two locals. As a result of his visit several measures of importance to the Boston organization were carried out. The amalgamation of Local 24 with Local 49 was ordered to be put into effect in conformity with the decision of the G. E. B. Secondly, the Joint Board proper was reorganized upon its own request. All the officers of the Joint Board withdrew voluntarily, and the office was placed temporarily under the control of Vice-president Seldman, International representative in the Boston district, pending the election of new officers. It was also decided that an organizing campaign be started at once in Boston and vicinity, in fulfillment of the pledge given by the G. E. B., to be carried on under the supervision of Brothers Seldman and Monosson.

The reorganization of the Joint Board staff accomplished a two-fold purpose. It brought to an end the dissatisfaction with the old management which had existed for some time past, and it also resulted in considerable economy, as it limited the number of paid officials to two persons—one for the cloak shops and another for the dress trade, instead of the four employed previously.

The decision to amalgamate Locals 24 and 49, however, met with considerable obstruction, as many of the older members of Local 24 were reluctant to give up their identity as a separate local. It took almost seven months for this decision to be carried into effect, after strong pressure had been brought upon the recalcitrant group in Local 24 by the General Office. The two locals were finally united in July 1925 as Local 46, which is known as the Dress, Waist and Skirtmakers' Union of Boston.

Nor can it be said that the agreement in the Boston cloak trade, which was signed in August 1924, has succeeded in achieving its object in full. The last two cloak seasons were very poor in Boston, and in poor seasons it is very difficult to carry out strictly the best agreements. The Boston cloak-makers are well organized and have a number of veteran union men in their ranks. There still, however, remain in Boston and in its out-of-town zone a number of small sub-standard cloak shops, with whom the Union refused to settle in the summer of 1924, and the Joint Board has, figuratively speaking, had its hands full to watch out that the jobbers carry out their agreement, and that no work is sent to these "shops."

A great deal in this respect has already been accomplished but there still are many non-union cloak contractors in Boston and vicinity, and the Union will have either to unionize them during the coming few seasons, or make them quit business entirely. As long as they remain in the market, they will continue to be a drawback and a demoralizing factor in the local industry,

THE LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS OF CLEVELAND

The Cleveland organization of our Union, and the Cleveland cloak and dress market along with it, have had a rather uneventful year and a half since our Boston convention in May, 1924.

The agreement of 1923 was renewed late in the fall of 1924 between the Joint Board of Cleveland and the local association of cloak manufacturers after some weeks of negotiations with the aid of the Board of Referees. At the start, it looked as if the Union would have some trouble with seven cloak firms who informed the Board of Referees in the local industry in October, 1924, that they did not contemplate renewing their agreement with the Union under the old terms. Later, however, these firms changed their stand and the renewal of the agreement in the entire trade passed off without a fight. The Cleveland cloak contract, it will be recalled, contains a guarantee of 40 weeks of employment in the year and an allowance of one half of the minimum wage to all workers for the time falling short of the guaranteed period.

At the time of this writing, the Cleveland Joint Board has

begun negotiations for the renewal of the annual agreement in the trade, which expires on December 31, 1925, with the Cleveland Cloak Manufacturers' Association and with the "independent" employers in the trade. Whether the renewal of the agreement this year will be consummated without trouble or will result in a clash with some of the more belligerent members of the association and with some non-association employers, is difficult at this moment to forecast. The Union, no doubt, is facing several single shop strikes in Cleveland against some non-union shops and also against some "Independents."

The Cleveland organization, however, is viewing the future with confidence. It is a well-knit body of workers and it not only commands the loyalty of its members but it has a pronounced influence upon the local trade. The Cleveland Joint Board expects not only that the new agreement will leave all the features of the old pact undisturbed but anticipates incorporating in it several modifications for the further protection of the workers in the Cleveland cloak and dress shops.

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A notable occurrence in the life of the Cleveland organization in the past year was the Sunshine company case, a controversy which deeply stirred the workers and caused a great deal of comment.

The case came up before the Board of Referees in the Cleveland Cloak Industry upon an appeal taken by the Sunshine Cloak Company from a decision rendered previously by the impartial chairman, Dr. Jacob H. Hollander in favor of the Union. The Sunshine firm had transferred the making of linings in its shops from the skilled operators to semi-skilled and lower paid girls. The Union lodged a complaint with the impartial chairman and, as already stated, won the case.

The appeal was heard by the Referees on February 14, 1925, and was attended by President Sigman who came from New York, at the invitation of the Cleveland organization, to take part in the discussion and Brothers Perlstein, Katovsky, Kreindler and Solomon. A few weeks later, the Board of Referees rendered a decision that the firm was within its rights under the agreement in transferring the work of making linings to minor operators, even though skilled operators had been employed heretofore to make them. Dr. Hollander dissented from this decision.

While the company took its stand on the clause of the

agreement providing for the right of "new processes" and "changes for the betterment of the operation of the shops," the Union maintained that this change from skilled to unskilled labor is not a new process as contemplated by that clause but is a step in the direction of reducing the amount of work available for the skilled workers and contributing to the non-employment or loss of jobs by skilled workers. This, the representatives of the Union argued, amounts to the intentional weakening of the position of the organization, a condition against which the agreement specifically provides. The Union further maintained that if changes of this kind are allowed, it will lead to still others in the Sunshine factory or in other factories in the local industry.

The decision of the Board of Referees pointedly stated, however, that if in the future changes of a similar character should be conducted on a more extensive scale, issues of an entirely different variety may be raised. Dr. Hollander, in commenting upon the decision, recommended that the two sides come to some definite agreement on this point, to be incorporated in the general agreement between the Union and the association of manufacturers.

In October, 1924, a group of active members in Cleveland, including Brothers Charles Kreindler and Abraham Katovsky, were considering a plan for starting a union-owned shop co-operatively owned and managed by the workers. The group conferred on this matter with several competent persons and the project met with enthusiastic reception among the Cleveland cloakmakers.

Former Vice-president Perlstein brought up this matter at one of the meetings of the General Executive Board, and the Board authorized President Sigman to look into this matter jointly with the Cleveland committee. The project, it was later reported, involved the taking over of a large cloak establishment already in operation for many years in Cleveland.

Nothing practical has, however, come out of this effort, and as did a similar project started about three years ago in Chicago, the Cleveland scheme soon died out. It is obviously too big an undertaking for a local body to tackle and, under present conditions in the cloak industry all over the country, the realization of such a union-owned factory offers a great many hazards and insurmountable obstacles.

THE BALTIMORE CLOAKMAKERS

Baltimore has a relatively small cloak trade, employing not more than about twenty-five shops, with a much larger skirt, middie and white goods industry, employing several thousand unorganized women workers who, as previous experience has taught us, are not an easily organizable element of workers. Baltimore also has an out-of-town district in near-by small cities with several non-union cloak shops where a few hundred workers are employed.

Of the 1,500 cloakmakers only about 500 are men and nearly a thousand are women, mostly all of them non-union and employed in the bigger unorganized, or what is more correct, the strictly anti-union shops. In these shops, the women workers are making a cheap line of cloaks on a sectionalized system under the supervision of foremen.

The Baltimore cloak local has therefore had more ups and downs in the last few years than perhaps any of our other Eastern organizations. No sooner would the Union succeed in bringing the local employers to terms and make them sign agreements, than the sum and substance of these contracts would soon be nullified in most shops owing to the fact that the Union would not be able to organize the important non-Union strongholds in that city, such shops as the K. & W. Company, the Marcus Co., Freibush Bros., etc., and this as a result would gradually break down the morale and conditions in the organized shops. Then the struggle would begin anew—another preparatory campaign, another strike, and then again settlements that were only operative in shops where loyal union men were employed but would not extend to the whole trade and would therefore be short lived and ineffective.

Right after the Boston convention, Sol Polakoff, who had been representing the International in the Baltimore district since November, 1923, and who had tried hard since his coming to Baltimore to stir up the local cloakmakers and put the local industry on a real union basis, began to negotiate with the cloak employers for the renewal of the agreement. But July 1st, 1924, the expiration date of the local cloak contracts, came and passed and the manufacturers still hesitated to sign the new agreement which contained several new clauses proposed by the Union. Some of these employers even undertook

to put through "reorganization" plans in their shops or plainly discharged some workers who they feared might prove a thorn in their side in the future.

On July 10th, 1924, Local 4 held a mass meeting and decided to call the cloakmakers out of the shops to force the hand of the bosses and to compel them to sign agreements. The meeting demanded that piece work be totally and effectively driven out of the Baltimore shops, and that a joint unemployment insurance fund, equal division of work in the shops, equal pay for equal work for men and women, and a sanitary union label on all garments be established. The strike call was issued on July 23rd, 1924, and was pretty uniformly obeyed in all shops. Some employers attempted from the start, aided by the local police, to run their shops with strikebreakers, but with little success. In the course of the first two weeks about seven firms settled with the Union and the workers who returned to the shops pledged themselves to support the strikers by contributing ten per cent of their wages as long as the strike lasted. Toward the end of the fourth week, Organizer Polakoff reported to the General Office that all the Baltimore cloak shops with the exception of seven had settled with the Union. These seven non-union shops employed, however, more workers than the rest of the trade combined.

The terms of the new agreement gave the Union a real opportunity to control work conditions in the contractor shops; it provided for unemployment insurance, and called for the introduction of a sanitary union label. But the strike still continued in the seven remaining shops, among whom were some old anti-union firms who always have opposed the union and would break their agreements with it whenever they had a chance. The workers in the settled shops, however, not only gave of their earnings to the support of the remaining strikers but the most loyal of them would spend two hours a day picketing the lines around the strikebound shops.

The strike against these seven firms lasted for months and cost the local organization and the International Office quite a large sum of money. It petered out toward the end of the season, some of these firms having left Baltimore City while a few remained operating non-union shops as heretofore. But the strike, on the whole, resulted in the improvement of the Baltimore organization, in the raising of the spirit of the local

cloakmakers and in creating a better prospect for the workers in the trade in general. On March 16th, 1925, the joint board of sanitary control, formed in December of the preceding year, adopted rules of factory sanitation and cleanliness for the shops owned by firms who had contracts with the Union. Dr. William H. Howell of Johns Hopkins University accepted the chairmanship of the board.

Last June, the unemployment insurance fund began to function in Baltimore and to make payments to eligible unemployed workers. Under the rules of the fund, of which Mr. Jacob M. Moses of Baltimore is trustee, the fifteen union firms in the city contribute to it two percent of their payroll while the workers give one per cent of their wages while at work.

During and after the strike of the summer of 1924, Organizer Polakoff, with the aid of the General Office, made several attempts, with varied success, to unionize the shops located in the Baltimore out-of-town zone. On the whole, this effort did not accomplish much, except that it brought one or two of these shops back to Baltimore.

The Baltimore cloak organization has a knotty situation to meet in the few die-hard employers who would rather fight the Union and lose money than enter into contractual relations with it. The Baltimore cloakmakers have also an internal problem to meet, the improvement of their own fighting morale and the cultivation of a better and more loyal spirit in their own ranks. Baltimore will also eventually have to face a great organizing problem of how to put the thousands of its unorganized women workers in the miscellaneous trades on a trade union work-basis. The International has helped them in the past very generously, and it will no doubt be ready to do its share in the future, provided the workers realize that it devolves upon them mainly to put their shoulder to the wheel and achieve the big task.

THE NEW YORK DRESS AND WAIST INDUSTRY

In speaking of the condition in which the organization in the waist and dress industry finds itself today, and in recounting its history since our last convention in Boston, we should like first to record that, in conformity with the policy of amalgamation pursued by the General Executive Board whenever

such amalgamation would work for the advantage of the Union as a whole and for the benefit of the local unions concerned, we sanctioned in October, 1924, the merging of Local 25, the Waistmakers' local of New York, with Local 22, the Dressmakers' Union.

It will be remembered that in the beginning of August, 1923, the Dressmakers' Union, Local 22, became a part of the Cloak Joint Board, together with Local 89, the Italian Waist and Dressmakers' organization. Local 25, which until that time was a part of the Dress and Waist Joint Board, was left standing alone, unaffiliated with any central body. Early in 1924 the General Executive Board gave this local material assistance in starting an organization drive which added a few hundred members to its roll but which, in the end, proved not enough to give the local sufficient strength to maintain an independent existence. The fact of the matter is that very few purely waist shops are left in the New York market, as most of the shops are of a mixed kind where dresses, waists and tunics are made.

As it became evident that it would be of better advantage for the waistmakers and their local to become a part of the general dressmakers' organization, both as a matter of organization economy and also as offering greater opportunities for better organizing work and results, the General Executive Board decided that Local 25 became a part of Local 22, which was accomplished in the fall of 1924.

The agreement in the dress industry of New York, between the Union and the two manufacturers' associations, the jobbers and the sub-manufacturers, was to expire on December 31, 1924. The Joint Board began the negotiations for the renewal of the contract in November.

The first conference with the Association of Dress Manufacturers, Inc., took place on November 19. No demands or definite propositions were placed officially before the conferees at that meeting but various ideas and suggestions were taken up for discussion, which were to form the basis for later negotiations. Several meetings of representatives of the dress locals and officers of the Joint Board, headed by Israel Feinberg, were held meantime to work out a comprehensive program of demands to be presented to the employers at the following con-

ferences. Another conference of a preliminary nature was held with the same association on December 1st.

On December 10, the representatives of the Joint Board and of the dress locals met with a committee representing the Wholesale Dress Manufacturers' Association, the organization of the jobbers, the dominant factor in the industry, and presented to them the demands of the workers. Among these demands the most important were the following:

1. The establishment of an unemployment insurance fund on the basis of the fund functioning in the cloak and suit industry.

2. The introduction of a sanitary union label on dresses.

3. The adoption of a minimum scale of wages for piece and week workers and of a base rate increase for piece workers, this subject to be taken up jointly with the dress contractors' association.

4. Assumption of responsibility by jobbers and manufacturers for the wages of the workers employed in all shops, inside and outside.

5. Limitation of contractors on the same basis as demanded from the jobbers in the cloak and suit industry.

A few days later, on December 15th, the conference committee of the Joint Board and of the dress locals held a third conference with the Association of Dress Manufacturers, Inc., the dress sub-manufacturers, and presented to them a list of demands, which included the standardization of wages in the trade and a substantial wage increase, namely, guaranteed minimum earnings of not less than fifty dollars per week to operators working by the piece, and a substantial wage increase for cutters, sample makers, examiners, drapers, finishers, belt-stitchers and cleaners—all week workers. For piece workers the Union asked average base rates of \$1.50 an hour for operators, \$1.50 for pressers, and \$1.00 for finishers, as compared with \$1.00, \$1.10 and 55 cents per hour under the old agreement. Other important demands were a complete union shop, a sanitary union label on dresses, and an unemployment insurance fund.

The negotiations with these associations dragged out for some weeks. On January 16th, the dressmakers met in the large Webster Hall, endorsed the demands of the Joint

Board and empowered it to press their incorporation in the agreement. The conference committee of the Union finally reached an agreement with the dress jobbers' and sub-manufacturers' associations early in February and the workers shortly thereafter ratified this agreement at several large meetings. Under the terms of the new contract, the Union gained a number of very important concessions. It revised the existing wage scales upward materially for piece and week workers; it also obtained a definite guarantee for all piece workers that their weekly earnings would not fall below a fixed minimum sum. It introduced the sanitary label in the dress industry and an unemployment insurance fund was agreed upon to be formed on the lines of the fund already functioning in the cloak and dress industry.

The agreements with these associations were signed on February 3rd and 4th and were recognized as a distinct achievement for the workers. The aims of the Union in entering upon the conferences with the employers' association in the dress industry were, first, to unionize as far as possible the dress industry of New York and to make it impossible for either jobber or sub-manufacturer in contractual relations with the Union to make any part of their wares in non-Union shops, and secondly, as far as possible, to place the dress workers on the same level, as regards hours, wages and health conditions in the shops, with the workers in the cloak and suit trade and to obviate inferior labor standards in the dress shops. These two objectives were made nearer of achievement by the adoption of the new agreement, provided, of course, that the employers live up honestly to its terms and the workers, in their turn, are ready to help the organization to enforce it in the shops, making these contracts a living instrument and not merely an agreement on paper.

Before February was over, the Dress Division of the New York Joint Board started a big drive to organize the non-union dress shops. This part of the dress industry which has in the past evaded union control of work conditions, included several hundred shops which operated under cover as "un-registered" shops, largely contractor outfits working for such jobbers as were either not in contractual relations with the Union at all or such as were secretly violating their agreement obligations. Several thousand workers became involved in

this drive and in the course of two weeks a considerable number of these shops were organized.

Less than five weeks after the signing of the agreement in the dress industry, however, the Joint Board ordered all the workers to stop off work and to remain in the shops awaiting further instructions. This order was obeyed immediately and brought the whole industry, the organized shops to a standstill. The cause of this general stoppage was the following: The agreement with the dress jobbers' association contained an express guarantee on the part of the jobbers for labor costs on all garments sent out by them to be made up in contractor shops. The jobbers also agreed to accept the price schedules fixed for the various crafts and branches of the trade. When the agreement went into effect on February 24, the jobbers, however, failed to attach to their order slips the adopted schedules and even refused to send work to contractors who insisted on the new schedules. The Joint Board demanded that the jobbers live up to the definitely agreed upon terms of the contract and refused to accept any modifications of the schedules. It was quite obvious that the jobbers were playing for time and were interested in protracting the new dispute until the peak of the season was passed.

The Joint Board thereupon decided to call the jobbers to responsibility. A great meeting of dress shop chairmen in Webster Hall received a report from the officers of the Joint Board on the crisis which the arbitrary action of the jobbers had precipitated in the trade and enthusiastically empowered the leaders of the Union to take whatever steps they might deem necessary to bring the jobbers to terms. On the following evening, when the representatives of the Joint Board failed to reach a settlement of the controversy with the jobbers after the latter had refused to agree to a proposal advanced by the sub-manufacturers' association and accepted by the leaders of the Joint Board—to form a committee representing the three factors in the trade which would be charged with standardizing price schedules, — the stoppage was ordered.

The stoppage lasted one week, and ended on March 16th after a mass-meeting of the shop chairmen in the trade had ratified the terms of the new settlement reached between the Union and the Wholesale Dress Manufacturers' Association, the jobbers. These terms provided for the retention of substantial-

ly all the clauses of the pact signed on February 4th, 1925, including the price schedules, the forty-hour five-day work week, the sanitary label and the unemployment insurance fund. The Union consented to release the jobbers from taking part in the permanent committee on the working out of the additional price schedules, and confined itself, in cooperating on this committee with the contractors, to extending the application of these revised schedules until every part of the garment is covered by the new rates.

The settlement with the jobbers and the resumption of work in the shops of the union sub-manufacturers did not, however, affect the fight which the Joint Board has been waging against the non-union dress shops all over the city. Of the five hundred non-union shops called out on strike about two hundred settled about that time, while 300 still remained out, the strike against these being kept up with undiminished vigor.

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The first step in the direction of establishing the unemployment fund and the sanitary union label in the dress industry was taken at a big meeting of dress shop chairmen and price committees on April 2nd, 1925, at Stuyvesant Casino. The rules covering the adoption of these two measures were made explicit to the chairmen and the announcement made that the supervision and enforcement of the label would be in the hands of the Label Division of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control which is responsible for the distribution and control of the label in the cloak and suit industry. A week later, the rules for the placement of the label were announced. It was decided that the dress label should be blue on white to distinguish it from the black on white label in the cloak industry, and that it should go into effect on April 15th.

The "Prosanis" label in the dress industry was launched by the Sanitary Joint Board on April 15, 1925, in the presence of committees from the Joint Board and the G. E. B. and an impressive gathering of men and women prominent in every walk of social and civic life in New York.

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The enforcement and observance of the new agreement in the dress industry, which is to last until February 1927, leave much to be desired however. There is more than one reason for this laxity in carrying out the terms of an agree-

ment which, by general consensus, is one of the best ever reached in any of our big industries. In the main the reasons are as follows:

The dress industry is today afflicted, in a general way, with the same evils which have brought chaos and demoralization to the cloak industry. The jobbing system which has split the cloak trade into tiny units has invaded the dress industry to as great an extent and its evil consequences are just as evident in the dress shops as they are in the cloak shops. The dress jobber is just as eager to evade responsibility as his prototype in the cloak industry, and the Union's main task in the dress trade, as in the cloak trade, is to endeavor to bring him to book as the actual employer in the trade and to place upon him real responsibility for work conditions. And, like the cloak jobber, the dress jobber has so far sought by all means, open and covert, to dodge this burden and to shift it either upon the Union or the sub-manufacturer and has endeavored to convert into a scrap of paper every contract in which such a responsibility is, to a greater or smaller degree, placed upon him.

Another serious impediment which stands in the way of a proper enforcement of the agreement in the dress shops is, doubtless, the indifference displayed by the workers themselves. This scepticism and doubtful attitude can be traced to the steady undermining influence of those disruptive forces operating in our Union that are ready forever to minimize every effort of the Union to achieve something constructive for our workers. This insidious influence is responsible for the inclination displayed by many of the workers to regard the agreement as "fake" and "bluff," and this state of mind makes them clearly incapable of guarding against its violations. There is hardly a doubt that the spirit of violation of union rules and of disobedience encouraged so openly in recent months in our Union, has contributed its share toward this apathy in the dress shops.

The remedy to this psychological drawback, of course, lies in the unionization of the entire dress industry. And to this task the incoming General Executive Board, together with the officers of the New York Joint Board and the leaders of the dress locals, will have to devote their efforts on a large scale in the near future.

Administration Changes in the Dress Locals

Local 22, the Dressmakers' Union of New York, has passed through a severe internal upheaval in the past year.

In discussing elsewhere in this report, the great disturbance which has involved the administration of the International Union and of the New York Joint Board, we mentioned that the executive board of Local 22 was among the executive boards suspended on June 11th, 1925, by the Joint Board for acts unbecoming union officers and for violations of the laws of the Union. This executive board was elected by the local in December, 1924, and was headed by Abraham Lupin, chairman, and Julius Portnoy, secretary-manager, succeeding Max Bluestein and Isidore Schoenholtz respectively.

Before the candidates of the executive board of Local 22 were placed on the ballot they had all signed statements that they do not belong to any "leagues" directed by outside influences. When they got into office, however, it soon became evident that their every step and move was actuated by antagonism towards the International Union and the Joint Board.

The first crisis which arose in the relations between the new executive board of Local 22 and the Joint Board took place early in February, 1925, when a Communist group in the local issued a defamatory leaflet, on the eve of the election for local business agents and for a manager of the Dress Division of the Joint Board, in which the candidates opposed to the political views held by this group were vilified and besmirched. This attack appeared all the more revolting in view of the fact that lack of time made it impossible for the slandered candidates to make any reply. This action was entirely in violation of the rules of election conduct adopted by the Boston convention and later formulated by the General Executive Board in the interest of decency and cleanliness of elections, which outlawed all forms of "slates" and forbade the issuance of leaflets containing vituperation of opposing candidates.

Vice-president Israel Feinberg, the manager of the Joint Board, after failing to induce the executive board of Local 22 to issue a statement disavowing the action of that group and condemning it, ordered a postponement of this election. Owing to the fact, however, that in addition to Local 22, Local 89 and the dress pressers and cutters were also represented in

the Dress Division of the Joint Board, the General Executive Board, upon a written appeal from Local 89, the Italian Dress-makers' Union, sustained the contentions raised by this local and ordered the Dress Division to proceed with elections for business agents.

Later came the action of the executive board of Local 22 in guaranteeing a loan of \$2,000 to a Communist group which was engaged in the forming of a summer camp and using bonds owned by the local as security for this loan, an act which, besides being entirely in violation of Union rules governing the use of Union funds, was also a hostile move against the summer camp owned and managed by the International Union, the Unity House in Forest Park, which has sufficient facilities for housing all the members of the I. L. G. W. U. who may desire to spend their vacation in a first-class workers' camp. This action was followed by the local's inviting as a speaker at its First of May celebration in Carnegie Hall a person widely known as an enemy and detractor of the International Union and its policies.

On June 11th, this executive board of Local 22, was suspended from office by the order of the Joint Board, but in defiance of this order continued to occupy the office of the local and to administer it. The story of the conflict between the opposition in Local 22 and the Joint Board is told elsewhere in this report, as part of the account of this deplorable event. In brief it may here be recorded that the local elected on August 18th a new set of executives and a manager, Brother Max Bluestein, who stayed in office until the understanding with the opposition was reached on September 29th. On that day, following the acceptance of the terms, new nominations for an executive board and a manager were made, which resulted in the re-election of practically the entire personnel of the suspended executive board and of Julius Portnoy as manager.

On October 9th, the Joint Board appointed C. Zimmerman as manager of the Dress Division of the Joint Board in place of Julius Hochman who resigned after occupying it for more than six months. During his administration of the Dress Division, Hochman succeeded in organizing a number of shops in the spring drive of 1925.

THE DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS OF PHILADELPHIA

The dress and waist industry of Philadelphia, which is next to New York the most important market in this line of women's garments, has had a comparatively quiet existence in the past year and a half.

The short though decisive strike in March, 1923, coming less than a year after the Philadelphia dress and waistmakers had suffered a severe defeat in the long strike of 1922, resulted in both a moral and material victory for the workers inasmuch as it added substantially to the membership of the local, enhanced considerably its influence in the trade and imbued the workers in the shops with greater hope for an eventual 100 percent organization of their industry in Philadelphia.

In January 1925, Local 50 started a new drive for organizing the non-union portion of the industry with a great mass-meeting which was addressed by Secretary Baroff and Vice-president Reisberg, manager of Local 50. The meeting was one of the best ever held in the history of the local and it adopted a resolution to "endorse the decision of the executive board to launch an organization campaign, pledging itself wholeheartedly and undividedly to devote all efforts to carry this campaign to a final success and to leave nothing undone to install uniform work conditions in all Philadelphia dress and waist shops, by peaceful means if possible, and by a general strike if it becomes necessary." It is quite obvious from this resolution that the members of the local were in a fighting mood, ready to strike another short and decisive blow at the employers of the non-union shops, if only the workers in these shops could be reached to any appreciable degree by the Union's message.

In the course of the next few weeks the dress trade of Philadelphia became the scene of feverish activity on the part of the Local 50. Scores of shop meetings were held nightly and tens of thousands of agitation circulars were distributed in front of all shops. The drive met with some encouraging results and the volunteer committees of the local succeeded in making excellent contacts with a number of workers in the non-union shops. Within two months, despite enormous difficulties, the local succeeded in organizing about twenty five new shops and added several hundred members to its roster. Nevertheless, the results of the drive and the condition of the industry at that

time would not warrant the calling out of the workers in a general strike.

At a second big meeting held on March 21, 1925, after taking stock of the results of the organizing work, the membership of Local 50 decided to continue the policy of enrolling the unorganized workers into the union and gathering strength for an offensive next season when a strike could be called out with better prospects of success. The big organizing committee of 150 volunteers was reduced for the "slack" summer months to twenty-five who were to stay on the job and attend to all organizing that could possibly be undertaken during the dull months.

The coming of the fall season, however, did not bring about the culmination of the drive undertaken in the spring. And one of the chief reasons for this hesitancy on the part of the leaders of Local 50, no doubt, was that, since a movement of such magnitude as a general strike in the dress and waist industry could not be carried out without the aid of the International Office, it would be a shortsighted move to attempt such a strike in view of the disturbed condition of the national organization in the last half year.

It is the business of the convention to take up the Philadelphia dress situation very seriously and decide upon a course of action for its immediate future.

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An event that stirred deeply the rank and file of the Philadelphia workers this year was the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the existence of the waist and dressmakers' organization, on May 24, 1925. A musical program was carried out on the afternoon of that day at the Arch Street Theatre, followed by a banquet in the evening. Delegations from practically every organization of the I. L. G. W. U. in New York, Boston and nearby cities, and from all labor bodies in Philadelphia, came to the celebration which was presided over by Vice-president Relsberg, the manager of Local 50. It was, on the whole, a remarkable affair, one that will linger long in the memory of all who attended it. Stirring speeches were delivered at the afternoon meeting and in the evening by President Sigman, Secretary Baroff, Abraham Rosenberg, former president of the I. L. G. W. U., Vice-president Max Amdur, one of the founders of the Philadelphia cloakmakers' organization and for many

years its leader, Editor Saul Yanovsky, and Vice-president Reisberg. The local also issued a journal-history of the organization covering the twenty years of its activity.

Local 50 adopted a testimonial resolution extending to the parent organization of the International Union its gratitude for the unfaltering loyalty and devotion it has always displayed toward the Philadelphia workers and forwarded a parchment copy of it framed to the General Office. The resolution reads as follows:

Testimonial Presented by Local 50 To International on
May 24, 1925

We, the members and officers of the Philadelphia Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 50 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, having assembled on this day of May Twenty-Fourth, One Thousand, Nine Hundred and Twenty-five to celebrate solemnly and joyfully the conclusion of twenty years of our existence as a Labor organization, feel impelled by deepest emotion to testify to a sacred sentiment uppermost in all our minds:

On this day of our Twentieth Anniversary, speaking for ourselves and for the other thousands of workers in the Waist and Dress Industry of Philadelphia who have lived and fought and struggled with us during all these long years, we offer to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, our parent body, and to the General Executive Board, its guiding head, our homage and undivided loyalty in a measure which no mere words may attempt to describe, as a recognition of the never-failing interest and unflagging assistance with which our International Union has always upheld our hands in time of stress and strife and has guided our path with sound counsel and cooperation in time of constructive industrial peace.

We raise our voices in one great solemn pledge forever to remain loyal to the proud banner of our great International Union, side by side with the other fighting divisions of our glorious international family, always in the vanguard, with our faces toward the rising sun of proletarian emancipation.

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The merger of the dressmakers' joint board with the joint board of the Philadelphia cloakmakers' organization, sanctioned by the Boston convention and urged by the General Executive Board, which was supposed to have been carried out in May, 1925, has not yet materialized to this date.

Pending disagreements between the two organizations on the method and terms of the merger are in the way. The convention will quite likely look into this matter and recommend a practical course of action.

CHICAGO DRESS INDUSTRY

The Boston convention in May 1924 was held, as most of the delegates may recall, in the midst of the now memorable strike in the Chicago dress industry. Such of the delegates as attended this last convention will no doubt vividly recall how the atmosphere of the great struggle in Chicago had become transferred to Boston, and how the delegates enthusiastically responded to the call for help issued by their striking fellow-workers in the far-off Western city.

The Boston convention authorized the incoming General Executive Board to use every resource at its command to bring that strike to a successful finish. The efforts of the leaders of the strike, which was led by ex-Vice-President Meyer Perlstein, to bring the obdurate clique of anti-union dress manufacturers to terms, however, did not materialize. The strike, after lasting sixteen weeks and having cost the International, the Chicago Joint Board and its affiliated locals about three hundred thousand dollars, had to be called off insofar as the shops of this particular group are concerned and came to a finish by the end of June 1924. It left in its wake a large number of court cases growing out of the wholesale arrests of the strikers on the picket lines and also for alleged violations of injunctions issued in the course of this prolonged struggle.

But the strike also left behind it a substantial and enlarged organization of dressmakers in the Chicago market. Notwithstanding the severity of the fight and the hardships which the strikers had to endure during the nearly four months of its duration, the Chicago dressmakers' union came out of it with ranks unbroken and a spirit truly indomitable. Though the number of workers employed in the non-union shops which would not settle with the union was quite substantial, the influence of the organized element in the trade on work conditions in the shops, both union and non-union, remained, if anything, even greater, and the general impression left in the industry was that the Union, in defeat or victory, had come to stay.

That the Chicago dressmakers were not tired or dismayed and were ready to renew the struggle against the employers, became quite apparent when, only a few weeks after the desperately fought strike ended, Local 100, with the aid of the

Chicago Joint Board, began laying plans for further organizing activity among the unorganized dressmakers. Another evidence of the fine spirit prevailing among the former strikers was the fact that after the strike was called off and several hundred of the strikers were left without work, the dressmakers employed in the settled and unsettled shops taxed themselves a dollar a week each to aid the jobless. All through the fall months Local 100 and the Chicago Joint Board continued carrying on an effective though quiet literature and shop-meeting propaganda among the dressmakers.

In December 1924 the General Office appointed Miss Mollie Friedman of New York general organizer for the Chicago dress trade. Vice-president Perlstein shortly before that time had left Chicago for New York, though he occasionally visited Chicago at the request of the local organization, giving advice and helping out in many other ways in the organizing work among the dressmakers. At about the same time the agreements with the dress firms which had signed with the union in January 1924 were about to expire and the Joint Board notified these employers that the Union was ready to negotiate with them a renewal of these agreements.

In the course of two weeks, the Joint Board succeeded in signing contracts with nearly sixty firms and with the North Side Dress Manufacturers' Association, despite the efforts of the Chicago Dress Manufacturers' Association, the group of non-union employers, to block the efforts of the Union and to persuade all union firms not to renew agreements with it. In point of fact, the association had put a man in the field to canvass all union employers and to urge them to abrogate their relations with the workers' organization. The association promised these employers all "physical" and financial protection in case of a strike. The association also sent out a letter to all its members with individual contracts for every one of their employes. These contracts were a sample of the most vicious "yellow dog" document ever submitted to workers for signature.

The Union countered this attack of the manufacturers with a huge distribution of literature, numberless shop meetings and every other form of personal contact with the workers in organized and unorganized shops. Fearing that some of their members might go back on them, the leaders of the association placed around the shops a cordon of "guards," State's

Attorney detectives and other types of strong-arm men, as in the days of the strike of the preceding winter. Notwithstanding all these provocations, the Union more than held its own and has not only signed with firms which formerly had union shops, but succeeded in gaining several additional firms.

By the end of February, the new-agreement drive in the Chicago dress trade came to an end. The new contract contained all the features of the old pact, in addition to a number of wage raises given to many workers in individual shops. On February 19, Local 100 held a big meeting which was attended by President Sigman. A report of all recent activities was made by Organizer Mollie Friedman and the other officers of the union and received with a feeling of great satisfaction by the members.

The campaign for organizing the trade, conducted by volunteer organizers under the direction of Miss Friedman, continued with greater or lesser intensity all during the summer and early fall of 1925. The arrival of the fall season in the trade in September served as a signal for the Joint Board to begin the drive on a larger scale in the non-union shops. Several non-union shops in the down-town district were called out on strike and were followed later by similar moves in other sections of the city. This tactic of attacking shops singly and concentrating a united effort upon one or another firm, is already producing encouraging results and has brought a considerable number of new recruits into the local.

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It is in place to note here, in testimony of the fine spirit pervading the dressmakers' organization in Chicago, the very interesting festival arranged by Local 100 last May Day entirely under its own auspices, which created a stir in labor circles all over the city. It took place in one of the largest meeting halls in Chicago, the Dreamland, and was supervised largely by Miss Mollie Friedman. The success of the affair exceeded all expectations and the pageant, which was the special feature of the festivities, was carried out with rhythm and perfection. Eugene V. Debs, the old peerless veteran of the American Labor and Socialist movement, addressed the meeting. The pageant created a better spirit among the Chicago dressmakers and was the talk of the workers for several months afterward.

The organization of the Chicago Polish dressmakers, Local 60, while still a young body of workers and one that has still much to learn as a trade union, maintains, nevertheless, a fine local, and has acquainted itself creditably in every undertaking launched by the Union in that city.

On the whole it may be said that the Chicago dress situation is still a very difficult one and will require sustained effort before it may be satisfactorily adjusted. The group of die-hard employers who are the Union's sworn enemies, will not recognize its right to speak for the workers in the trade and in their shops voluntarily. There is still a great deal of fighting ahead, and the Chicago dressmakers are not deceiving themselves about this either. There is, however, one bright side to this situation that must be recorded—the splendid fighting spirit of the Chicago dressmakers their excellent morale which knows no such a thing as defeat. It may be honestly stated that despite all difficulties and past disappointments, the Chicago dressmakers, without exception, feel confident in the ultimate ability of the Union to place all the dress shops in Chicago on a union basis, notwithstanding the fighting opposition of the union-baiting element among the local employers.

THE BOSTON DRESSMAKERS

A few weeks before the last convention of the International met in Boston in May, 1924, Local 49, the dress and waist makers' organization of that city, had gone through a severe strike, the details of which were reported to the convention.

That strike resulted in a reduction of two hours of work, bringing the work-week down to forty-two hours and a five-day week. It, however, left matters in other respects in pretty much the same condition as before the strike. A great many dress shops were still left unorganized, and many new contractor shops have since come up in the trade. The local did not succeed at that time in signing an agreement with the dress jobbers or in placing responsibility upon them for work conditions in the shops where their garments are produced. The strikers, nevertheless, ratified the settlement as the best they could possibly obtain, hoping that in the next effort they might succeed in completing the task of better organizing the trade and bringing about more favorable conditions in their shops.

After the Boston Joint Board was reorganized, in the fall of 1924, it began to do some active organization work among the dressmakers, under the supervision of Vice-president Seldman, International representative in Boston, with a view to preparing the ground for a definite movement before the arrival of the spring season. Some organizing activity was carried on all through the winter. In February a number of shops belonging to the local dress contractors' association were called out for the purpose of compelling these employers to perform faithfully their obligations under the agreement with the Union. A dozen non-union shops were also taken down and agreements were signed with them. These sporadic steps did not succeed in solving the problem of the non-union shops in the Boston dress trade.

Now that the dressmakers and the skirtmakers are organized in one local and their organization is numerically the largest in the Boston Joint Board, Local 46, (the new number of the merged local), should make a concerted effort, in which they will no doubt receive cooperation from the Joint Board and from the International Office, to make Boston a one hundred per cent union city in the dress and waist trade. It is a feasible proposition, as a large part of the trade is already organized, and if the Boston dressmakers will center their attention on earnest organizing activity and not divert their efforts to other unproductive fields, there is no reason why, in but a short time, they can not accomplish this very much desired condition.

WORCESTER CLOAK AND DRESSMAKERS, LOCAL 75

The local of the Worcester, Mass. cloakmakers, which since 1923 includes also the dressmakers of that city, has maintained a rather uneventful existence since May, 1924. The local controls pretty well the Worcester cloak shops, and has an influence on the dress shops too, wherever the workers in such shops belong to the local.

The Worcester local always has been in close touch with the Boston Joint Board and with the International representative in Boston, and conditions in the Boston cloak and dress trade always have had a direct influence on conditions in Worcester.

In Worcester the cloakmakers work 44 hours a week on

a week-work basis, which they obtained in 1919, including a guarantee for all-year-around work, which they have since succeeded in maintaining, though occasionally individual local cloak employers have made efforts to escape these conditions.

OUR CANADIAN ORGANIZATIONS

The report of the General Executive Board to the Boston convention does not conceal the rather sad and demoralized condition in which our Canadian locals found themselves at the beginning of 1924. There was an organized group of workers in Toronto which survived the disastrous strike and lockout of 1921, after which the local cloak employers succeeded in forcing piece-work upon the cloakmakers and demoralized other labor standards. In the course of 1922 and 1923 the International office continued to help the Toronto locals to maintain an organization and to keep up organizing activity. Vice-presidents Amdur and Seidman, one after the other, had been placed in charge of the Canadian organization and had helped materially in putting the Toronto locals in better shape.

In Toronto there existed an employers' association in the cloak trade, but this organization has been consistently antagonistic towards the Union since 1921 and would not listen to any proposal for collective bargaining. Until the summer of 1924, the situation in Toronto therefore remained one of watchful waiting, though the Union had succeeded in considerably increasing its influence in the shops and in scoring several victories over individual manufacturers.

In Montreal the condition of the local organization of the cloakmakers was materially worse. The cloak manufacturers of Montreal have always been a particularly hard element to deal with. In 1923, when the Union undertook to organize some Montreal shops, it was met by the solid front of the local employers, aided in their opposition to the Union by the courts, which issued injunctions against the workers on strike in some big local shops, resulting in jail sentences for some of the strikers and the leaders of the organization. An additional complication in Montreal was the fact that about 40 per cent of the cloakmakers are French-Canadians, a difficult element to organize.

The General Executive Board was instructed by the Boston convention to proceed with organizing work in Canada on a

large scale, and President Sigman, in compliance with this mandate, appointed in June, 1924, Brother Julius Hochman, formerly the manager of the Dress and Waist Joint Board of New York, as general organizer for Canada, charged with the particular mission of building up the local organizations in Montreal and Toronto and preparing them, as soon as possible, for a concerted move against the employers.

Upon his arrival in Montreal, Organizer Hochman inaugurated without delay a lively campaign among the cloakmakers, calling them to meetings, discussing with them the deplorable conditions in the local shops and awakening enthusiasm for a revival of the local organization. There were not many active workers left in the Montreal locals but those who stuck by their union through the dark years of 1922 and 1923 were of the best type and they showed a genuine eagerness to build up the union. Brother Joseph Schubert, long the secretary of the Montreal organization, gave Hochman all the support he could muster and very soon a large and active committee was at work in Montreal carrying on an agitation in all the shops.

After having started the work in Montreal, Hochman left for Toronto and spent there several weeks, holding meetings, making contacts with the local Labor movement, and exposing in the public press the bad sanitary conditions prevailing in many of the Toronto non-union cloak shops. In this he was assisted by Miss Mary MacNab, appointed organizer of the I. L. G. W. U. for Canada to aid Brother Hochman, and formerly a well-known social worker from Hamilton, Ont. Hochman spent the entire summer and fall of 1924 in both cities. Toronto and Montreal, going from one to the other, keeping up a vigorous drive and rapidly enrolling the cloakmakers who had fallen out of the Union during the hard years of intimidation and oppression practiced by the Canadian cloak employers upon their workers.

In October, 1924, the Toronto Joint Board became involved, in the course of its organizing work, in a fight against two firms where the workers went out on strike in retaliation for mistreatment and a policy of oppression pursued by the owners. The entire membership of the Toronto locals enlisted in this fight and voted to pay a dollar each weekly in support of the strikers, in addition to a special tax of five dollars per member to carry on the organizing campaign and for the support of

single shop strikes. The fight, however, was soon settled and the workers returned to the shops after having gained their contentions. The educational and preparatory work carried on by Julius Hochman in the meantime continued unabated, and by January, 1925, the workers both in Montreal and Toronto felt that they were ready to measure strength with their employers in an earnest attempt to introduce union conditions in these cities.

Hochman invited the Toronto Cloak Manufacturers' Association on January 1st to a conference with the Union to discuss terms of a collective agreement "providing for uniform standards of employment such as hours, wages and a machinery for adjustment of disputes." The Association, which for over three years opposed any attempt of the Union to reintroduce collective bargaining in the trade, this time responded in the affirmative and met the Union's conferees. A conference accordingly took place and the controversial points between both sides underwent a thorough sifting and discussion. On January 7, the Toronto cloakmakers held a great meeting and endorsed the report of the conference committee, authorizing it to go ahead with the negotiations and empowering it to call a strike in the trade should the negotiations fall.

Hochman went to Montreal the following day and reported to a big meeting of Montreal cloakmakers the result of the negotiations in Toronto. The Montreal workers received the report with enthusiasm and voted to invite the Montreal cloak manufacturers to a conference for the purpose of effecting, if possible, a collective agreement in the local cloak trade as well. A week later, the General Executive Board of the International held its quarterly meeting in Montreal and authorized Organizer Hochman to notify the Montreal employers that the Union would like to confer with them on the terms of a collective agreement. A great mass meeting of workers, held on January 20th, addressed by President Sigman, Secretary Baroff, Julius Hochman, and S. Yanovsky endorsed the movement started by the International leaders to organize the Montreal cloak industry on a complete union basis. The General Executive Board also sanctioned a strike in both Canadian cities, if such a strike should prove unavoidable. President Sigman, Vice-president Amdur, Julius Hochman, and Organizer Polakoff, also addressed a big meeting of cloakmakers in Toronto on January 25, which

expressed its unqualified support of the strike plans of the General Executive Board.

On February 2nd, the Montreal cloakmakers quit the shops practically to a person. The response to the Union's message was remarkable—all the more in view of the fact that only until a few months ago the outlook for a solidly founded union in the Montreal cloak trade did not seem especially bright. But the heavy toll which the union-hating employers of that city had been taking from their workers now told upon the latter. The Montreal cloakmakers, having shaken off their apathy and indifference, now resolved not to re-enter their shops except as recognized union workers and under union conditions. The most striking feature of the walkout was that most of the French-speaking workers upon whom the employers relied heavily to remain in the shops, walked out together with the rest of the trade.

The Montreal general strike committee was composed of the following persons: Organization Committee, Brothers Julius Hochman, Harry Chancer and Joseph Shubert; Settlement Committee, Hochman and Shubert; Speakers' Committee, Abraham Feldman, Miss Bernstein, S. Sanderowitz, J. Gelsack; Finance Committee, Shubert, Kalser and Eaton; Information Committee, Kalser and Wolkoff; Law Committee, Shubert and Taylor; Picket Committee, Flo, Grayford, Richter, Leibowitz, Jacobs, Bonchick, Seifert, Eaton, Ulinetzky, Harris, Waxman, Rudy, Elbaum, Goldman, Seibel, Belserman, Dashevsky, Niddle and Glumer.

On February 5th, the Toronto cloakmakers followed the example of their Montreal brothers and left the shops. On the same day, Brother Hochman announced to the strikers assembled in one of Toronto's largest halls that an agreement had just been concluded between the Union and the Toronto Manufacturers' Association. The agreement was then read to the workers clause after clause and was unanimously accepted. But as not all the Toronto cloak manufacturers were members of the association and as a considerable number of the workers still remained on strike, the meeting decided that all the workers returning to work in the settled shops be taxed ten percent of their weekly wages to support the strikers until the more obstinate firms were forced to come to an understanding with the Union.

The general strike committee in Toronto consisted of the following persons: Settlement Committee—Sol Polakoff, Chairman; J. Glickman, Secretary; S. Kruger, A. Kirzner, P. Shniffer; Finance Committee—A. Kirzner, S. Kralsman, M. Jacobs, M. Broudy, A. Friedman; Organization Committee—M. Jacobs, A. Cooper, J. Rosenberg, M. Shur, L. Galinsky, N. Freedman, Chas. Shatz, Ch. Ginsberg; Picket Committee—K. Wagner, S. Kralsman, H. Reingold, M. Fox, H. Freiman, S. Friedman, D. Kirshenbaum, H. Springer, M. Hambourger, M. Goodfeder, M. Taylor, S. Katzman, L. Dorfman, Miss M. Mann, Mrs. F. Dorfman; Law Committee—S. Kruger, P. Shniffer; Hall Committee—H. Froomstein, M. London, M. Caplan; Entertainment Committee—S. Borkofsky, M. London, M. Goldman.

In Montreal, too, settlements with individual employers began soon after the strike had been declared. During the first week, sixty firms signed agreements with the Union, and by the end of the first week, nearly 1,000 workers returned to the shops to work under union conditions. Like their Toronto fellow workers, the workers in the settled Montreal shops taxed themselves ten percent of their earnings in support of the workers who still remained on strike. The local English and French press gave the strikers a great deal of friendly publicity. In Montreal, as well as in Toronto, the local organizers of the Amalgamated gave the cloak strikers splendid cooperation.

An effort to raise the racial issue between Jew and Gentile workers made in Toronto by one cloak manufacturer failed ignominiously and provoked a considerable stir and protest in the entire community. In Montreal, one firm attempted to revive an old injunction which it had secured some two years ago against the Union in the course of a shop strike. This, however, did not in the least affect the morale of the strikers as by that time only four firms that amounted to something in the trade were left unsettled and the prospects for a clean mopping up of the entire strike situation were unusually bright.

The beginning of March saw the strike situation in both cities, after a fight of four weeks, nearly at an end. Only four strike-bound shops were left in Toronto, and in Montreal the embers of the finished battle were smouldering in a couple of the smaller shops. The industry at large, however, was already running its normal course and was placed under contractual relations with the Union and operating under union standards.

Under the terms of the agreement, an impartial machinery for the adjustment of disputes was formed and Prof. J. W. McMillan of Toronto was selected as the first impartial chairman. Later, a joint board of sanitary control, on the lines of the New York institution, was organized with the participation of representatives of the public, the Union and the manufacturers' association to supervise observance of sanitary standards in the local cloak factories. These measures were carried out in Toronto largely through the efforts of Brother Sol. Polakoff, who was appointed by President Sigman early in January, 1925, to aid Hochman in Toronto and who remained there since that time.

In Montreal, the strike did not result in the formation of an association and the Union therefore signed agreements with the employers individually. The terms of the Montreal agreement, save for such clauses as require collective action, are the same as in the Toronto contract. As a result of the agitation and of the strike in Montreal, there was organized in that city a local of French speaking workers with a substantial number of members.

After the strikes in both cities had come to a satisfactory conclusion, Organizer Hochman returned to New York. Harry Chancer, who was assigned by President Sigman to help in the Montreal strike, remained there until September and did some effective work. In July, Vice-president Amdur was designated by President Sigman to represent the International in Montreal and he was placed in general charge of the local organization. In Toronto, Brother Polakoff organized last summer a local of embroidery workers.

The organizing campaign conducted by the International Union in Toronto and Montreal in 1924-25 and the strike movement carried out by it have literally brought the Canadian organization back upon the map of the I. L. G. W. U. To begin with, the educational work which preceded the strike has nearly trebled the membership of the Union in both cities and has brought back into its fold a large number of men and women who were compelled to leave it under the merciless whip of the employers during preceding years. Secondly, it has served to improve materially the condition of the workers in the shops, has lifted their drooping spirits and has converted them into militant aggressive fighters for their rights as men and workers.

It is, of course, quite true that the conditions in both cities, and even the relations with the employers, are as yet far from ideal. Shop strikes still occur, as was evidenced in Toronto only last May when one firm locked out its workers after it had broken away from the employers' association. There exists also dissatisfaction in some shops, and the practical problems facing the Union are not yet all solved. In Montreal, too, shop strikes still occur, and as the last season in the cloak trade was rather a poor one, there was a considerable amount of privation among the workers. The absence of a collective agreement is very much felt in Montreal, and accounts a good deal for the unstable conditions in the local cloak market and for the costly and disturbing single shop fights which occur frequently as a result of it.

One fact, however, stands out irrefutably. The cloak-makers of Canada have now a Union, and the workers, having awakened from their long slumber, have come to appreciate that the union is their only defender and their only agency of protection against the avarice and greed of the employers. They have also learned how to fight for their rights, and this is, perhaps, the best augury for the permanence and stability of our organization in both Canadian cities.

MIDWEST LOCALS

St. Louis

There are two small locals in St. Louis—Local 78, the cloak operators, and Local 16, cloak cutters.

There is a limited number of cloak shops in St. Louis, and nearly all of them employ union workers and have union standards—week-work and a fixed scale of wages established in the local trade in 1919 and prevailing there undisturbed since that time. But St. Louis has dress and other women's wear trades which employ a large number of women, most of them working longer hours and receiving much smaller pay than organized workers in these trades receive in other cities. The International Union made several years ago an attempt to organize these workers. That attempt did not bring substantial results. It proved too costly an undertaking, and we have never since repeated the attempt.

Toledo

In 1922, the Toledo cloak manufacturers succeeded with the aid of a lockout and an injunction in destroying the cloak-makers' local of that city. Some of the Toledo workers left the city to seek jobs in other places, while others went to other trades.

But the bulk of them, some two hundred, remained in the three blacklist shops from which the Union had been banished. Twice since that time has the General Office made an attempt to revive the local, but without success. In the beginning of the fall season of 1923, the International started some organizing work in Toledo, but the manufacturers threatened every worker who joined the Union with discharge and told the workers that they would move their shops from Toledo, and this threat had its effect.

In the summer of 1924, the General Office again began organizing activity in Toledo, and ex-Vice-president Perlstein with a committee of active workers from Cleveland and Chicago, including Kreindler, Tishler, Friend and Barkan, spent some time there during July and August doing missionary work among the cloakmakers. A number of the old-timers rejoined the local, but the employers would discharge them as fast as they would learn about it. After a while, it became apparent that the drive to be successful would require a tremendous sum of money, as all of the victimized workers and their families would have to be supported until a sufficient movement was started for a strike, the outcome of which naturally would still be in doubt. And as the response even under such circumstances did not warrant such a course, the agitation soon came to a close, for the time being.

Quite recently a group of these Toledo workers again communicated with the General Office and with Union headquarters in Chicago and Cleveland advising that the workers in Toledo are now more ready to join the Union and asking that some aid be given them to achieve their hope to revive the local in that city. Toledo, it must be noted, has grown quite a good deal as a cloak market, and about fifteen new shops, of the smaller type, have recently been opened there.

It is clear that Toledo, if it is to become a union market, will have to be taken by a drive in which money would prove no

obstacle. The organizing of Toledo can be considered only with this thought in mind. A mere expression of wish or a pious resolution will not help in the least in this direction.

Cincinnati

Local 63 in Cincinnati is a small organization of former cloakmakers who are now employed in a few dress shops in that city.

Cincinnati has disappeared entirely from our map as a cloak city since its biggest shop closed its doors a few years ago. Those left of the several hundred cloakmakers who once were employed in the local cloak industry, are now trying to make a living in some dress shops, while many others have quit the trade to seek a living in other occupations.

The local still has a small treasury left over from former days which it is guarding against a day when it might need it for the work of increasing its membership from the ranks of those who still remain outside of Local 63 and from newcomers in the dress trade which is gradually increasing in Cincinnati.

PACIFIC COAST LOCALS

San Francisco

The obstinate and bitter thirteen weeks' struggle of the group of San Francisco cloakmakers in 1923, fought out on the issue of the open shop, dealt Local 8 a crushing blow, from which it has since not been able to recuperate.

The story of that vallant fight waged by the small group of cloakmakers against an association of employers who were aided and abetted by the powerful San Francisco Industrial Association, the strongest anti-labor union combination on the Pacific Coast, was told by the General Executive Board in its report to the Boston convention. After three months of striking, the San Francisco cloakmakers returned to the shops on the promise that their employers would recognize them as union men. The San Francisco Industrial Association succeeded, nevertheless, in compelling the cloak employers' group to repudiate their signed pledge, but the workers, exhausted by the long strike, could not retaliate against this treachery and were forced to stay in the shops.

Local 8 today is practically out of existence. There are still some cloakmakers in San Francisco who would like to have a union and who would be ready at the first favorable opportunity to form an organization and to begin the fight anew against their employers. Recently a small group of these workers communicated with the General Office asking advice on the subject of reorganizing their local. But this opportunity has still to come, and when it arrives the International Union should, and no doubt will, give them help, as it has assisted them in the past.

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Los Angeles

In Los Angeles the cloakmakers also had a protracted struggle against an organized group of employers in the fall of 1923.

As in San Francisco, the fight in Los Angeles was also conducted on the issue of the open shop, and the obstinate cloak employers received the support, in the fight against our workers, of the local Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. The strike was marked by all the abominable features which employers resort to in industrial clashes—police and court persecutions, injunctions, the hiring of gangsters, and the interference with and arrest of pickets. Another factor which worked against the complete success of that strike was the unprecedented lull in the cloak trade, both before and during the strike, which played into the hands of the employer. Nevertheless, Local 52, with the aid of the International, succeeded in signing up most of the firms in the trade, and in keeping intact the local organization.

The next two years in the life of the organization of the Los Angeles cloakmakers were, however, not of the best. Continued clashes with employers, slack seasons, and even internal friction weakened Local 52 very much during 1924, and its outlook for the immediate future appeared very poor, indeed. In 1925, fortunately, the affairs of Local 52 improved, and it began a slow upgrade climb. The local succeeded in securing the services of an energetic and able manager, Brother Abraham Plotkin, who enjoys the confidence of the membership and who has been able to solidify the ranks of its active workers. The local is acquiring better control in the union shops and is slow-

ly regaining lost ground. It has an active and wide-awake executive board, and is determined to make headway and put Los Angeles on the map as a well organized cloak market.

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The small organization of dressmakers in Los Angeles which was known as Local 103 was out of existence in 1924 at the time of the Boston convention.

Los Angeles has a considerable dress, waist and blouse industry. The workers in the Los Angeles shops consist of Jewish, Mexican and some English-speaking native women. The International has made several attempts to organize these workers, but found them an element difficult to approach, and still more difficult to retain in the organization. Several months ago a group of Los Angeles dressmakers again requested the General Executive Board to be granted a charter as old Local 103. The G. E. B. granted this request and this group is now beginning with the aid of Local 52, to make some headway among the local dressmakers.

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Seattle

The few cloak and tailor shops in Seattle, Washington, are organized, as they have been for a number of years past, in Local 28 of that city.

Seattle cloakmakers are week-workers and have a fixed wage scale, which measures up well, by comparison, with wage scales in other larger cloak markets.

DISTRICT COUNCIL OF MISCELLANEOUS TRADES

The District Council of Miscellaneous Trades in New York City was first formed on March 12, 1924 for the purpose of coordinating the activities of the locals not affiliated with the New York Joint Board, and to stimulate organizing activity among the unorganized workers in the trades over which they have jurisdiction. The basic idea of the plan was that, by conducting jointly several of their activities, the ten miscellaneous locals would be able to eliminate some of their offices, secretaries and clerks, would prevent duplication of effort in the same localities, and would be able to concentrate with better chances of success on their organizing work, conducting

it when necessary by simultaneous drives, obtaining less costly and greater results for each of the individual locals.

At the beginning, some of the locals displayed a reluctance to affiliate with the Council, most of them holding back for purely local and egotistic reasons. Only Locals 6, 90, 91 and 132 joined the Council from the start. The Boston convention, however, definitely expressed itself in favor of making it mandatory upon all the locals in the miscellaneous trades in New York City to join the Executive Council. This step was made doubly urgent in view of the fact that the convention also adopted the recommendation of the General Executive Board to begin an organizing drive among the tens of thousands of workers in New York City employed in these trades and to have this drive conducted by all the locals jointly with the aid of the International.

Shortly after the convention, on June 9th, 1924 President Sigman and Secretary Baroff issued a call to all the miscellaneous locals in New York Nos. 6, 38, 41, 62, 66, 90, 91, 131 and 132—to come to a conference to consider the common problems confronting the organizations in these trades and to take practical joint steps for solving them. The Cutters' Union of New York, Local 10, was also invited to help in the work of the formation of the Council and in the preparatory measures for organizing a drive in these trades. The meeting was attended by representatives of the above-mentioned eleven locals and decided to form a District Council. President Sigman announced that Vice-president Lefkovits would act as manager of the District Council.

After a few weeks of preliminary work, the Council, whose office was located at the International Building, set out in earnest to operate among the unorganized workers in the miscellaneous trades. Plans were laid for a shop-to-shop campaign, the distribution of literature on a wide scale, and to attract the close cooperation of shop chairmen and chairwomen of the already organized shops in the new drive. On September 25, 1924 a big meeting of shop chairmen and of all the executive boards of the eleven locals affiliated with the Council was held at Arlington Hall and was addressed by President Sigman, Secretary Baroff, Ex-Congressman London, Arturo Giovannitti and Samuel Lefkovits, the manager of the Council. A few weeks

later, the Council organized a campaign committee of five hundred persons from the members of its affiliated locals for the distribution of tens of thousands of leaflets in front of the unorganized childrens' dress, white goods, embroidery and novelty shops throughout the garment district. This volunteer army of organizers was directed from one central office and, starting from the several headquarters of the various locals, would cover the entire district between the hours of five to seven in the evening. The Council prepared a special series of leaflets in two languages—English and Italian—well illustrated and written in clear and simple language. The aid of a number of cloak-makers and dressmakers was also enlisted in the work of approaching the unorganized workers, as a great many cloak and dress shops are located in the same buildings where large numbers of non-union people are working.

By the middle of November, the literature and personal contact campaign of the Council was in full swing. Day after day the volunteer committees of the Council would invade the district armed with large quantities of literature and distribute them among the thousands of non-union workers as they were leaving the shops. By the end of November President Sigman assigned several organizers to aid the Council in its organizing activity, among them Brothers Eggito and Piccone for the Italian speaking workers, and Miss Goldie Share, formerly a business agent in Local 22 and a graduate of Brookwood Labor College, to do missionary work among the English speaking girls.

Later Ann W. Craton, Alexia Smith and Sarah Fredgant, also a Brookwood graduate and an active worker of our Philadelphia organization, were added to the organizing staff of the Council.

The literature campaign and the holding of shop meetings continued all through December preparatory to the large meeting held on January 8, 1925 in Cooper Union, to which the members of all the eleven locals were invited to consider final steps in the pending campaign. The meeting was held right after work hours and was addressed by some of the best known leaders of the New York labor movement, including President Sigman, Secretary Baroff and Sarah Conboy, General Secretary of the United Textile Workers. The meeting was an enormous success in point of numbers and several overflow meetings in adjacent halls had to be held to accommodate the workers who

were not able to gain admission to Cooper Union. A resolution empowering the District Council to go ahead with strike plans to bring the drive to a head, through a strike if necessary, was passed by the workers, the strike to be waged until union conditions are won in all the miscellaneous trade shops in the city.

In the course of the next two weeks general strikes under the supervision of the District Council occurred in the bonnaz embroidery trade, the white goods trade and the childrens' dress and bathrobe shops. During February, 1925 one after the other the miscellaneous trades became the battleground in which thousands of workers were engaged in a joint effort to improve their conditions and to put their industries on a union basis. A more detailed account of these strikes will be given in separate chapters devoted to these individual trades. It may be stated here that in the underwear and childrens' dress trades the strike came to an end after two weeks' duration and that the bonnaz embroidery strike ended at about the same time after a fight lasting about four weeks. The white goods workers gained some concessions including a raise in wages for cutters and machine operators. The employers also obligated themselves to use union made and labelled embroidery and other auxilliary parts on underwear made in their shops. In March, Local 41, the Pleaters', Tuckers' and Novelty Workers' Union signed an agreement with the representatives of the Manufacturers' Association in their trade after protracted negotiations, during which it appeared many times as if a breach and a strike were imminent. The end of March saw the winding up of the strike agitation in the miscellaneous trades, and the District Council began to direct its attention to other organizing activity.

A general appraisal of the work of the District Council within the first year of its existence may be put down as follows: It has succeeded in creating a common bond between the smaller locals of the I. L. G. W. U. of New York, who for years have been keeping apart from each other though their interests and activities were of a joint nature and frequently crossed each other. Its first big drive to enroll the large masses of unorganized workers could by no means be regarded as a success, and under the circumstances, financial and moral, not much more could have been expected from it. The element of workers employed in the non-union miscellaneous trades' shops

in New York City is difficult to organize. It will take more than one effort to bring the message of unionism close to them, and methods more effective and better adopted to their needs and psychology will have to be used in approaching them. It is also a costly enterprise, requiring a substantial treasury and an army of volunteer workers. The first effort has proved that these women workers can be organized, contrary to the ideas held by some of our leaders and active workers that it is a waste of effort to attempt to enroll them in labor unions. But, as already stated, it is not a one-day job and it will yield results only after persistent and untiring efforts.

Since March the District Council has devoted considerable effort to organizing work among the knit goods workers and has kept in close touch with its affiliated locals in a general advisory capacity. The great stir in the bigger trades of the Union in New York City which in recent months has thrown out of gear and demoralized practically all activity in our locals, affected also the District Council inasmuch as it could not expect under the circumstances any practical aid from national headquarters and was compelled therefore to carry on in a modest and limited way. The District Council, however, is a vital necessity for the further progress of the miscellaneous trades and must not only be preserved but given required means to fulfill its task as the central organizing agency among the huge unorganized field in these trades. It is to be hoped that the Convention will view this task of the District Council from this angle and give it all the support it deserves.

THE WHITE GOODS WORKERS OF NEW YORK

The strike in the spring of 1923 in the white goods trade of New York gained for the workers an increase in wages and also resulted in an increase in membership for Local 62, but it did not solve most of its problems.

The organized workers in the white goods trade are faced with two principal difficulties. Their trade is only partly organized, and this condition has for years been a grave detriment to their interests and has been utilized by the employers as a weapon against them whenever they would make a move for a betterment of their own work standards. Another prob-

lem in this trade is the tendency on the part of the white goods firms to leave the New York territory for the smaller cities in the neighboring states, both as a means of avoiding union control and for obtaining cheaper and more docile workers. This drift out of town has become particularly pronounced since 1924 and in "slack" periods especially would be utilized by the employers as a threat against the workers and as means for price reductions, for discriminations in distribution of work, etc. Local 62 has done all it could to resist assaults by the manufacturers in and out of the association, but burdened with the above mentioned handicaps, it could not always combat successfully the aggression of the unscrupulous firms.

The agreement in the underwear trade signed after the strike of 1923 was about to expire on January 31, 1924, and a few weeks before that Abraham Snyder, manager of Local 62, invited the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association to confer with them about the terms of the new contract to prevent a dislocation in the trade and to give the employers ample time to consider the changes suggested by the Union. The conferences were conducted in cooperation with the District Council and, two weeks later, when the strike in the trade became a reality, the officers of the Council took a prominent part in directing it, jointly with the strike of the children's dressmakers which was declared at that time as part of the general drive for organizing the miscellaneous trades.

The strike of the underwear workers was called out on February 17. All the organized shops quit work and a small number of formerly unorganized workers also walked out. But the bulk of the workers in the non-union shops did not respond to the strike call, despite the earnest effort on the part of the active workers of Local 62 and of the Council to arouse their interest during the few weeks before the strike. The shops of the members of the Cotton Garment Association and of many "independent" union shops were safely tied up, and the strike soon came to an end through negotiation. On March 4, 1925, the Union's committee headed by President Sigman, Vice-president Lefkovits and Abraham Snyder and a committee of the executive board of the local, reached an understanding with the Cotton Garment Association on the basis of the following concessions: (1) A strict union shop; (2) Thirty days after the termination of the strike, a committee of the Union and of the em-

ployers are to work out a minimum scale of wages for every branch of work in the trade; (3) Upon thirty days' notice, each party may call upon the other to revise existing wage scales; (4) No work shall be sent out from any inside shop to be made up outside unless the inside workers are fully provided with work; (5) Cutters are to receive an immediate increase of \$3 per week, piece workers a five per cent increase, and all other workers a raise of \$1; (6) All employers must use union-made and union-labelled embroidery and other auxiliary parts on underwear made in their shops.

Thus the strike of 1925 in the white goods trades of New York was concluded on terms, which, while quite satisfactory in themselves, have not, however, succeeded in solving the major troubles of the workers in the trade, both organizational and industrial. The main trouble in this industry, of course, is its unorganized shops and the constant pressure which their presence brings to bear upon the condition of the workers in the union shops. The problem of the white goods workers, as viewed from this angle, is naturally only a part of the greater problem which confronts the entire union, namely, the organizing of the tens of thousands of unorganized women workers in the dress, white goods, children's dress and other lesser ladies' garment trades in New York City.

THE CHILDREN'S DRESS, HOUSE DRESS AND BATH ROBE MAKERS

The story of the children's dress, house dress and bath robe makers' local, No. 91, has in part been touched upon in connection with the report of the activity of the Miscellaneous Trades District Council and of the white goods workers' organization. Substantially the two locals—the underwear makers and the children's dress and allied workers—suffer from the same drawbacks, operate in the same territory and the element of the workers engaged in both trades is to a large degree the same. They face the same organizing problems, as the children's dress trade is also only partly organized and the tendency to leave the New York market for the small towns is just as pronounced in the children's dress trade as it is in the white goods industry.

The children's dressmakers' local was among the first to join the District Council and has been among its principal supporters from the day it was organized. All during 1924, Local 91 took a leading part in the preliminary activity carried on by the Council and its extensive literature and shop-to-shop campaign in the miscellaneous trades. After the General Executive Board had sanctioned in January, 1925, the strike in these trades, Local 91 called a big meeting of children's dressmakers and bathrobe workers on January 28th to acquaint the members of the organization with the situation in the industry and the possibility of an early strike. The workers endorsed the course of the local and began to prepare with enthusiasm for the walkout. A few days later, the District Council organized the strike committees in the locals involved in the strike, and selected Samuel Lefkovits as chairman of the General Strike Committee, Harry Greenberg, the manager of Local 91, as vice-chairman and Abraham Snyder of Local 62, as its secretary.

The strike of the children's dressmakers and of the bathrobe workers occurred on February 17th, 1925, and was settled in less than two weeks. Local 91 has no employers' association in its trades to deal with and deals with the firms individually. The new agreement gave the workers some wage increases and as a result of the strike several new children's dress, house dress and kimono shops were unionized. Like the white goods workers' walkout, it failed, however, to attract the bulk of the non-union workers in the industry who number thousands of English speaking women and large sections of Italian girls. The arduous literature campaign conducted by the volunteer committees of the Council and of the locals involved in that strike appeared either not to have reached these workers or to have fallen on deaf ears, notwithstanding the fact that the women workers in the unorganized shops in these trades are badly underpaid and work under poor conditions. Poor seasons also contributed to the lack of response among the unorganized workers, as it is quite obvious that it is nearly impossible to interest non-union workers in a union after months of "slack" and with shops running only on half time.

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What can be the reason for this indifference and lack of response which is so unlike the sympathetic response our call

used to find in former years among the unorganized workers in our trades? The answer to this question in a general way as we see it is the following:

In former days, the spontaneous strike used to be regarded as the sole, time-tested and most potent means for recruiting workers into trade unions. The history of our Union alone is full of convincing proof of the effectiveness of this method. The waist and dress makers' organization was built up, from a mere handful of loyal trade unionists, as a result of the great strike of 1909, into a large and militant body. The Cloak-makers' Union, until 1910 a small and unimportant group of workers, came into its strength as the outcome of the big walk-out of that year. In the minds of a great many the strike, and only the strike, has come to be fixed as the one and inescapable method for organizing workers. To a considerable extent, this prevailing notion was true; yet, in the light of present-day experience, it is becoming more and more apparent that this theory does not and cannot remain applicable to all situations and under all circumstances.

For the spontaneous strike to be invariably a successful means for organizing in unorganized fields there must, first of all, be present among these unorganized workers a fighting spirit, and a readiness to join in the struggle the moment the signal for the fight is given. Our workers in the needle trades, in particular, have in the past earned for themselves an enviable reputation as ready and willing fighters. Whether this fine spirit originated from the mistreatment they had been subjected to in the shops or from other causes is for the moment of no importance. The fact remains that in all our past struggles these workers have responded almost invariably with marvelous fire and will, and this invincible spirit has been mainly responsible in the past for the steady, irresistible advance of our unions and the growth of their influence in the trades under our jurisdiction.

This all-important guarantee of success, this fighting morale, appears to be lacking today among the unorganized portions in our trades. As far as we are able to diagnose the state of their mind, these workers are today dominated by an overwhelming fear of loss of jobs. And while it is true that in such

partly organized trades as the white goods and the children's dress, the existence of the Union has contributed materially to the benefit of even the unorganized workers, the fact nevertheless, remains that they are today, consciously or unconsciously, offering competition to the organized workers in our shops. It stands to reason, of course, that the Union is mindful of this menace and is very eager to bring them into the fold of the organization, as a matter of self-preservation, if not for anything else.

Does that mean that we must despair of the Union's ability to organize the new arrivals in our trades? We do not think so. This failure only implies that the old methods of organizing and unionizing are not as effective today as they had been in the past. It only teaches the lesson that we must seek additional organizing means. It is obvious that, under present circumstances, we must not rely upon the strike as the only all-effective method for organizing the unorganized in our midst. It is evident that the strike must follow the upbuilding of the Union and not be relied upon as the only means for building up an organization.

The other method, the method of slow preparation, may be a longer and a more difficult road than the one employed in the past, but, as far as we can see, it is today the only practical method. Surely it is better and safer to gather an army, even though by slow and tedious recruiting, before opening fire than attempting a grand rush without reserves and failing before the aim is reached.

THE SWISS EMBROIDERY WORKERS

The Swiss Embroidery Workers of New York, Local 6, is as well organized today and controls labor conditions in its industry as completely as it has for the past eight or ten years.

The local entered a two-year agreement with the association of employers in the Swiss embroidery trade in March, 1924, retaining the wage scales and all other standards in the industry unimpaired despite the rather poor season at that time. The agreement, however, contained a condition that the demand for a wage increase and for a reduction of work-hours should become the subject of conferences between the union

and the employers in August of that year, upon the demand of the workers' organization.

These conferences began instead of August in November, 1924, and were conducted by Manny Weiss and a committee of the local with the participation of President Morris Sigman on behalf of the Union. They came to a head on January 7, 1925, with the adoption of a modification in the wage scales of the agreement which granted a raise of from five to seven and a half per cent to be retroactive to December 2, 1924. The change also provided that the workers may demand still other wage and work-time modifications during the life of the existing agreement, should conditions warrant it. The wage increases gained by the Swiss embroiderers appear even more significant in these days of downward wage revisions in most trades. It is obvious that such acquisitions through peaceful negotiations can be won only by trade unions which are able and ready to fight for their demands and concerning whose ability and readiness to enforce them the employers in the industry which they represent have no doubt.

The Swiss embroiderers have also included in their agreement the proviso for the enforcement of the union label on accessories and have made their employers faithfully live up to this clause. But like the bonnaz embroiderers, they feel that the placing of the label on Swiss embroidery can only have a meaning and an effect on the trade and on the non-union shops in their own trade, which are largely located in the New Jersey towns across the Hudson, if the cloak and dressmakers' organizations in New York will cooperate with them in enforcing the use of only union-made embroidery in the cloak and dress shops. Local 6 therefore looks to this convention to give its final word in this matter, one way or the other, but in unmistakable and clear terms.

And in speaking of the unorganized Swiss embroiderers in the New Jersey cities which in the past have constituted quite a menace to conditions in the union shops in New York and which have always been held up as a strong argument against the demands of the New York workers by the New York embroidery manufacturers, it may be stated that this menace has, in the past year and a half, partly disappeared, as the New York embroidery producing market is less concerned today with the needs of the New York cloak and dress market than

with the general market all over the country and abroad where the competition of the non-union New Jersey shops is negligible.

This rather fortunate turn of things is, however, no excuse for the New Jersey shops remaining outside of the control of the Union. It is, however, admittedly too big a task for Local 6 to accomplish by its own efforts. The strict application of the union label on all embroidery used in the cloak and dress shops would no doubt serve as a powerful influence to compel the New Jersey anti-union employers to come to terms with the Union and to introduce union conditions in their shops. This, however, should be made the business of the International Union as a whole, and the convention will have to give this matter its earnest attention.

THE BONNAZ EMBROIDERY WORKERS

Local 66, the organization of the New York Bonnaz embroidery workers, while not a big local is, nevertheless, a compact body of workers which has a strong influence on work conditions and is a factor that is reckoned with in the industry.

The Bonnaz embroidery trade properly is almost completely organized in New York City, but Local 66 has an enormous unorganized field in the hand embroidery, Singer machine and allied lines of work where thousands of workers are engaged in large factories and which have not as yet joined the union of their trade. It must also be stated that the unorganized workers in the hand and Singer machine embroidery shops, are, as a rule, a very poorly paid and badly treated lot of workers as compared with the organized embroidery makers who work in union shops.

In the fall of 1924, Local 66 conducted, under the leadership of Brother Max Essenfield, the manager of the local and Nathan Riesel, its secretary, an effective organizing drive in the non-union shops with satisfactory results. The drive netted the local thirty new firms, among these some which have opposed the union for years and managed with the aid of injunctions and by strong arm methods to maintain non-union shops. Local 66 also undertook very earnestly to carry out the accessory union label in its shops as a means of spurring on organizing activity

and also to exercise stricter control over union conditions in the shops. The use of this union label was later made part of the agreement with the employers and has become generally adopted in the trade.

Toward the end of 1924, the Bonnaz embroiderers' local began to confer with the employers' association in the trade on the terms of a new contract in the industry which was to replace the agreement of 1924 expiring on January 31, 1925. The local demanded the inclusion of the following changes in the new contract: the enforcement of the forty-hour week, a demand granted the workers in 1923 but which was left in abeyance since then by mutual agreement; an unemployment insurance fund; the right of shop chairmen to divide work in the shops during "slack" periods; the supplying of work to spoolers and stampers during the slow periods of the year, and the absolute exclusion of the employers from doing any work on the machines. The employers countered with a demand for limiting the legal holidays with pay in the trade to six, a two-weeks' trial period instead of the one week period in force, and a stipulation that the forty-hour week would not be enforced during the life of the next agreement.

After several weeks of negotiations, both sides reached an agreement on January 23, 1925. The new pact which was received with great satisfaction by the Bonnaz embroiderers, contained a number of market improvements in work conditions. Among the changes were an agreement to form an unemployment insurance system on the lines operating in the cloak industry, the obligatory use of the union label on all embroidery and the inclusion of all special machine workers, an important group of operators hitherto unaffiliated with the organization, as part of the union shop staffs. Within the next week, all the other Bonnaz embroidery firms, not members of the association, signed contracts with Local 66 on similar terms. A week later, on February 5th, the local ordered a stoppage in all the Bonnaz embroidery shops in New York, as the agreement concluded with the association covered only a part of the trade and it was imperative to bring the whole industry to a stop in order to equalize conditions in all shops.

The workers in the settled shops were returned to work without delay, and the strike in the "individual" shops was

also terminated in the course of a few days. The trade became normal by the middle of February with the establishment of uniform work conditions in all of its shops without exception.

Later in the year, Local 66 started again vigorous organizing work and succeeded in unionizing several other non union shops. As stated above, however, there still remain in this trade a very large number of unorganized plants with special shop conditions and methods of production. The organizing of this big element, broadly speaking, is a problem which is beyond the individual strength of the local to tackle successfully and is, therefore, a part of the general organizing task which is confronting our International Union in New York City.

THE WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' LOCALS

The raincoat making industry has, in the past year and a half, undergone no material changes as an industry and has produced no new or striking problems affecting work standards for the workers employed in it. Its seasons in 1924 were quite poor and the workers in the shops had a hard time of it trying to eke out an existence. The second half of 1925, however, brought a remarkable revival in the raincoat shops and the present season in this trade, especially in New York, is perhaps one of the best its workers ever had. The tendency for the manufacturing of men's topcoats in raincoat shops which became quite prevalent in the last couple of years appears, too, to have disappeared as the raincoat manufacturers seem to confine themselves now almost entirely to the making of rainproof wear.

Local 20, New York

The local of raincoat makers in New York, Local 20, has since the Boston convention, twice renewed its agreement with the employers in the New York market.

The contract in this trade in New York City expires annually on August 1st. The local notified the manufacturers' association in the industry of its readiness to renew the agreement two weeks prior to its expiration in July, 1924, presenting no new demands in view of the depressed conditions in the shops. The employers signed the agreements in due time for

another year. Local 20 succeeded also in signing up some firms which until then did not have union shops and which had bitterly fought off every attempt of the union to unionize them.

In 1925, Local 20 renewed its agreement with the employers after short preliminary negotiations, despite the fact that only a few weeks before the expiration of the agreement some firms in the trade notified the union that they expected some concessions in the form of the abolition of several legal holidays, wage reductions, etc. The local, however, refused to even consider such proposals and the agreement was continued without a fight. The local, however, declined this year to settle with some employers who in the past have been conducting sub-standard unsanitary shops, insisting that these must either comply with standards of industrial decency or go out of business.

The local has also conducted in the last year successful single strikes against several jobbers and manufacturers who were sending out work to non-union shops in Long Island and other near-by localities. Local 20, during the last year, became involved in a controversy with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in New York City which arose over the reported intention of the latter organization to claim jurisdiction over a raincoat shop alleged to have been manufacturing men's coats. The matter was, however, straightened out after the officers of the Amalgamated learned all the facts in this case and refused to deal with this firm, disclaiming any jurisdiction over it.

Meyer Polinsky was manager of Local 20 during 1924 and was succeeded in 1925 by Brother David Gingold. Abraham Weingart is the present secretary of the raincoat workers' local of New York.

Local 7, Boston

The Boston raincoat trade practically became extinct in 1924, and most of the members of Local 7, formerly the raincoat workers of that city, went to work in Amalgamated shops on men's topcoats.

Recently, however, raincoat manufacture appears to be reviving again in Boston and there is a probability that the local will take on new life.

Chicago Raincoat Makers, Local 54

The Chicago raincoat industry, the third in size in the country, is represented in the I. L. G. W. U. by Local 54. It is a part of the Chicago Joint Board.

Its condition today is about the same as that of two years ago. It has considerable influence in the local trade, though it does not control work conditions in it fully. There still remain in Chicago, and in nearby localities, several non-union raincoat shops which the local is still unable to unionize though attempts in this direction have been made by it in the past.

Local 54 has no collective agreement with local employers. In the few union shops where its members are employed, labor conditions are approximately the same as prevail in raincoat shops in New York.

THE LADIES' TAILORS, LOCAL 38

Local 38, the Ladies' Tailors' and Alteration Workers' Union of New York, had a strike in the whole trade in October, 1924, to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers as embodied in the new agreements in the trade.

The agreements in the ladies' tailoring trade in New York, with the individual shop-owners as well as with the group of employers organized as the Couturiers' Division of the National Garment Association, expired on September 15. The Local began preparations for the renewal of these agreements in August, 1924, and obtained from the General Executive Board its sanction of the terms of the proposed contract and also authorization to call a strike to enforce it if necessary. The conference committee of the local was headed by Boris Drasin, manager of Local 38, and Vice-president Samuel Lefkovits was appointed by the G. E. B. to represent it at the conference of the local with the employers. The new contract demanded an increase in wages, a shorter work-day, a time employment guaranty, and several other changes. The Union also planned to start an energetic drive at about the same time for the unionizing of as many non-union workers as the pre-strike agitation might attract.

The negotiations with the shop owners lasted for several weeks, accompanied by an intensive drive on the part of the

local to strengthen its ranks. It appeared, however, that a strike was unavoidable, and on October 2, 1924, Local 38 called upon all the workers in the trade to leave the shops. The response to the strike was general and very gratifying. Within a few days the majority of the workers returned to the shops after the Union had signed an agreement with the Couturiers' Division. The other shops were signed up a short time afterward, accepting the terms of the Union, which included a substantial wage increase.

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Early in 1925 the Ladies' Tailors Local, encouraged by the District Council, met jointly with shop representatives of the Private Dressmakers' Union Local 90 to discuss plans for organizing the large number of unorganized private and custom dressmakers in the fashionable uptown shops in New York City. These non-union workers have offered a grave problem to both Local 38 and Local 90 for a number of years past, and these locals were now attempting to reach a plan whereby they might cooperate in obtaining some concrete results in this direction. It may be stated here that in a large number of these fashionable establishments the tailors are members of Local 38, while the women workers are unorganized and work for much lower wages. The result of these conferences was the appointment of a joint organization committee of active workers of both locals placed, first, under the supervision of a woman organizer, Miss Goldie Share and, later, Miss Alexia Smith, assigned for this task by the International Office.

This joint committee carried on organizing work for several months during the spring and summer of 1925. It, however, achieved but meager results. To begin with, the number of active workers who joined this committee was not large enough to carry on an extensive agitation. Secondly, it became quite evident that hardly any results could be obtained in efforts to organize English-speaking native American women workers by methods that were practical and used to bring results in our old organizing campaigns among the Jewish or Italian-speaking workers in the other ladies' garment trades. Other and more modern methods of approach and contact will have to be adopted in our organizing drive if we expect encouraging returns. The General Executive Board

will touch upon this particular subject in another part of this report.

Probably the chief occurrence in the life of Local 38 in 1925 was its amalgamation with the Private Dressmakers' Local No. 90, which took place shortly after they had formed a joint committee for organizing the unorganized workers in both trades.

It will be recalled that the Boston Convention had gone on record favoring a merger of these two locals and leaving the consummation of this plan to a sub-committee of the G. E. B. For a number of months, however, this proposal lay dormant as neither Local 38 nor Local 90 evinced enough interest in the matter. Toward the beginning of 1925, the private dressmakers, having become convinced that such a merger would add greatly to the efficiency of their local, decided to press the matter again. The ladies' tailors, after several meetings called for the purpose of discussing this amalgamation, finally decided to unite with Local 90, and, after the G. E. B. at its meeting in Chicago in June, 1925, sanctioned this amalgamation, the locals became merged into one organization. Boris Drasin, for several years the manager of Local 38, has become the manager of the consolidated local, the Ladies' Tailors, Theatrical Costume, Private Dressmakers' and Alteration Workers' Union, Local 38.

The united local of the ladies' tailors and the private dress-makers has before it as extensive a field for organizing activity as confronts any organization of the I. L. G. W. U., in New York or elsewhere. While the ladies' tailoring trade is substantially organized in New York City, the private dress-making industry, which is very large and prosperous in New York, is only partly organized. It is estimated that there are not less than eight thousand women workers in fashionable shops who do not belong to our Union. It must also be kept in mind that these women workers are not of the badly underpaid or mistreated class of workers. On the other hand, owners of the high grade shops offer them a great many inducements to stay out of the Union, and watch carefully that the Union message shall not reach them. They are also, as we mentioned above, nearly all English-speaking, mostly of German-American or Irish-American stock. To enroll them in the

organization is a big task and naturally is not the task only of Local 88. It is the business of the International Union as a whole, and the convention should consider the problem of organizing the great mass of the private dressmakers of New York intelligently, and provide the means for it.

CHICAGO LADIES' TAILORS, LOCAL 104

The ladies' tailors local of Chicago, Local 104, has in the past year and a half undergone no change worthwhile recording.

As before, it controls a number of ladies' tailors shops, though it cannot be said that its influence extends to the entire local industry. Except for minor clashes, it has had no strike of importance since 1921, when the local merchant women's tailors sought to break it by a lockout.

There is an association of employers in this trade in Chicago, but Local 104 has no collective agreement with it. It enters into individual agreements with employers, and is a part of the Chicago Joint Board.

THE BUTTON WORKERS' LOCAL

Before the button workers' union became a part of the I. L. G. W. U. in 1923, they had been in existence for three years without amounting to anything as a factor in their trade. In the spring of that year the International Office started an active organization campaign in the celluloid button shops, which came to a head in July and resulted in a general strike. The button workers returned to their shops under an agreement which provided for a forty-four hour week, week-work instead of piece work, a collective agreement with an employers' association which had meanwhile been formed in the trade. Their most important gain, however, was the forming of a union, a local which enlisted about a thousand members, most all of them working in celluloid button shops. Harry Dubinsky, in 1914 a member of the General Executive Board of our International, was the leading spirit in that strike and was for two years afterwards the manager of Local 132.

In the first year of its existence as an International local, Local 132 carried on its work in a more or less satisfactory way, though it, from the start, had a difficult task in maintaining the gains acquired in 1923, owing to the character of the

trade, insecurity of seasons, and the racial complexion of the local itself, which is composed of Jews, Italians, Spaniards, Negroes and native whites. In the summer of 1924 Local 132 made an effort to unionize the covered button workers, and with the aid of the International succeeded in August of that year in calling out on strike a number of these shops and gaining several hundred new members. The forty-four week and a minimum scale of forty dollars a week were introduced into these shops.

Since the fall of 1924, however, Local 132 has been on a down grade. Notwithstanding the collective agreement with the celluloid manufacturers signed in August of the previous year, the employers kept on violating it, acting as if no agreement existed in the trade at all. These violations included employment of non-union workers and discrimination against union members. When the drive in the miscellaneous trades began in the early months of 1925, it was decided to call these workers out on strike to force the employers to live up to their agreement. This walk-out, however, brought little result, as it met with poor response among the workers, and the pressure of the unprecedented poor season which followed it contributed to the general depression which embraced the local and paralyzed all its activities. As a matter of fact the button shops were actually closed down for a number of months, and the trade became stagnant.

Today Local 132 is but a shadow, as only a small part of its membership, mostly covered button workers, remains organized, and the number of union shops in the trade is correspondingly small. The button trade is beset with a multitude of special evils which demoralize trade conditions in it and make the existence of a compact and unified labor organization in it a matter of exceptional difficulty. The button workers had great trouble in keeping up a small organization in their trade before they joined the International, and it would seem that these inherent drawbacks have not become eliminated since they joined the I. L. G. W. U. While not an integral part of the ladies' garment trades, and related to them only in an indirect way, we still feel that it is our duty to help them to organize themselves and to make it possible for them to earn a decent living. The convention will do well to consider the status of the button workers and to recommend some action concerning it.

TUCKERS', PLEATERS' AND HEMSTITCHERS' LOCAL 41

The organizing activity carried on by the International Union among the tuckers, hemstitchers, pleaters, and novelty workers during January and February 1924, which resulted in a strike in these trades in March of that year, brought about, first, the formation of a substantial local of the workers in the novelty shops, and, second, the winning of very much improved work conditions in a large majority of the shops in the trade. A collective agreement, which provided for a permanent impartial chairman, guaranteed the workers a forty-two hour week, and fixed minimum scales for all the branches of the trade, giving substantial increases over existing wages,— was entered with a group of employers, which formed an association.

Contrary to expectation, the first year of the life of Local 41 was not one of steady and peaceful growth. It became involved in several shop strikes and its dealings with the employers' association were often strained. They, nevertheless, succeeded in retaining the acquired work standards in practically all the shops.

In March 1925, Local 41, with the aid of Vice-president Jacob Halpern, succeeded in renewing the agreement with the manufacturers' association in the trade for two years. Early in the negotiations between both parties it looked as if a breach was imminent. After considerable difficulties, the agreement was, nevertheless, signed on March 24, 1925 and subsequently ratified by the workers. In its main features the new agreement resembled the old pact, with a few innovations such as the adoption of the union label and a five per cent wage increase for some branches of work.

The new agreement between Local 41 and the Tuckers' and Pleaters' Association, however, did not last long. It was abrogated a few months later, after the local had tasted the bad faith of this group of employers and their failure to carry out the obligations they assumed when they entered into a contract with the local. The local has now individual agreements with the union shops in the trade.

Local 41 is, at the time of this writing, engaged in a bitter fight growing out of a strike and lockout in several of the largest shops in the trade. These firms formerly belonged to the disbanded association, and now are obviously making a desperate

effort to "get through" with the union and to break up the local, if they only can. The tuckers, however, are putting up a brave fight and they are hopeful that they will bring these lockout employers to terms in the near future.

THE NEW YORK DESIGNERS' LOCAL

The organization of the designers in the ladies' wear industry in New York, Local 45, is today practically in the same situation as it was early in 1924 before the Boston convention.

Though organized for nearly eight years, it can hardly be said that the cloak and dress designers have displayed in these years any particular genius for organization. From time to time a sporadic organization drive is started among them, only to peter out in a brief space of time, leaving the local without any consequential results.

This lack of cohesion among the designers is even more remarkable in view of the fact that as a group they have been treated far from well by the employers in the cloak and dress industry; they are suffering from as many trade evils and have as many real grievances as the rest of the workers in these trades.

Right now, a new organizing move is being set on foot among the designers and an effort is being made to increase the membership of the local. If the New York Joint Board will render them material aid, the designers may hope to accomplish some results and become a more influential organization. The effort made by the International Union and the Joint Board last summer to include the designers in the general cloak and dress agreements aroused strong opposition from the organized employers and for the time being did not materialize. Another effort must be made next spring, when negotiations will start anew in the cloak industry, to give the designers a measure of protection of work standards and earnings, as is given to all other wage earners in our industry.

GARMENT SALESPeOPLE'S UNION LOCAL 131

The small organization of the salespeople employed in cloak and dress retail stores, Local 131, was admitted into the International about six 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, perhaps not the immediate one, of our International Union, which it will some day have to tackle.

OUT-OF-TOWN ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT

The Out-of-Town Organization Department, organized in August, 1922, by the mandate of the Cleveland convention, to meet the need of organizing the workers in our trades in the small towns located near the big garment making markets, carried on its work in the past year and a half in a satisfactory way, holding its membership and locals despite some unfavorable conditions in this or that locality. It even succeeded in organizing two new locals, and has retained fully all the old locals, with a membership of nearly 3,500. These organizations are located in near-by Westchester County, Connecticut and New Jersey cities and on Long Island.

The task of maintaining these locals, of defending their existence in these small towns against the combined influence of the employers, mostly contractors for New York jobbers and manufacturers, and the conservative and unfriendly-to-union labor local authorities and public sentiment, is not an easy one. That the Out-of-Town Department has, in face of these difficulties, succeeded in more than holding its own is, therefore, quite an achievement. As we stated already the locals affiliated with it, some twenty-eight in number, have all been preserved and union conditions kept up in all the shops where their members work, and this has meant a great deal for the New York organizations, as anyone familiar with our out-of-town problems knows.

The most serious fight which this department has had in the past period, was the strike in the Reliable Cloak Company of Camden, N. J., a strike which began early in 1924, and ended only after ten months of fighting, in the course of which the

workers in that shop have had to endure every form of persecution, assaults on the picket line, hounding by "strong-arm" men, court injunctions and workhouse sentences. The strike cost the International nearly \$50,000, and had finally to be given up after the firm had practically given up the shop.

A few concrete figures will illustrate the widely scattered activity of this department and the practical problems it is facing in carrying on its work. During the past eighteen months, it has had 94 shop strikes, of which 14 occurred in the Mount Vernon district, where Brother Louis Maggio is in charge; 16 in the Connecticut territory, under the supervision of Brother Bernard Shub; 26 took place in Long Island and Staten Island under the direction of Brother Philip Oretsky; 20 occurred in the New Jersey district—Hackensack, Hoboken, Jersey City—where Brothers Abraham Rosenberg and Durante are in charge, and 18 shops were called out in the Newark, N. J. district, which includes the towns of Passaic, Orange, Linden, Roselle and Summit, under the direction of Brother Max Bruck.

It must be kept in mind that all these cloak and dress shops are either sub-manufacturing or contractor factories working for New York jobbers or manufacturers, and it may be easily realized what moral and practical effect this steady and stringent control over work conditions in these shops has had on the situation in New York City. In practically every instance, these strikes ended successfully, notwithstanding the hardships which are encountered in the carrying on of strikes in small towns and the bitter opposition which the representatives of the Union and the strikers meet from all sides.

Among the special activities of the Out-of-Town Department during the past year and a half it is important to record the help it had given the Knit Goods Workers' local, chartered by the I. L. G. W. U. in 1924. Vice-president Halperin conducted for several months a lively drive in that trade which later resulted in a strike in one large shop which cost the International a considerable sum of money. This industry, which includes the making of knit women's garments, had gone through a period of terrible depression last year, and this local did not make as great headway as we hoped it would. The Out-of-Town Department also collected during the past year tens of thousands of dollars in back pay and compelled scores of delinquent employers in its territory to meet the unemployment insurance

payments. Vice-president Halperin also took an active part in negotiating the agreements with the employers in the tucking and hemstitching trade in 1925.

The Out-of-Town Department gave the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board its full cooperation during the cloak stoppage of 1924. The entire machinery of the department and its staff were turned over to the strike committee and for several weeks it covered all of the out-of-town work connected with the stoppage. Vice-president Jacob Halperin is the manager of this department.

Vice-president Halperin has during the past term also visited Baltimore a number of times, addressing meetings of the Baltimore organization and helping during the strike in 1924.

State District Councils

The state district councils formed in 1923 in Connecticut and New Jersey—with eight and twelve locals respectively—for the purpose of better coordination of organizing work, have been functioning regularly since the Boston convention, holding state meetings from time to time and doing everything possible to help each other to strengthen their organizations by mutual effort. The Connecticut District Council, of which Brother Bernard Shub is the organizer, has shown considerable activity in endeavoring to awaken interest in the Union among the Bridgeport corset workers, and in weeding out non-union shops in Norwalk and Stamford. The New Jersey District Council, with Abraham Rosenberg at its head, has done some effective organizing work in its territory. The periodical meetings of these councils have served as an effective medium for bringing together the more active workers of these groups, teaching them how to face common problems and how to solve them, and in general giving them a stronger sense of belonging to one large organization, with one main purpose and program of action.

THE CORSET INDUSTRY

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, we have had for a number of years two locals of workers in the corset industry of that city,—Local 33, corset operators, composed exclusively of women, and Local 34, corset cutters, consisting of men. Before and dur-

ing the war these two locals gave signs of unusual promise. There was a scarcity of workers of this line in Bridgeport and other corset cities; the women flocked into the organization and at one time Local 33 numbered over two thousand members.

The depression which overtook the corset trade after 1919, the tremendous shrinkage in corset making resulting from the change of styles which cut the demand for corsets more than half, has practically demoralized Local 33 and put it out of business for some time. In 1923 the arbitrary pressure which amounted to open persecution in the shops, brought about some revival among the Bridgeport corset workers, and this local again began to show signs of life. The formation of the Connecticut District Council helped to infuse new life in the more active element of these workers and in removing some of the hopeless apathy which prevailed among them.

This revival, however, did not last long and the women corset workers of Bridgeport soon slumped back into a state of inactivity. The Corset Cutters' Union, Local 34, however, have kept up all during these years their organization, which embraced practically every cutter in Bridgeport. In April, 1925, the corset cutters undertook to help the corset operators to begin anew the work of organization in the corset trade. With the aid of Vice-president Halperin, the manager of the Out-of-Town Department of the I. L. G. W. U., Local 34 has held several meetings jointly with Local 33, and discussed with them the problems of the local industry, the mass of accumulated grievances in the shops and plans for interesting the corset workers of Bridgeport to join the existing locals of the I. L. G. W. U. in their trade.

This educational work is beginning to show some results. The organizing committee of the cutters' local held during last summer several indoor and outdoor meetings and entertainments, and have distributed special circulars at regular intervals in front of the shops. This work is being kept up regularly by Local 34 and Organizer Bernard Shub.

Nevertheless, while Local 33 has gained some members in the last six months, and while the old group of active workers is still loyally supporting it, it is still a long way off from a position of influence in the local trade. The job of organizing the thousands of corset operators in Bridgeport is at best just be-

ginning. It will take a great amount of steady, unflagging effort to accomplish it. A committee of Local 33 has called upon the General Office last summer to give it greater assistance in launching a big campaign in the corset shop. Unfortunately, the International was not in a position to give them such aid at this time.

OUR ITALIAN WORKERS

The importance of the Italian element in the ladies' garment trades has, if anything, grown in the past few years, both numerically and as a factor of influence.

The two big locals composed exclusively of Italian workers in New York City,—Local 48, the Italian cloakmakers, and Local 89, the Italian dressmakers,—have maintained their full strength during this period. They occupy a front-rank position among Italian labor organizations in the country and exert a strong and beneficial influence on the life of the Italian workers in our trades.

The tendency for separate Italian locals in the I. L. G. W. U. is still in evidence. The General Executive Board, while not in favor of fostering racial or national organizations, nevertheless, is frequently compelled to recognize the necessity for chartering a lingual group of workers in order to facilitate organizing work and for the sake of keeping a national group of workers closer together and more efficiently organized and managed.

Since the Boston convention, the G. E. B. issued a charter to another group of Italian workers, the cloakmakers of Boston, who are known now as Local 80. This brings the number of Italian-speaking locals in the I. L. G. W. U. to six. The International has continued the employment of several Italian organizers in the metropolitan district of New York, and in several other localities.

ORGANIZING NEGRO WORKERS

The number of Negro workers in our trades, particularly in the dress trades in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Baltimore continues to increase. There are probably not less than five thousand of them in our principal markets though only a minority of these workers have so far joined our Union.

It is a generally known fact that the I. L. G. W. U. bars no worker on the ground of race, tongue or religion. That it welcomes Negro workers into its ranks has been shown by the continued efforts of our dress locals in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia to enroll them into the Union on terms of perfect equality. A considerable number of Negro women workers are employed in the non-union dress shops in the above named cities, and the problem of their becoming members of our organization is probably but a part of the general problem of unionizing all the workers in these shops, white and black alike.

In the Chicago dress strike of last year, the Negro workers who walked out with the white girls showed on the whole fine fighting qualities. The same may be said, in a general way, of the conduct of the Negro members of our Union in recent strikes in New York and in Philadelphia.

During the last year, there was set on foot in New York City an earnest movement by both black and white trade unionists to extend organization activity among the 75,000 Negro wage earners in New York. Several of our locals responded warmly to the call for cooperation issued by that group. In the next large organizing movement that the International undertakes in New York City or its other principal markets, it might be well to consider the employment of special Negro organizers to bring the message of unionism closer to these workers.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FUND

The first payments into the Unemployment Insurance Fund began in August, 1924. The trustees of the Fund decided, in view of lack of time for preparation of a proper distribution machinery and an insufficiency of funds accumulated during the few months of the Fall season, to begin benefit payments only after the Spring season of 1925.

On February 3rd, 1925, the Board of Trustees of the Fund met and adopted rules for the payment of unemployment benefits. It was decided that the official season periods for benefit payment purposes be fixed from February 1st to July 31st for the Spring season and from August 1st to January 31st for the Fall season. It was also agreed that the date for the beginning of payment of unemployment benefits be June 1st,

1925, and that the operative date for the beginning of computing unemployed time subject to benefits be set to February 1st, 1925.

The Trustees further decided that 17 full weeks shall constitute a working season and that members working that many weeks shall not be entitled to benefits. A recognized dull period of nine weeks was fixed during which term members would not be entitled to unemployment benefits.

Eligibility for benefits was based upon, a) member's belonging to the Union for at least 1 year; b) employment in the New York market for at least 1 year; c) registration at the Fund's office and reporting regularly during unemployment at periods to be agreed upon; and d) registration for the full week when unemployed and not appearing on the firm's payroll for the week.

The amount of benefit was fixed in the following manner: \$10.00 a week, for a maximum of 12 weeks during the year: 6 weeks in the fall season and six weeks during the spring, making a maximum of \$120 a year. The worker must accumulate a full period of unemployment in each season before he is eligible for benefits.

In April, 1925, the Office of the Fund began preparatory work to organize the payment of unemployment benefits. As the time for payment of insurance benefits approached, it was found that the records of the office were incomplete. The shop reports did not come in regularly and the number of delinquents was large. In the case of many shops there was no information on the employment and unemployment of their workers, and, therefore, no basis on which to determine whether or not the workers were entitled to unemployment benefit, and, if entitled, to how many weeks. On the 8th of June, however, the payment of benefits was begun, on the assumption that the shops not reporting at that time and for a period prior to that time were closed and that their workers were not employed, and were entitled to unemployment benefits. The Fund employed for a time a staff of visiting inspectors who visited firms in an effort to get reports. The results, however, were not satisfactory, and the payments once started had to be continued on the assumption basis and not on the basis of reports.

As soon as the disbursing office of the Fund began its

operations, it became confronted with a number of difficulties. The number of registrants proved to be unexpectedly large. This was due to the fact that the registration started at the end of May, i. e. in the dull season, when most of the workers were unemployed. The payment of benefits was begun without information either as to the number of workers entitled to benefits, or, if so entitled, as to the number of weeks. This resulted from the incompleteness of the records, and because practically all the workers in the industry considered themselves entitled to unemployment benefits. Another difficulty was that the system of issuing benefit checks to each worker separately brought all the workers to the payment office and multiplied the work connected with the payments. It is not unnatural under such circumstances that the disbursement office of the Fund could not cope with the situation adequately and was not in a position to give adequate service to the people entitled to benefits.

This caused a great deal of grumbling on the part of the workers, and compelled the officers of the fund to provide more space for registration complaints and payments, and also to modify somewhat the rules with reference to registration, complaints and payments. Instead of registering in person, workers attached to shops were required to report through the shop chairman; complaints were also received through shop chairmen for the workers in their shops, and whenever and wherever possible, benefits were paid to all the workers of a shop at the same time.

As regards the outstanding facts connected with the operation of the Unemployment Fund during its first season, it is important to record the following:

The total amount contributed to the fund for the period February 1st to July 1st, was \$707,763, and the total amount paid out in benefits was \$1,062,360. In addition to the latter amount the administration expenses of the Fund were, approximately, \$80,000, which means total disbursements and expenditures of \$1,142,360. In other words the Fund paid out \$462,597 more than it took in during the period from February 1st to July 31st, 1925.

The number of workers receiving unemployment benefit and the number contributing to the Fund were practically the same. According to estimates, 30,000 workers made contribu-

tions and, according to the records, 28,934 workers received unemployment benefit. In other words, for the same number of workers there was for the season a per capita contribution of \$23.00 and a per capita unemployment benefit and operating expense of \$40.00.

It is estimated by the Fund officers that the over-payments were between \$150,000 and \$200,000., i.e. paid either to workers who were not entitled to any benefit at all, or to workers who received more than they should have under the rules of the Fund and on the basis of records of employment obtained later.

Notwithstanding the large, even excessive, amount paid out in benefits, there was considerable dissatisfaction among the workers subsequent to August 1st, the end of the season. More than 25,000 workers registered protests either individually or through shop chairmen and claimed additional benefits.

It seems certain that the employment of a large number of inspectors for a short time at the end of each season to obtain reports in all shops is about the only thing which will reduce considerably, if not eliminate entirely, the possibilities of overpayment. Special registration of the unattached workers, such as have no permanent shops, floating workers of shops which require extra help from time to time, must also be had in order to build up a complete record for benefit payment. And in order to have an efficient system of registering unemployed workers, the registration must be begun, not at the time of practical general unemployment, but at the beginning of each working season, when the workers are employed in the shops and cannot therefore claim complete unemployment. This would mean that only those who during the busy season are unattached to any shops will be registering. These workers, so registered, must re-register about once a week all through the season during the time of their unemployment. A system of registration by local on specific days, if introduced, might also prevent a good deal of the confusion which may be created by having all the unemployed workers register at the same time.

It might also be desirable to change from the system of payment to individuals to one of payment by shops. It would finish with the workers of a shop in the shortest possible time; it would ensure payments of such uniformity in a shop that the number

of complaints would be lessened; it would avoid the experience of the last season when workers of one shop were paid different sums, although they claimed the same hours of employment and unemployment. These shop payments should be made in the presence of the shop chairman, and possibly the business agent of the Union in charge. Another constructive suggestion is the payment of one check for each worker for the season. This would result in tremendous saving of clerical work and would appreciably reduce the expenditure connected with the present system of paying benefits. It would also give better service and satisfaction to the workers, especially if the payments are made by shop. It would diminish the overcrowding in the disbursement offices and would materially reduce the number of complaints on this account.

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For the current season, a change in the method of payment was ordered by the Governor's Commission, placing the responsibility for the payment of the employer's contribution directly upon the jobber. This involves a complete change in the method of collection and recording. Like all changes in a system, it will require a greater part of the season for education and adjustment of the parties to the new arrangement. To facilitate making out shop reports by the employer, and to eliminate duplication of work upon his part in the keeping of numerous records, the Fund has furnished to all firms a payroll book. This is a step forward in that it will not only tend to insure securing our reports more promptly, but also because it will establish in the long run a uniform payroll record throughout the industry. The book is a distinct improvement upon the form previously in use, particularly insofar as it identifies the worker through his local and ledger number. Changes based upon the first season's payment experience have been initiated in the registration and payment division of the Fund that will undoubtedly make not only for more efficient operation of the office but also for the convenience and comfort of the workers. Unemployment payment checks will be delivered to the workers of a shop as a unit in the shop on a definite appointed date. Only unattached workers of the industry will be required to call at the payment office for their checks.

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In summing up the review of the functioning of the Unemployment Fund in the first year of its activity, the General

Executive Board desires to point out that, while this Fund has encountered some very serious difficulties in its experimental stage, some of them unavoidable, and that it may yet face some obstacles that it will strive to overcome, the unemployment insurance idea has on the whole been adopted by the industry and the Fund will continue to grow and become from year to year and from season to season a more and more stabilized institution in all our trades. Our industry must be prepared to ameliorate in any way possible the horrors of unemployment which afflict it. Unemployment insurance is a constructive step in this direction, and the Fund, after it has passed its initial periods and has learned to profit from its past mistakes, will become increasingly more useful and valuable to our workers and to all the other factors who are directly concerned in it.

THE SANITARY UNION LABEL

Elsewhere in this report, mention is made of the inauguration of a sanitary label, first in the cloak industry and subsequently in the dress industry of New York, during 1924 and in the spring of 1925.

The adoption of a label in the cloak industry came as a result of the recommendation of Governor Smith's Mediation Commission, which was accepted by all parties in the industry. The administration of the label and the control of its distribution was turned over, with the consent of both parties, to the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, which organized a Label Division for this purpose and asked Dr. Henry Moskowitz to become its director.

The sanitary or "Prosanis" label is the culmination of fifteen years of constructive educational effort on the part of the Union to introduce an effective safeguard against the manufacture of women's garments in unclean and unsanitary shops. Fifteen years ago the first step in this direction was taken by the Union when it organized the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, whose task it was to enforce sanitation and fire prevention safeguards in cloak, and later in dress shops, in New York City. The work of this Sanitary Board alone, however, could not act as a sufficient barrier against the steady growth of the small sub-standard shop, largely non-union, which in recent years has become a menace to the industry and to the living and work-standards of the workers especially.

The object of the sanitary union label, which was accepted by the representatives of the Union after the negotiations with the employers during the summer of 1924, in place of the regular union label which the Union's committee demanded at first, is two-fold. Its first aim is to secure the manufacture in union shops of every cloak and dress produced in the New York market, as the label is issued only to manufacturers having contractual relations with the Union, whose shops are certified by the Sanitary Board's inspectors as being free from all defects in fire protection and sanitation.

Its second object, closely related to the first, is to safeguard the public against sweat-shop and tenement-house production, on the one hand, and the elimination from the industry of the unwholesome and irresponsible type of petty employer, who has no regard for the public health and for standards of cleanliness in the manufacture of women's garments. It may thus be seen clearly that while the sanitary label is not designated as a strictly Union label, the rule and method of its application and distribution make it such that, in addition to its service to the workers as a means of protecting their living conditions, it also renders a distinct service to the consuming public by enforcing the manufacture of an important necessity under a high standard of cleanliness.

The sanitary label in the cloak and dress industry was registered on March 31, 1925, with the Patent Office, Washington, D. C., as the "Prosanis" label. The Label Division of the Sanitary Joint Board adopted a black on white design for the cloak trade and a blue on white design for the dress trade. The first label was issued in the cloak and suit industry September 22, 1924, and on January 15, 1925, scarcely four months after it was introduced, 1189 out of a total of 1500 registered Union shops had purchased labels for their garments. The label in the dress industry scored a similar success in the first few months after its adoption in April 1925. Out of a total of 1300 Union shops 1060 firms responded by July 1925 to the efforts of the Union and the Label Division and purchased labels.

There is no doubt that under normal conditions the "Prosanis" label would have become 100 per cent operative in both industries in the course of another year. It is to be regretted, however, that owing to the turmoil and the great disturbance in our Union during last summer the figures for the present

fall season are not as favorable as they were during previous months, when the figures for the two periods are compared. On October 15, 1924, only three weeks after the first label had been issued in the cloak and suit industry, 568 firms had purchased labels; while during the six weeks from September 1st to October 15th, 1925, in the second year of the label's existence only 397 firms purchased labels. In the dress and waist industry, the figures are even more discouraging. During the three months April, May and June, 1925, 1060 firms ordered labels; during the four months July, August, September and October, 1925, only 384 purchased them.

On the whole, however, the sanitary Union label, although only in existence a year, has received the endorsement of a number of women's organizations and of many leaders in every walk of life throughout the country, and nearly ten million labels had been issued by the Label Division of the Sanitary Joint Board up to October 15, 1925. The work of supervision and control of the label, however, did not rest with this Label Division alone. In order to make such a control effective and to exert proper pressure on delinquent firms to live up to the standards required by the Union and the Sanitary Board, the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board organized last year a Label office under the supervision of Brother Charles Jacobson. This office has organized systematic contact with all the shops in the industry, working in cooperation with the business agents and district managers, and bringing pressure on all the factors in the industry to use the "Prosanis" Label.

There is hardly any doubt by this time that the sanitary Union label has come to stay in the industry. It has a distinct mission for rendering service to the workers, the consuming public and to the industry as a whole. The temporary setback it received in the last few months is not due to any lessening of its importance as a stabilizing influence in our trades but rather is the effect of the upsetting of many of the normal activities of the Union, which resulted from the recent outbreak of internal warfare in our ranks. As things in general are returning to normal and as the Union resumes the steady pursuit of its normal functions, the steady growth of the sanitary Union Label in our industry and its rigid and universal control will be resumed.

UNION LABEL FOR AUXILIARY TRADES

At the first meeting of the General Executive Board after the Boston convention, the question of a union label for the auxiliary trades in New York City was taken up and it was decided to go ahead with its practical realization without delay.

The convention indorsed such a label for the embroidery and other ornamental and novelty trades on the ground that it would not only tend to strengthen the International as a whole but it would place the non-union shops in these miscellaneous trades under strict union control. The practical steps in this direction were—the designation of such a label, the printing of it, and its distribution among the label custodians in the shops.

There was another essential thing required to make the label in these trades operative. Embroidery, buttons, tucking and hemstitching and other novelties are being used principally in cloak and dress shops. In order to put life into the distribution of such a label it was necessary therefore to make the cloak and dress firms demand the label, and this could only be effected by making the chairmen in the shops, and the active workers in them, cooperate with the label committees in the auxiliary trades. In other words, the full cooperation of the Joint Board in New York was required to make this campaign of the miscellaneous locals for the union label its own campaign and task. It was also necessary that the International embody label clauses in all agreements with employers, with individual employers and with employers' associations, providing for the placing of such labels on each garment or part of a garment passing through the hands of workers employed in the auxiliary shops, on one hand; and the obligatory requirement to have only such labeled parts used in shops where cloaks or dresses are made, on the other.

After some weeks of negotiations, the first practical step in this direction was taken by the International on August 12, 1924, when it agreed with the Allied Lace and Embroidery Manufacturers that beginning September 2nd the placing of a union label on every garment accessory manufactured in the factories owned or controlled by their members would become obligatory upon them. Under the special clause of the Joint Board's agreement with the Dress Manufacturers' Association, Inc., and

with the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, the union label on garment accessories is obligatory, and with the aid of the shop chairmen and the stimulating influence of the Joint Board, it was felt that its use could be made general and permanent in a brief space of time.

The next to adopt the label as part of the agreement with the employers in their trades were the Bonnaz Embroiderers, Local No. 66; the Button Workers, Local 132; and the Tuckers, Hemstitchers and Novelty Workers, Local 41. A Label Committee was organized by the District Council in the Miscellaneous Trades to aid in the agitation for the label and in the practical distribution of it. General Secretary Baroff, by virtue of his office, became the general custodian of the label.

The carrying into effect of this very important measure, however, encountered from the start a very serious impediment in the failure of the Joint Board to give the auxiliary locals and the District Council full cooperation towards the enforcement of the label in cloak and dress shops. The council, and the locals most concerned in the auxiliary label, made repeated efforts to get such cooperation but the promise to give it remained largely on paper. Local 6, the Swiss Embroidery Workers, and Local 66, the Bonnaz Embroiderers, have continued to use the label on all parts manufactured in their shops, holding their employers to the contract obligation, but the cloak and dress shops appeared to have ignored the matter entirely. As a result, the purpose of the label—to put the non-union shops in the miscellaneous trades under control—has not materialized to any degree and the problem of the non-union shops remains in these trades as acute as ever. In the button-making trade and the novelty shops, the auxiliary label did not have even a real start, as these trades were not strongly enough organized to enforce it in their shops.

Such is the state of affairs with regard to this label at present. The convention will have to take up this matter in earnest and decide its future. The embroidery locals are looking forward to this convention to tell them whether they are to go ahead with this label in their shops. This label can be made, of this there is hardly a doubt, a very effective organizing agency in the auxiliary and accessory trades in the New York market, but it cannot be done by any local or locals single-handed. It must, for this purpose, obtain the cooperation of

the locals in the cloak and dress industry and of our entire organization.

THE UNION HEALTH CENTER

The Union Health Center, owned and directed by locals of the I. L. G. W. U. of New York City, has made, since May 1924, remarkable headway and has greatly increased its usefulness to the members of our organization in New York City.

The Health Center, as is known, maintains two clinics—a medical and a dental clinic, in addition to a life extension examination service opened only recently, which also shows gratifying progress. Already in September 1924 Dr. George M. Price, the director of the Center, saw fit to enlarge its medical staff to accommodate the members of Local 22, the Dress-makers' Union, who, on account of the newly established sick benefit fund in that local, have to undergo physical examinations to become eligible for such benefits. Two women physicians were added to its force.

A résumé of the activities of the Union Health Center for 1924 may be briefly stated as follows:

The number of patients treated in the Medical Clinic has increased from 4973 in 1920 to 10536 in 1924, while the examinations and treatments increased from 6631 to 22943. In the Dental Department the increase from 1920 to 1924 was from 1396 patients to 4586 patients, and the treatments from 13283 to 28939. These figures record a fourfold increase in both departments in the number of patients as well as in the number of treatments given within four years.

Corresponding with the number of patients and treatments given, the income and expenses of both departments have increased in a much greater proportion. The income of the Medical Department jumped from \$6771.09 in 1920 to \$37625.23 in 1924—nearly six times as much in four years. The increase in the Dental Clinic was also very considerable—from \$28033.86 in 1920 to \$64079.23 in 1924.

In 1924 the Union Health Center examined no less than 5811 applicants and candidates for admission to union membership, who were submitted to a thorough physical examination. The Health Center also attends to applicants for sick benefit in

the various locals affiliated with it which have such funds. No less an important work of the Center is the examination and supervision of the tuberculosis benefit which is given in practically all the locals of the Union. Finally the information bureau at the Health Center gives valuable information and advice to a great many persons who are in need of it.

During 1924 the Union Health Center established an extensive physio-therapeutic department, with a complete equipment of baking and electrical apparatus, where treatments are given at a nominal fee of a dollar each. During 1924 Locals 3, 82 and 22 joined the Health Center after having introduced sick benefit features in their organization. Another important event of 1924 was the holding of an entertainment and a ball, in which activity all the affiliated locals participated and which netted a surplus of over \$13,000.

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The principal event in the Union Health Center for 1925 was the enlargement of its Dental Clinic and a similar increase in the facilities of the Medical Department.

To meet the ever-growing demand for dental service on the part of I. L. G. W. U. members in New York City, the directors of the Health Center decided to move the Dental Clinic from its former quarters at 131 East 17th Street to a new, very much enlarged place at 224 Fourth Avenue, where it occupies now the entire sixth floor. The new clinic was reconstructed during the summer of 1925 and equipped at the expense of \$20,000. It employs twenty-five dentists and has twenty-five dental chairs. It is expected that the new clinic will provide ample facilities for the needs of our members in New York City and their families, eliminating overcrowding and protracted waiting. The space occupied before by the Dental Clinic in 131 East 17th Street was converted into five additional examination rooms for the Medical Department, a new children's clinic and an operating room for operations on nose, throat and ear.

Both the new Dental Clinic and the renovated Medical Department were opened on November 5 and 6, 1925, in the presence of a great throng of representatives of union labor, I. L. G. W. U. organizations, the medical profession, and delegates from many organizations interested in community hygiene and workers' health problems.

On the whole, the past year and a half has been a period of progress and advancement for the Union Health Center. It is now equipped more thoroughly and upon a much larger scale to meet the health work of our workers in New York City. Its new equipment involves a greater budget, naturally, and our workers in New York City should give it their undivided support and patronage if they want it to succeed.

THE JOINT BOARD OF SANITARY CONTROL

Last year the Joint Board of Sanitary Control completed its fourteenth year of existence as a joint agency for the enforcement of sanitation and fire inspection in the ladies' garment shops in Greater New York.

In reporting on the activities of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control for 1924, Dr. George M. Price, its director, stated that during the six weeks beginning September 1st and ending October 15th of that year, there were inspected in the cloak and suit and waist and dress industry, 3,786 shops, in which 63,185 persons were found to be working, of whom 36,302 were men and 26,883 women. 1,736 shops in the two industries were found with less than fourteen machines, and the bulk of the other shops, 1,436, had between fourteen and twenty-one machines. Only very few of the shops had more than twenty-one machines.

Of the 3,786 shops in both industries, 1,725 belong to the cloak and suit industry, while 2,061 are in the dress and waist. In the cloak and suit industry there has been a reduction of about 200 shops since 1923. As to the sanitary conditions of the shops in both industries, they were found pretty fair—about a thousand shops have been found in class A, which is the best type of shop; about 2,500 in class B, which are fair; and only 374 or less than 10 percent of all the shops in class C.

Since last year the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, as the delegates are aware, has organized a Label Division to enforce the regulations and rules of the sanitary union label in both industries. The label, it is expected, will bring about even stricter enforcement of health and sanitation standards in all shops and require an increase of the inspectorial force of the Board.

INTERNATIONAL UNION BANK

The International Union Bank, organized by our Union late in 1923 with the cooperation of the International Fur Workers' Union, the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' International Union, the International Pocketbook Workers' Union and the Forward Association, was opened for business on January 5th, 1924, as reported to our last Convention in Boston, and will be two years old in a few weeks.

It was formed, it will be recalled, with a capital and surplus of \$500,000, which was taken up by the groups which organized the bank and by such members of these groups as wanted to subscribe to the first stock issue. The opening of the bank was marked by an enthusiastic welcome given it by a great host of depositors from the ranks of our Union and many other labor organizations in New York City and outside. On the Board of Directors of the Bank were placed several vice-presidents of our International Union and representatives of the organizations associated with us in the forming of the Bank.

During the past eighteen months the Bank has shown a healthy and steady growth. From the original capital stock and surplus of \$500,000 the resources of the Bank have grown to nearly four and one-half million dollars, which represent a substantial amount of workers' savings and commercial accounts from business men in sympathy with the labor banking movement. The Bank has also done, since it was organized, a large business in money forwarding to all parts of the world and a brisk exchange business.

The stability and soundness of the International Union Bank received its first real test during July and August, 1924, when the general strike in the cloak industry took place. Some pessimists had predicted that a clash of such a nature, involving as it might the withdrawal of savings accounts by worker-depositors and the shrinkage of a number of commercial accounts by business firms in the cloak industry, would affect the bank materially. These forecasts fortunately did not prove true. The International Union Bank proved that it enjoys both the confidence of the workers and of the business world, and weathered the storm without any adverse effects whatever. As a matter of fact, right after the general stoppage the bank passed the three million mark on September 19, 1924 and has since been making continuous headway.

In October, 1924, the bank had three and one-half million dollars on deposit and by the beginning of 1925 it went over the four million dollar line. It is headed by the same two energetic and wide-awake managers, Mr. Philip R. Rodriguez in the capacity of vice-president and general manager; Phillip Kaplowitz as cashier. Abraham Baroff, the General Secretary-Treasurer of the International Union, is the president of the Bank. By the end of last year the bank had thirteen hundred commercial accounts and 2,550 savings accounts.

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In the spring of 1925 the Bank undertook, with the aid of a cooperative group specially organized for that purpose, to carry out a plan of cooperative housing for members of the International Union and other affiliated labor organizations. A large block of land was secured and plans were prepared for the construction of a 220-apartment house in a very desirable section of the Bronx on a rental basis of approximately eleven dollars per room. The work of construction was about to be begun when the recent upheaval in our Union in New York City interfered with it. In view of the confusion which ensued and which diverted the attention of most of the active workers to other activities, the bank did not deem it expedient to go ahead with the big construction plans. It was decided to give up the building of the cooperative apartment for a time and to sell the ground—in the hope that as soon as normal conditions came back and the minds of our workers turned again to rational and practical measures for improving their living and housing conditions, a cooperative undertaking of this kind would again be launched by the bank and carried through.

On the whole it may be stated that the two years of the bank's existence have fully proved its worthwhileness and usefulness to our workers and to the members of the other labor bodies associated with us in this enterprise. As the bank grows and its resources accumulate it will no doubt become a useful agency for the development of cooperative initiative and activity among our own unions, among the other organizations affiliated with us in this undertaking, and the labor movement in general.

FOREST PARK UNITY HOUSE

The Unity House at Forest Park, Pennsylvania, owned for nearly six years by the Dressmakers' Union of New York, passed over to the ownership of the International Union in December, 1924. The Boston Convention, it will be recalled, authorized the General Executive Board to take over the summer home at Forest Park and to run it for the benefit of all the local unions affiliated with the I.L.G.W.U. and also to improve and enlarge it so that it might afford wider facilities as a vacation place for our workers.

Since our last convention in Boston the Unity House had two seasons, that of the summer of 1924, still under its old administration, and the season of 1925 under the management of the General Office. The 1924 season was quite successful from the viewpoint of income, as the House made a substantial profit as compared with previous seasons. From every other point of view, the Unity House in 1924 did not fulfil its purpose as the summer house for the members of the I. L. G. W. U. The records for that summer show that more than fifty per cent of the guests at the House were outsiders, many of them not even members of trade unions. The atmosphere at the Unity House during that season was far from harmonious and frequent clashes and animosity between visitors representing various shades of opinion in the Union and the labor movement in general were very much in evidence.

After the International took over the ownership and management of the House, it placed Vice-president Schoenholtz, former secretary of the Dressmakers' Union, and an experienced executive, in charge of the House in February, 1925. He succeeded Brother Peter Rotenberg, who for two seasons past was in charge as manager of the Unity House. A mortgage of \$30,000 was raised at once and all through the winter and early spring of 1925 Brother Schoenholtz, assisted by Secretary Baroff, who became the chairman of the Unity House Committee, worked indefatigably with a small army of carpenters, painters and plumbers to renovate the House and to put it in good shape for the summer of 1925. By May 1st all renovations were practically completed. A number of rooms were added, new plumbing installed, a new library and reading room constructed, bathing facilities vastly improved and the kitchen and large dining room entirely reconstructed. The exterior of the

House and the several cottages adjoining it also underwent a change, the lawns and grounds were improved, and the entire Unity estate put on a different face, as it were.

The 1925 season was opened at Forest Park on June 12th and lasted thirteen weeks. The opening of the House was celebrated by a large gathering of five hundred guests and visitors, conspicuous among whom were President William Green of the American Federation of Labor and delegations from a number of friendly labor organizations in New York City, Philadelphia and Boston. The 1925 season at the Unity House was far more successful than any of the preceding six seasons at Forest Park, though the House failed to make money or even to cover its expenditures in view of the fact that the renovations above mentioned had cost a great sum of money and the House continually required additional outlays of money even during the season.

The ownership of the Unity House by the International Office achieved, however, one thing: namely, it attracted a greater number of visitors from the membership of our organization than ever before. Practically all the vacationists this summer at the Unity House, nearly 80 per cent, were members of the I. L. G. W. U., and for the first time in its existence the Unity House began actually to fulfill its mission — to be a workers' summer home in the full sense of the term.

The Unity House problem, though in a somewhat modified form, is still facing the International Union and requires undelayed solution. It is quite apparent that at the present rate of seventeen dollars a week for Union members the House accommodates its visitors at a loss of several dollars per week. There is not a vacation place in the East offering the quality of food, housing and recreation given by the Unity House which does not charge nearly twice the amount charged at Unity to I. L. G. W. U. members, and the increase in the number of vacationists from our locals this year has automatically added to the deficit incurred by the House, even though it has given us the satisfaction of catering primarily to the needs of our workers. Besides, the reconstruction program undertaken by the Unity House Committee last winter is by far not complete. Substantial sums will have to be spent on the House before it can be brought to first class condition. The convention, which is directly interested, we hope, in the progress and success of the House, should concern itself with ways and

means of making it less of a financial burden upon the General Office. If necessary, the rate charged at the Unity House should be increased and every other means possible taken to insure better attendance during the slower weeks of the season that would increase its revenue and place it on a paying basis.

In repeating, we might say again from every other viewpoint the 1925 season at Unity was a real success. It was marked by absence of friction, it offered the visitors a large number of educational entertainments, and a spirit of real fraternity prevailed in it from the day it was opened to the closing hour. The Unity House is a valuable institution and a source of real benefit to the members of our Union. During the seven years of its existence it has endeared itself to thousands of its members and has also found a host of friends throughout the labor movement. The International should not abandon it, but a concerted effort should be made to put it on a paying basis, which we believe is quite possible and can be done if we set our minds and hearts on achieving this object.

THE HISTORY OF THE I. L. G. W. U.

The delegates to this convention no doubt remember that the Cleveland convention of our Union in 1922 adopted a decision to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Union by publishing a complete and comprehensive history of the I. L. G. W. U. in time for the 1924 convention:

Much to our regret this book could not appear on scheduled time, and only an index to it was distributed to the delegates in Boston, which, however, gave us an advance taste of the book's contents. The book finally appeared in December, 1924. It was published for our International Union by the firm of B. W. Huebsch & Company of New York City.

The book presents a wide, stirring and living panorama of our development during the past twenty-five years, but it goes far beyond that. Parallel to the narrative of our growth, it tells the story of the entire labor movement during the past quarter of a century. The history of our Union, indeed, would hardly have been understandable had its author attempted to segregate it from the general story of the struggles of the immigrant workers in the American needle trades, since they began arriving at our shores in large numbers.

"The Women's Garment Workers" was written upon the

request of the General Executive Board by Dr. Louis Levine, one of the best known students of labor economics in the United States. Without exaggeration, the book received the most favorable press comment ever accorded a book dealing with labor problems or history in this country. It was widely reviewed in the labor press and in the literary magazines, and recommended as a standard book for the study of labor problems and history in colleges. It was praised for its scientific detachment and approach and for its impartial and scholarly handling of material, on the one hand, and for the profoundly moving and dramatic sketching of the story of the garment workers' struggles against the background of a century of American life, on the other.

Like many another book dealing with recent events and commenting on activities of persons still in our midst, the book incurred some adverse reaction from some persons with claims that their own role and part in the history of the I. L. G. W. U. had either been partly ignored or distorted in this account. On the whole, however, these claims are not justified. Save for some unimportant omissions, the chronology of events and the comment upon them by Dr. Levine is correct and well balanced. It must be borne in mind that the author in building the history of the I. L. G. W. U. was interested principally in mass events and movements and not in biographies of individual leaders or personalities, and had to contend at times against a distressing dearth of material, having to rely, in many instances, on personal narrative and information given by eyewitnesses not infrequently from the somewhat blurred perspective of twenty-five years.

The General Executive Board feels that in having brought out this book, the history of the I. L. G. W. U., it has rendered a distinct service to our Union and has made a valuable and lasting contribution to the literature of the American Labor movement.

OUR PUBLICATIONS

The three weekly journals issued by the I. L. G. W. U.—Justice, Gerechtigkeît, and Giustizia—have continued during this period under the same editorial management.

The editorial policy of our publications reflects the opinion and policy of the General Executive Board on all matters af-

fecting problems of industry and of organization. Our journals have been confronted in the past two years, in addition to the task of interpreting our economic and industrial needs, to our workers themselves and to the industry and the general public, also with the frequently galling and annoying burden of nailing the slanders and the attacks which the enemies of our Union have day in and day out hurled against it and its leaders in a most unconscionable manner. In counter-attacking the sinister campaign of the Union's detractors, our journals have always attempted to remain on the level of decent and honest controversy, in which we hope they succeeded.

In the last few months we have reduced the size of our publication four pages each as a matter of economy. The convention, in discussing the subject of our publication, may do well to consider making this reduction in the size of our publication permanent.

OUR EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT

In the reports of the General Executive Board and in the proceedings of our conventions, we repeatedly emphasized the need of Workers' Education for our membership, and we stress again its increasing importance.

A large number of our members, full of devotion, vision and willingness to make sacrifices, were responsible for the formation of our International Union. The Union was to them a true Workers' College. There they become aware of economic and social problems, and there they also learned how to solve them. But it is clear, that if in addition, they were in possession of a large body of facts dealing with present social, economic and industrial conditions, they would be more useful to their organization and to the Labor Movement.

But we also have a large number of new comers, who may be called "naturalized" citizens of our industrial organization. They did not come in contact with organization activities as their predecessors did. Their knowledge of our organization and of the Labor movement, its aims and principles, policies and problems, is vague. We must intensify it and make surer their grasp of the fundamentals of the labor movement, and the place occupied by it as an important social force in our industrial society. Because the union is a democratic institution where

each member has a voice in solving its problems, it must keep its members well-informed, and this can be accomplished only through Workers' Education.

The Labor Movement and Workers' Education

But a short time ago, the entry of tradeunions into banking, building, research and education under labor auspices, would have been looked upon not only with amusement but also with distrust and suspicion. Today, far-seeing Labor statesmen realize that Labor must be prepared to participate in the management of the world's affairs, and that the best preparation consists in actually doing the things it wants to do.

Of particular importance is the development of Labor Education. Again and again has it been shown that economic strength, while of chief importance, is inadequate if not guided by well informed intelligence. While workers must be organized to gain any of their aims, their efforts are more effective if they are based on some economic and social theory.

There is no doubt that the education required for the successful functioning of the Labor Movement must be planned, organized and controlled by the workers themselves. No one else knows their needs as well, and no one else will satisfy them to the same extent.

The efforts of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in this field are of overwhelming importance. Our Union has organized a system of educational activities, admitted by most authorities to be among the best in our country.

The organized Labor Movement of America, as expressed by the American Federation of Labor, recognizing education as the bulwark of the Labor Movement, has accepted the idea of Workers' Education and has joined in the movement by cooperating with the Workers' Education Bureau, and by lending it financial as well as moral support.

The Principles Which Underlie the Work of Our Educational Department

It is imperative to have a definite policy for our educational activities.

We believe that Workers' Education is worthwhile only if it helps Labor to base its activities on what has been proven

to be indisputably true. Of course, unproven theories have a value in all human activities. But effectiveness and success are more probable if action is based on what is known to be true. It is clear, therefore, that to be successful our educational work must concern itself chiefly with truth rather than opinion. It is true that our work is colored by one bias—that in favor of labor. Apart from that we try to furnish to our students material and facts for sound conclusions, and to develop in them mental habits and skill which will enable them to reach such conclusions. We attempt to satisfy the common needs of all our members as workers and trade unionists.

Our Activities

During the earlier years of our educational activities, the work was conducted mainly in classes in Unity Centers, the Workers' University. Our efforts were bent mainly to induce our members to join these classes.

During the past few years, however, we realized that we could reach but a small part of those of our members who wish to study and learn, if we had nothing else to offer except the above classes. We therefore began the policy of reaching our members at their local offices, at their meetings, and wherever we could find them in organized groups.

Accordingly, our Extension Department has developed a large number of lecture centers where our member meet in large numbers. A number of courses and lectures have been given at business meetings of our local unions, in offices on Saturdays and Sunday mornings, etc. The success of these activities has been very gratifying. Many of our members, who for many reasons did not attend a regular class listened to important lectures and participated in discussions. They have learned a great deal and undoubtedly become better and more effective trade unionists.

It is our aim to devote increased attention to such groups. While we realize the importance and advantages of regular classes, and while we admit their necessity, we plan to spend more energy in the development of so-called extension activities, while retaining those of our regular classes which are of great value to our membership, our organization and the Labor Movement.

The Board of Education of the City of New York has again helped us by appointing teachers of English and other subjects, who instructed our members in the Unity Centers. We owe thanks to the officials of the Board of Education as well as to the principals and teachers who cooperated in the work.

No matter how enthusiastic the membership may be about the educational activities of our Union, our work could not have been as successful as it was without the increasing earnest cooperation of the officials of our various unions, and of the active membership.

Activities of Our Education Department

During the past eighteen months our Educational Department has increased and improved its activities.

1. Unity Centers

The Unity Centers are evening classes organized for the members of the International, and conducted in evening public schools in the City of New York. Manifold activities are carried on in the Unity Centers. These are of an educational, health and social character.

2. Workers' University

We are continuing our classes in the Workers' University at the Washington Irving High School and the I. L. G. W. U. Building. The courses given there are of an advanced character. Instruction is given in labor, social science and cultural subjects. Those who attend these courses have had preliminary training in the Unity Centers or elsewhere.

Subjects

Our Educational Department offers the following subjects at the Workers' University and Unity Centers:

Trade Union Policies and Tactics; Current Labor Problems; Economic Problems of the Working Woman; Woman's Place in the Labor Movement; Labor Situation in the Basic Industries.

tries; The Place of Workers in History; A Social Study in Literature; The Development of Industry and the Trade Union Movement in the United States; Economics and the Labor Movement; Public Speaking; Social Factors in American History; The Making of Industrial America; Recent Social Development in Europe; Economic Basis of Modern Civilization; Psychology and the Labor Movement, and English.

3. Extension Division

We are continuing to extend the activities of the Extension Division. Through it we try to reach the larger groups of our members; those who find it difficult to attend the classes at the Workers' University or Unity Centers. To meet the convenience of those groups courses and discussions are arranged at a time and place suitable to them.

Courses for Executive Members, Officers and Active Members

The trade union is growing to be an increasingly complex social institution. Not only is it the organization through which they act as citizens of the community, but it also participates in every movement which works for progress and human happiness. The trade union reflects the development of the social and economic structure of modern society.

Naturally, the management of a union is a complex problem. It is a great responsibility to hold office in a union, whether paid or unpaid. The officer reflects the intelligence of the trade union which he represents. Therefore he must be trained for his position. Generally he qualifies himself for office through activities in his trade union, coupled with an education which helps him to understand better the social and labor movements, and which broadens his outlook on society as a whole.

With this view we have planned the following educational program:

1. a. Members of the executive boards of our numerous locals are urged to devote one evening a week to their education. For this purpose classrooms will be equipped in some of their offices and in the I. L. G. W. U. Building, where they will meet from half past six to nine o'clock in the evening.

b. The two and a half hours will be divided into two halves:

1. The first half for the study of the English language.
2. The second half for the discussion of the American Labor Movement, with special reference to the problems of our own I. L. O. W. U.; and to other subjects of social, economic and cultural value.

II. Similar instruction will be arranged for promising young men and women members of our organization. These members will be selected with the assistance of the executive boards and the officers of our Local Unions, and the Educational Department.

III. Courses of a more advanced character will be organized for the business agents and officers of our Local Unions, to be given at a time most convenient to them.

IV. Instruction and practice in writing documents, reports, pamphlets, etc. This course is intended for active members of the Union.

Mass Activities

Among the most important and successful features of our work have been the events, when thousands upon thousands of our members and their families were gathered under the auspices of our Educational Department.

The annual opening exercises were most inspiring. The large auditorium of the Washington Irving High School was filled to capacity. Our members listened to programs of excellent music rendered by prominent artists, and to addresses on labor and educational subjects by prominent speakers.

On a number of Saturday evenings large numbers of our members and their families assembled in other centers. The programs consisted of musical numbers, inspiring addresses and enthusiastic group singing.

Not only do such gatherings provide legitimate recreation for our members and enable them to hear beautiful music; but in addition, they strengthen the bond which exists between them and their Union. They recognize the fact that it is their own organization which attempts to satisfy their spiritual and esthetic as well as economic needs.

Our Teaching Staff

The character of our teaching staff is of the highest order. Our teachers are specialists in their fields. Their ability is proved by the fact that their classes are attended year after year by attentive and intelligent students.

We are particularly gratified with the fact that we are constantly adding new blood to our permanent staff. Men and women of high standing and connected with prominent institutions have frequently offered their services to us. Their sympathy with the aims and aspirations of our members, their interest in Labor Education, and their skill as teachers, make them valuable aids in our work.

Health Education

The purpose of our Health Education Program is to instill a health consciousness in the workers, just as the general education program of the I. L. G. W. U. has as its aim the development of social consciousness.

Health lectures on topics of interest to the general membership of the I. L. G. W. U. are given in popular form and are frequently illustrated. A question period follows each lecture.

History of the I. L. G. W. U.

For many years we were anxious to place in the hands of our teachers and students, authoritative material on the history of our Union. Dr. Levine's admirable book on this subject filled this need. As soon as it appeared, our instructors devoted addition, we arranged courses dealing with our history. In these courses, the book will be studied intensively by our members. We are convinced that they will be of inestimable importance in making our members appreciate the tremendous work accomplished by their organization in improving their life and conditions.

Pioneer Youth of America

At our last convention the Committee on Young People's Trade Union Education presented a report recognizing the importance of providing educational and recreational activities, under Labor auspices, for the children of trade unionists. This report was adopted. Accordingly, we participated actively in several lectures to a description and summary of the book. In the formation of the Pioneer Youth of America. The Executive Board of this organization consists of representatives of trade unions and prominent educators. Several officers of our International are members of that Board.

Art Education For Workers

The problems of workers who are endowed with artistic talent has engaged our attention. With proper training many workers and their children could be led to express themselves through art, and could serve the Labor Movement as artists.

To achieve this our International participated in the formation of the Workers' Art Scholarship Committee and has contributed to its funds. The Committee consists of representatives of Trade Unions, including our International. It will select talented and deserving workers or their children who have had preliminary training, and will enable them to pursue their studies abroad free.

It is important to note here how the Labor Movement is spreading in all directions. All sorts of activities are engaging its attention. Nothing that can make it stronger and more vital, nothing that affects the life and happiness of workers, should be outside of its legitimate sphere of action.

Our Unity Village

Recreational activities in our Summer Unity House are under the supervision of a competent director. They are delightful and crowds enjoy them. On the tennis courts, waist-makers, dressmakers, and cloakmakers, who generally lead an unhealthy indoor life, play outdoors. In bowling alleys, operators, instead of bending over their machines, develop their bodies and keep their spirits buoyant. Others go on hikes through their seven hundred and fifty acre estate.

Lectures and discussions were arranged by our Educational Department. They were held on the lawn. The audience was seated comfortably on the thick grass under overhanging branches, and listened to lectures on labor, social and cultural subjects. Then it participated in a discussion of the address.

Cooperation During Strikes

In the strikes which occurred during the past 18 months, the Educational Department assumed the responsibility for providing proper recreational and educational activities for the strikers. Lectures, concerts and exhibitions of moving pictures were provided for them. By means of printed literature, their attention was called to the educational opportunities offered by their Union.

Theatre and Music

As in former years, thousands of our members were enabled to many, at minimum expense. In addition, this departmental and musical events at reduced prices.

Books for Our Members

The Educational Department has continued its arrangement with leading publishers by which books are furnished to our members at wholesale prices. Books recommended by our teachers in connection with their courses were thus made available through the Educational Department, to attend high class ment has assisted our members in selecting books for personal use.

Members of Other Unions

Many members of other unions have applied for admission to our classes. In all such cases we were only too glad to welcome them, provided they were bona fide trade unionists and brought credentials from proper officials.

Publicity

Such of our members as are not in position to avail themselves of the educational opportunities offered by our Union can read of their progress in the educational pages of "Justice", "Gerechtigkeit" and "Giustizia." In addition, they can read leaflets and pamphlets describing the importance and character of our educational work. This literature is distributed regularly at meetings and by mail.

Management

Our Educational activities have been carried on for the past eighteen months under the supervision of the Educational Committee, which consists of Secretary Baroff and Vice-presidents Feinberg, (Chairman), Amdur, Wander and Fannia M. Cohn,—who is also Executive Secretary of the Educational Department. They were assisted by the Educational Director, Alexander Fichandler.

The Educational Committee followed the general educational policy formulated at our last convention.

Students' Councils

Students' Councils elected by the students in our classes gave unsparingly of their interest, time and energy whenever they were called upon to arrange meetings, entertainments, excursions and other activities. They expressed the wishes and sentiments of their fellow students in the choice of subjects, etc. In this way they enabled us to discover and satisfy the educational needs of our members.

Workers' Education Bureau

Our Educational Department has continued its contact with the W. E. B. The Bureau is increasing in its usefulness to the American Labor Movement, and our Educational Department has been able to assist frequently by contributing the results of our long and successful experience.

The A. F. of L. is now supporting the Bureau on a per capita basis. This is of highest importance, not merely financially, but also morally. It means that the organized American Labor Movement appreciates the significance of Labor Education.

Brookwood College

Brookwood College is now an established institution. Its graduates have gone back to their unions, and in many cases have proved by their service to Labor that their stay at Brookwood was worth while.

At the recommendation of the Educational Department, our International established a Brookwood scholarship. By means of the scholarship an intelligent, loyal and capable member of our Union is given an opportunity to obtain training which will enable him to serve our Union with greater effectiveness.

PARTICIPATION IN THE GENERAL LABOR MOVEMENT

Under this head the General Executive Board wishes to record some of its activity in the general Labor movement of this country and abroad. These activities were practically all in conformity with the general policy and traditions of the I. L. G. W. U. as an economic working class organization, without committing our Union to permanent affiliations with any political group or party.

Pioneer Youth Movement

A promising development within the labor movement in the last two years was the establishment of the National Association for Child Development, which was formed as the result of a number of conferences of labor men and women, educators and parents, who realized the great need of acquainting the growing generation with the social and economic problems that face mankind and preparing it for intelligent participation in the work of bettering society.

This National Association for Child Development, which later became known as Pioneer Youth of America, has carried on in the last two years extensive educational work among children by organizing for them children's clubs and summer camps. The camp at Pawling, New York, under the direction of Joshua Lieberman, its head worker, had two very successful seasons in the summers of 1924 and 1925, accommodating nearly one hundred boys and girls each season, among whom there were a number of children of members of our organization. During its first winter the Pioneer Youth Movement has organized nearly thirty children's clubs in New York City and vicinity.

General Secretary Abraham Baroff, who represents our Union on the Board of Directors of this Association, has been very active in the promotion of its educational and social plans, acting in the capacity of its treasurer ever since it was organized.

In the spring of 1925, the General Executive Board voted to donate to the Pioneer Youth Movement a piece of ground containing twenty-five acres, part of the farm owned by the I. L. G. W. U. in Otisville, N. Y., which was bought by it in 1917 for a tuberculosis sanatorium for our members but was never used for that purpose. It is expected that Pioneer Youth will start next year another children's camp on that piece of land.

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Conference for Progressive Political Action

In conformity with the resolution adopted by our last convention in Boston favoring the participation by the I. L. G. W. U. in the convention called by the Conference for Progressive Political Action on July 4, 1924 in Cleveland, O., the General Executive Board requested President Sigman and Vice-presidents

Ninfo and Feinberg to represent our organization at that conference.

President Sigman served as a member of the National Council of the C. P. P. A. from July to November 1924 during the La Follette campaign. Many of our locals in New York, and in other cities, notably in Cleveland, took a very active part in that campaign. The National Office contributed, with the sanction of the G. E. B., to the La Follette campaign.

The active aid given by our Union to this cooperative effort of American labor and progressive forces to organize a great constructive movement by rolling up a huge vote for the late Senator La Follette's candidacy, is something we record with a feeling of sincere gratification. Unfortunately, not the entire labor movement fell behind that effort, and many labor organizations who originally professed to follow the lead of the A. F. of L. and to support the La Follette campaign showed later either a luke-warm attitude or a downright retreat from former positions. Not even all the radical forces in the country worked in harmony in promoting the La Follette candidacy.

The result of that campaign, notwithstanding the more than four million votes cast for La Follette, shows that the American workers in the cities and on the farms, and the great masses in the cities which could not or would not be classed as wage-earners, were not even in 1924, under the sterling leadership of La Follette, ready to form a progressive labor alliance, and to break away from old ties. No doubt years may yet expire before the American workers are ready for it, and in this interval, the more forward-looking and advanced sections of the labor movement will have to continue their role of pathfinder and pioneer.

Workers' Education Bureau

Elsewhere in this report there is given a detailed account of the educational activities of the I. L. G. W. U. among its members. Labor education in recent years, however, is becoming more and more accepted in the trade union movement of this country as a means for solidifying its organization and the raising of the intellectual and mental level of its members. It has become a part of the normal activities of the A. F. of L. and of many of its international unions.

The central body which unites labor education groups in

the A. F. of L. is the Workers' Education Bureau. In response to a call issued by the A. F. of L. and the Bureau asking for affiliation of local unions all over the country, the General Office of our International Union forwarded in February 1925 a request to all our locals to affiliate with the Workers' Education Bureau. Some of the locals responded favorably to this call. Many other failed to act on it. Our object, however, was to bring closely to our locals the problem of labor education and its growing importance as a factor of regular trade union work. From this viewpoint it would be highly desirable that they should affiliate, without exception, with the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

In April 1925 the International Union took part in the fourth annual convention of the Workers' Education Bureau held in Philadelphia, being represented by Vice-pres'dents Felnberg and Fannia M. Cohn. Miss Cohn has been vice-president of the W. E. B. since its organization.

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Conference on Labor Costs

A conference of representatives of all needle trades and textile workers' internationals affiliated with the A. F. of L. to consider costs of labor in textile production was summoned by President Green in conformity with a resolution passed by the El Paso convention of the A. F. of L. in 1924 to investigate production and labor costs in the textile trade.

The conference took place on February 28 in Washington, D. C., and was attended by representatives of the United Cap and Cloth Hat Makers' International Union, the United Hatters of America, the United Garment Workers, the Journeymen Tailors' Union, the United Textile Workers, the I. L. G. W. U. and three federal locals of neckwear workers. The delegates expressed their recognition of the importance and usefulness of getting together and discussing in an expert way the problems affecting both the textile and garment industries. Such an intimate discussion would equip the leaders in these industries with material for combatting the moves of the employers to cut wages and reduce work standards. The conference decided that all the participating internationals forward all available material on labor costs to President William Green of the A. F. of L., who would submit it to the Executive Council of the Federation.

Vice-president Fannia Cohn attended the conference on behalf of the I. L. G. W. U.

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Conference on Labor Insurance

A conference on life insurance for workers was summoned by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor on July 21, 1925 in Washington, D. C., and was attended by nearly fifty representatives of international unions interested in this subject. President Morris Sigman attended on behalf of the I. L. G. W. U.

Vice-president Matthew Woll of the Federation presented a report on the subject of life insurance for wage earners, prepared by him in cooperation with President George W. Perkins of the Cigar Makers' International Union, upon instruction of the last convention of the A. F. of L. at El Paso, Texas. The report recommends the establishment of a national trade union life insurance company. From careful observation by the writers of the report, and from the facts submitted to the conference by several experts who addressed it, a company owned, operated and patronized by union labor would effect a saving of many millions of dollars yearly for the wage-earners of this country.

At the end of the conference, Brothers Woll and Perkins were authorized to go ahead and form a national committee from among the international unions affiliated with the Federation who were interested in the formation of such a life insurance company for workers, and after having its plans sanctioned by the Executive Council of the Federation, to proceed to organize such an insurance company.

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Conference on the Organization of Women

At the last Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L. President Green called a conference of representatives of international unions to consider the problem of the organization of working women. About twelve international unions concerned with the problem responded to the call, and their representatives met on October 15, 1925.

President Green presented for the approval of the delegates the following plan: first, that the international unions interested in the organization of women should designate organizers whose

activities should be directed by the American Federation of Labor; second, that the American Federation of Labor should make an investigation in various localities where women work as to the number of women employed, the industries in which they are engaged, the percentage of them organized, the character of their employment, their nationality, language, national and race characteristics, and average age; third, that a committee be formed consisting of the representatives of the unions interested in the problem to assist the President of the American Federation of Labor in his direction of the organizing campaign; fourth, that the organization campaign be carried on according to localities, involving all the workers in every industry in a particular region—the A. F. of L. to supply general literature, and each organization to supply literature for its own jurisdiction.

The delegates to the conference were all well aware of the importance of organizing women. They knew, also, that special methods and efforts would probably be necessary for such organization. In consequence, they unanimously endorsed the plan.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union joined the project. It was represented at the conference by President Sigman and Vice-president Fannia M. Cohn.

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In May 1925 the Workmen's Circle of America, a benefit organization composed of over eighty thousand members of progressive or radical leanings, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in New York City. The Workmen's Circle has in the course of its long existence given loyal support to the trade union movement and to our own organization in time of struggle and need. A large number of I. L. G. W. U. members belong to the Workmen's Circle.

The International Union forwarded, on the day of jubilee festivities of the Workmen's Circle, a message of congratulation conveying the warm wishes of the members of the I. L. G. W. U. to the Workmen's Circle for steady and unbroken progress in the future.

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May, 1925 rounded out a quarter of a century of the existence of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' International Union. This union, better known as the Cap Makers' organization, has earned for itself a place of honor in the American labor movement as a fighting trade union which has introduced high living

and labor standards for its members, always responding generously and in a spirit of true fraternity to the needs of its sister organizations in other trades.

The I. L. G. W. U. represented by Secretary Baroff and several members of the G. E. B. participated in the anniversary festivities of the Cap Makers' Union.

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In May 1924, President Sigman and Vice-president Halpern attended, upon the invitation of the United Mine Workers of America, the unveiling of the John Mitchell Memorial at Scranton, Pa.

The unveiling of the Mitchell Memorial was accompanied by a parade of tens of thousands of miners through the streets of Scranton. It was a stirring and impressive gathering of workers who had come to honor the memory of a deceased and beloved leader. The monument itself was erected through the pennies cheerfully given by the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania, and consists of a life-size statue of John Mitchell mounted on a great stone pedestal in the public square of Scranton.

CONVENTIONS OF THE A. F. OF L.

Our six delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor for 1924 were: President Morris Sigman, Luigi Antonini, Louis E. Langer, Louis Pinkovsky, Charles Kreindler and Samuel Perlmutter. In 1925 David Dubinsky attended the convention in place of Langer, the other delegates remaining the same. They attended the forty-fourth convention in El Paso, Texas in 1924, and the forty-fifth convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey in 1925.

Upon instructions from the General Executive Board, our delegates introduced at the 1925 convention in Atlantic City the following resolution:

Resolution Demanding a New Trial for Sacco and Vanzetti

WHEREAS, The forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati, Ohio, went on record demanding a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, convicted of murder in the first degree by a biased jury under the instructions of a prejudiced judge in the State of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the urgent demand from millions of workers throughout our country and all over the world, such a retrial and the opportunity to present incontrovertible

evidence of their innocence of the heinous crime imputed to them has recently again been denied by their first trial judge, and an effort is being made to have their case reviewed by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, They are in danger of their lives unless the prompt intervention of an enlightened public opinion prevents this ghastly miscarriage of justice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its forty-fourth annual convention assembled in El Paso, hereby reiterates its demand for a new trial for these defenseless victims of race and national prejudice and class hatred, to the end that the honor and fairness of the American people may be preserved untarnished before the eyes of the civilized world; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the governor of Massachusetts, the president of the United States and the press.

This resolution was adopted by the convention.

I. L. G. W. U. Presents Marble Bust to Compers

One of the stirring incidents of the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1924 was the presentation by the delegation of our Union to the convention of a beautiful bust of President Samuel Gompers, the old chief of the Federation, done in Italian marble, a gift previously decided upon by the General Executive Board.

The presentation of this gift was made by President Morris Sigman on November 24, during one of the sessions of the convention, and was greeted by a storm of applause lasting for several minutes by all the delegates and visitors. On the next morning, William Green, at that time secretary of the United Mine Workers of America, presented a resolution by unanimous consent which was adopted by acclamation, in which the American Federation of Labor conveyed greetings to the I. L. G. W. U. upon the event of its quarter of a century of existence, and praised our International Union for its many achievements for the workers in the needle industries.

This resolution follows:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is now celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary and

WHEREAS, The service and influence of this organization have transformed an industry suffering from sweatshop conditions, misery and slavery, into an industry composed of free men and women, and has brought light, sunshine and great economic

improvements into the homes and lives of vast numbers of workers employed in the ladies' garment working industry; and

WHEREAS, Under the guidance and leadership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the workday in this industry has been reduced from a twelve-hour day and more, to a forty-four hour week, the earnings of approximately 100,000 men and women increased many fold, and many other humane conditions secured and established; and

WHEREAS, This organization has inspired hundreds of thousands of workers in the various apparel trades with the great ideals of the labor movement and has, because of its idealism and devotion to the toiling masses, withstood the onslaught of its arch enemies from within and without, and at the price of great sacrifice has justly earned a prominent place in the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor join in the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and congratulates the officers and members of that organization upon their splendid achievements, and expresses the hope that they will go on and on with their activities for still greater accomplishments and a fuller life of happiness enjoyed by the men and women employed in the ladies' garment making industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

In his presentation speech President Sigman drew a vivid historic account of the life of the I. L. G. W. U. and its struggles in the twenty-five years of its existence, and emphasized that in presenting the bust of the founder of the A. F. of L. to the El Paso convention, the delegation of our International Union was expressing its gratitude to all those in the labor movement who have been helpful in building it up in face of great obstacles, and to Samuel Gompers in particular for the hope and courage with which he had inspired the leaders and the rank and file of our organization in times of stress and crisis.

The late President Gompers, moved to tears by this concrete expression of the gratitude of the workers in the ladies' garment trades toward the A. F. of L. and himself personally, replied in a short speech in which he recounted his personal contacts with the workers in our trades before they were organized in an international union, and in later years, and expressed his profound appreciation for the gift presented to him. He wound up his speech with the following remarks:

"I want to live for one thing alone—to leave a better labor

movement in America and in the world, if I can, than I found in it when I entered as a boy on the field of the industrial and human struggle for right."

Death of Gompers

This was practically the last speech, the swan-song of the old founder of the A. F. of L. Two weeks later, on his way from Mexico City, where he went together with a large group of American trade unionists to take part in the national convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor, Gompers died in San Antonio, Texas, as he lived, in harness, in the midst of his labors, and until the last minute the master mind of American organized labor.

President Morris Sigman attended the funeral of Samuel Gompers, which took place in New York City on December 18, as an honorary pall-bearer, representing our International Union. Several members of the General Executive Board and a number of officers of our organization in New York City joined the funeral procession to Sleepy Hollow Cemetery at Tarrytown.

The marble bust of President Gompers presented to him by the I. L. G. W. U. delegation at the El Paso convention was placed after his death in the main hall of the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, D. C. The bust was done by Moses W. Dykaar, a well-known sculptor of New York City.

INJUNCTION ABUSES

The perennial crop of injunctions, which in the past decade nearly outlawed every struggle of our workers against the avarice of employers in our trades, has not been as plentiful in the past eighteen months since the Boston convention, as in former years.

This decline in the number of prohibitory writs directed against workers on strike in our industries, was not caused, however, by a change of heart on the part of the judiciary or in their outlook concerning the "sanctity of property rights" in America, such rights in particular as are likely to be "irreparably" damaged through strikes and require the protective wing of the law if they are to be made safe for the plutocrats. Far from that. There were less injunctions in the

last year and half for the reason that there were comparatively less strikes and less of other clashes between the workers and the employers in our industry, and the opportunities for serving the interests of the "captains" of our industry were not nearly as plentiful.

That the ferocity of the injunction evil in labor cases is still undiminished is evidenced from the bitter defensive, and very costly, campaign which labor organizations all over the country are waging against it. The vallant fight of the United Mine Workers in injunction-ridden West Virginia is a striking illustration of the gravity of this abuse and of the serious barrier it has erected to the efforts of the workers in this country to better their living conditions. The last convention of the A. F. of Labor voiced the protest of the organized Labor movement against the injunction judges and their ignominious share in thwarting the legitimate aspirations of the American working class, in terms clearer than ever, and the open defiance and opposition on the part of labor and strike leaders to these prohibitory writs, an opposition which is now becoming more and more frequent and pronounced, gives hope that eventually concerted defiance of these judicial abuses may lead to their mitigation and final abolition.

And in speaking of this phase of this very important problem, it is well to remember that our International conventions have for many years past continually instructed our delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor to begin a nationwide fight against the ever-growing tendency of the courts to usurp to themselves the power of stopping strikes and of checking through sweeping injunctions every effort of the workers to improve their work conditions. At the 1923 convention of the A. F. of L. in Portland, Ore., the resolution of the I. L. G. W. U. delegation protesting against this alarming practice was unanimously adopted and the Executive Council was instructed to continue its efforts, in cooperation with all affiliated organizations, to check this intolerable evil by legislative relief or otherwise.

The following injunction suits were started against our local unions and joint boards or were brought to an end in the past eighteen months. These do not include injunctions revived by employers in the course of the Montreal and Toronto strikes last winter or injunctions in Baltimore which have been kept up as permanent writs against our local organization:

Charles Maimel & Co. vs. International Union and New York
Joint Board
Supreme Court, New York County
Preliminary injunction granted, limiting number of pickets
to two persons. Suit dismissed on June 4th, 1924

Henry Rosenthal & Co. vs. New York Joint Board
Supreme Court, New York County
Preliminary injunction granted. Suit dismissed on June
4th, 1924.

Gottlieb & Seiff vs. International Union
Supreme Court, Queens County, N. Y.
Preliminary injunction granted August 6th, 1924. Suit for
permanent injunction denied on October 6th, 1924.
Decision affirmed by Appellate Division on October 30, 1924

Leff Cloak Company vs. International Union, Camden, N. J.
Rescinded after strike had been lost in November, 1924.
Livingier & Schwartz, Cleveland, O. vs. Cleveland Joint
Board
Injunction granted February 26th, 1925 for "interfering with
rights of company."

Klein vs. Sigman, et al.
Supreme Court, N. Y. County, 1924.
Temporary injunction granted. Case since discontinued.

Plate & Others vs. Sigman et al.
Supreme Court, Queens County, N. Y.
Temporary injunction granted, March 10th, 1924.

Graceline Dress Co. vs. Chicago Joint Board.
Appellate Court of Illinois—March, 1925.
Appeal in matter of Wanda Kotelta for alleged violation of
injunction.

Hymen Bros. vs. I. L. G. W. U.
Appellate Court of Illinois.
Appeal in the matter of Clara Gabina for violation of injunc-
tion.

Appellate Court of Illinois, March, 1925.
Francine Frock Co. vs. Chicago Joint Board.
Appeal of cases of Kate Miller, Eleanor Sadlowska and
Albina Cag, alleged violations of injunctions.

Appellate Court of Illinois, March, 1925.
Graceline Dress Co.
Appeal twenty-one persons for alleged violations of injunc-
tions.

Appellate Court of Illinois.
Graceline Dress Company vs. Chicago Joint Board
Appeal twelve persons—alleged violations of injunctions.

Appellate Court of Illinois. March, 1925.
Roth-Worsky Corporation vs. Chicago Joint Board.
Four appeals for violation of injunction.

Appellate Court of Illinois. March, 1925.
Hymen Bros. vs. I. L. G. W. U.
Five appeals for violation of injunction.

Appellate Court of Illinois. March, 1925.
Hymen Bros. vs. I. L. G. W. U.
Appeal for violation of injunction—Florence Corn.

Appellate Court of Illinois. March, 1925.
Hymen Bros. vs. International Union.
On appeal in matter of Meyer Barkan for violation of injunction.

Appellate Court of Illinois. March, 1925.
Hymen Bros. vs. International Union.
Three appeals for violation of injunction.

Appellate Court of Illinois. March, 1925.
Hymen Bros. vs. International Union.
Appeal in matter of Alma Jones.

Appellate Court of Illinois. March, 1925.
Francine Frock Co. vs. Chicago Joint Board locals.
23 Appeals for violation of injunction.

Appellate Court of Illinois. March, 1925.
Francine Frock Co. vs. Chicago Joint Board locals.
13 Appeals for violation of injunction.

Appellate Court of Illinois. March, 1925.
Graceline Dress Co. vs. Chicago Joint Board locals.
Appeal in matter of David Krauss.

INTERNATIONAL CLOTHING WORKERS' FEDERATION

The International Clothing Workers' Federation, reorganized with the aid of our International Union in 1920, and with which we have been affiliated ever since, held a convention in the summer of 1925 in Leipzig.

Much to our regret the I. L. G. W. U. could not be represented at that convention, as President Morris Sigman, who is

a member of the Executive Council of this Federation, could not leave the United States at the time it took place.

The International Clothing Workers' Federation has today affiliated with it practically every needle trades union in Europe, except Russia. It is now publishing a monthly bulletin in several European languages, including English, recording every event of importance in this section of the labor movement the world over, and keeping its affiliated organizations in closer contact with each other's doings. The Russian Clothing Workers' Union made an attempt last year to join the I. C. W. F., but its admission could not be effected because the latter organization is a part of the International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam and the Russian organization could not be admitted, under the constitution of the I. C. W. F., unless it severed affiliation with the Moscow International of Trade Unions (Profintern).

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In the fall of 1925, a committee representing the German labor unions visited America to attend the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, and to study from first-hand observation production methods and conditions of industry in America. Among these visitors was Brother Martin Plettl, the President of the German Clothing Workers' Union, which embraces the needleworkers of all crafts in Germany, including cap, millinery and fur workers. President Plettl brought fine tidings with regard to the condition of the German garment workers' organization at present. They are fast recovering from the terrible post-war slump and are regaining their influence in industry and control over work conditions in the shops. Brother Plettl conveyed to us an expression of personal gratitude from the German garment workers for the financial aid we gave them in 1924, during the time of their worst condition, which they cherish as a fine expression of international working class solidarity.

President Sigman assigned Vice-president Lefkovits to act as interpreter to President Plettl during his stay in New York and to accompany him to some cloak and tailor shops in New York City which he was anxious to visit. Brother Plettl also visited our organizations in Cleveland and Chicago and spoke at a meeting of cloakmakers in Cleveland.

NEW, EXTINCT AND MERGED LOCALS

Since the Boston convention, the General Executive Board has granted charters to the following new locals:

55. The New York Knit Goods Workers' Union
11. Peekskill Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
15. White Plains Cloakmakers' Union
17. Staten Island Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
25. French-Canadian Ladies' Garment Workers, Montreal
27. Toronto Embroidery Workers' Union
36. Yonkers Cloak and Dressmakers' Union
60. Chicago Polish Dressmakers' Union
65. Hammondon (N. J.) Ladies' Garment Workers
80. Italian Cloak and Dressmakers of Boston
140. Plainfield Ladies' Garment Workers
143. Freehold (N. J.) Ladies' Garment Workers

The following locals have become merged since the last convention:

- Local 2, the New York Cloak, Suit and Reefer Operators' Union, resulting from the merger of
- Local 1, Cloak and Suit Operators' Union
 - Local 11, Brownsville Operators' Union
 - Local 17, Reefermakers' Union
- Local 38, the Ladies' Tailors' Union, which was merged with Local 90, Custom Dressmakers' Union
- Local 46, the Boston Dress and Skirtmakers' Union, resulting from the merger of
- Local 49, the Boston Dressmakers' Union and
 - Local 24, the Boston Skirtmakers' Union
- Local 22, the New York Dressmakers' Union, which was merged with Local 25, the Waistmakers' Union of New York

The following locals have gone out of existence during this period:

1. New York Cloak Operators
11. Brownsville Cloak Operators
17. New York Reefermakers
24. Boston Skirtmakers' Union—merged with Local 49 into Local 46
49. Boston Dressmakers—merged with Local 24 into Local 46.
25. New York Waistmakers' Union—merged with Local 22
90. New York Custom Dressmakers—merged with Local 38
97. New York Embroidery Designers—merged with Local 6
26. Boston Ladies' Tailors' and Finishers' Union

RECORD AND PUBLICATION OFFICE

The Record Department of the I. L. G. W. U. has continued under the management of Brother H. A. Schoolman, who, in addition to keeping the records of our Union, has since 1923 acted as business manager of our publications.

In the past year and a half, the Record Department has carried still further its program of economy without impairing its usefulness to the General Office. It is employing now but a few clerks and its payroll is today less than half of what it used to be in former years.

The newspaper clipping file system covering current events in our Union and in the labor movement, has been kept in good working order and is always available for reference purposes. We made an attempt in 1924 to organize a research office, employing an expert worker for this purpose for some time. This was, however, given up shortly afterwards as it became apparent that unless we were ready to spend a large sum of money to maintain a research bureau, its usefulness would not amount to much.

AUDITING DEPARTMENT

The Auditing Department of the I. L. G. W. U. continued during the past period under the supervision of our General Auditor, Mr. F. Nathan Wolf.

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. Mr. Wolf, with his assistants, is regularly making out-of-town tours to audit the books in all localities where we have substantial organizations. In addition to that, the Auditing Department of the I. L. G. W. U. is continually being called upon to make investigations for the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board and to examine books and records when violations of the agreement between the Union and the employer are either suspected or reported. The Auditing Department has also introduced during the past term more efficiency and system in the daybook and record system in the locals.

As in former years, the Auditing Department is being ably and efficiently conducted and meets the needs of the General Office in a satisfactory way.

1924 CONSTITUTION

The Boston convention passed a number of new constitutional amendments and made numerous changes in the old ones. It became necessary, therefore, to re-edit our basic laws, and the General Office in the fall of 1924 printed the new constitution in three languages—English, Jewish and Italian. The printing of the constitution in the Russian language has also been ordered. A translation of it was made and set up in type. It will quite likely soon be issued.

OUR ORGANIZING STAFF

The following is a complete list of persons employed by the I. L. G. W. U. since the Boston 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.

The following have been employed by the General Office at full salary:

Meyer Perlstein	J. Gross	J. Hochman
J. Halperin	S. Polakoff	E. Reisberg
L. Maggio	M. Durante	Mollie Friedman
S. Seldman	F. Grifard	L. Stolberg
P. Oretsky	J. Goldstein	F. Cirricione
M. Amdur	Alexia Smith	D. Shapiro
A. Giovannitti	S. Lefkovits	E. Egitto
F. Walsh	P. Soldner	P. DeFco
Sara Fredgant	L. Merolla	M. Dolnick
H. Chancer	F. Monosson	G. Scher
B. Schub	A. Barkan	G. Piccione
H. Weinstein	A. Rosenberg	Ann W. Craton

The organizers listed below were employed by the International during this period at part salary:

B. Gilbert	A. Snyder
A. Claugheany	T. Milano
I. Lowin	M. Aloviz

The International Office also contributed regularly, or from time to time, to assist locals and joint boards in organizing activity in the following cities:

Local 64, New York

Boston Joint Board

IN MEMORIAM

On June 12, 1924, the I. L. G. W. U. lost one of its best known and most active workers, Brother Israel Lewin, who died after a short illness in New York City.

Brother Lewin, a former secretary of Local 10, the Cutters' Union of New York and for two years manager of the Dress-makers' Union of Boston, Local 49, spent nearly all of his life in working for the Labor movement, as a private in the ranks and as a loyal and devoted leader. He was a lovable comrade, and the thousands of his fellow workers, in and outside of our organization, will forever cherish his memory as a true fighter in Labor's cause and a sincere friend and coworker.

MEETINGS OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

The General Executive Board lost, during this period, several of its members. Vice-president Meyer Perlstein resigned in September, 1925, as a result of the recent turmoil in the Union. Vice-president Fred Monosson's resignation was accepted by the G. E. B. at the fifth quarterly meeting of the Board on September 9, 1925. At the same meeting Vice-president Joseph Breslaw presented his resignation, owing to his opposition to the policy of the General Executive Board in the last few months and his inability to work in cooperation with it. Jacob Heller was dropped from the General Executive Board at the fourth quarterly meeting in June, 1925, for acts unbecoming a union man and for acts of defiant insubordination to the I. L. G. W. U.

The quarterly meetings of the Board were held in the following sequence: The first quarterly meeting in New York beginning May 26, 1924; the second in Philadelphia beginning September 22, 1924; the third in Montreal beginning January 19, 1925; the fourth in Chicago beginning June 2, 1925; the fifth in New York beginning September 9, 1925; the sixth in New York beginning November 7, 1925.

The Board also held five special meetings,—one in Boston right after the convention, one in Bridgeport in February, 1925, and three others in New York,—in addition to a number of special meetings of the New York members of the Board summoned for the purpose of disposing of all urgent matters that could not be laid over to the quarterly meetings.

APPEAL COMMITTEE OF THE C. E. B.

During the past period the Appeal Committee of the General Executive Board consisted of the following Board members: Vice-president Breslaw as chairman; Vice-president Ninfo as secretary, and Vice-presidents Feinberg, Reisberg, Schoenholtz, Dubinsky and Lefkovits.

The Appeal Committee has heard 78 cases during this term, most of them appeals from the decisions of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board of New York, involving the examination of a great deal of evidence 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

During the expiring period, the Finance Committee of the General Executive Board consisted of Vice-president Ninfo as chairman, and Vice-president Breslaw, Dubinsky and Wander. This committee has met from time to time upon the call of General Secretary Baroff to examine expenses incurred by the General Office and to approve future disbursements.

STANDING AND SPECIAL COMMITTEES OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Standing Committees:

Finance Committee: Vice-presidents Ninfo, Breslaw, Dubinsky Wander.

Grievance and Appeal Committee: Vice-presidents Ninfo, Breslaw, Feinberg, Reisberg, Schoenholtz, Dubinsky and Lefkovits.

Adults and Young People's Education: Secretary Baroff, and Vice-presidents Feinberg, Cohn, Wander and Amdur.

Press Committee: President Sigman, Secretary Baroff and First Vice-president Ninfo.

Special Committees:

- Committee on Local 9: Vice-presidents Heller, Breslaw, Dubinsky, Lefkovits, Reisberg.
- Label Committee: Vice-presidents Perlstein, Halperin, Breslaw, Reisberg, Ninfo.
- Unity House Committee: Vice-presidents Breslaw, Amdur, Reisberg, Halperin, Ninfo, President Sigman and Secretary Baroff.
- Committee on Merger of Locals 1, 11 and 17: Vice-presidents Perlstein, Feinberg, Amdur, Halperin, Wander.
- Committee on Philadelphia Merger: Vice-presidents Halperin, Ninfo and Amdur.
- Local 1 Committee: Vice-presidents Ninfo, Wander, Amdur, Breslaw and Dubinsky.

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS WITH EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS

At the time of the Boston convention, the I. L. G. W. U had twenty-three collective agreements. Some of these associations have since gone out of existence, while a few others have been formed during this period.

The following are the employers' associations with which our Union has collective agreements:

- New York—Cloak Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association
- New York—Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association
- New York—American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association
- New York—Association of Dress Manufacturers
- New York—Wholesale Dress Manufacturers' Association
- New York—Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association
- New York—Allied Lace and Embroidery Manufacturers
- New York—Bonnaz Embroidery Manufacturers' Association
- Philadelphia—Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association
- Philadelphia—Cloak Jobbers' Association
- Chicago—Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association
- Chicago—Northwest Side Cloak Manufacturers' Association
- Cleveland—Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Protective Association
- Boston—Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association
- Boston—Dress and Waist Contractors' Association
- Boston—Cloak Contractors' Association
- Boston—Cloak Jobbers' Association
- Toronto—Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association
- Los Angeles—Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association
- Baltimore—Ladies' Garment Manufacturers' Association

THE PRESS

The General Executive Board desires to express its gratitude to the Jewish Daily Forward of New York for the consistent attitude of fraternal friendship, in its editorial and news columns, which it has displayed toward our Union during the past term. The Forward, true to its tradition of an honest and upright interpreter of the Jewish labor movement, has endeavored to mirror, without demagoguery and appeal to passing passions, the fundamental interests of our trade union organization and its legitimate functions and aspirations.

We also desire to record here our sincere gratitude to the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme," for its genuine trade union attitude towards our International Union and for the able support it has given our cause, a policy of support marked by independence of spirit and genuine working-class integrity.

We wish to offer our hearty thanks as well to the New York Leader for the steady and principled aid which it has given us 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.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE G. E. B.

I. Strict Measures of Agreement Enforcement

We recommend that the incoming General Executive Board shall endeavor by every means available and by bringing into action every source of strength of the whole organization to help the New York Joint Board carry into effect the entire program of industrial measures, presented by the General Executive Board to the employers in our trades in New York City and which are at present the subject of negotiation and mediation before the Special Commission. We lay particular emphasis on this point because we believe that it cannot be repeated too often that the livelihood and the means of existence of all our workers depend on the success of the introduction of these measures, without which the cloak industry will become even more degraded and its work standards even more thoroughly debased.

The Union should in addition demand from the employers guarantees of more adequate safeguards of security for the en-

forcement of these industrial changes in the shops and should also provide for immediate penalties for such employers-jobbers, manufacturers and sub-manufacturers—who might be inclined to treat the new clauses of the agreement lightheartedly and would violate it with the idea that they could not be called to a strict accounting.

II. Organizing Methods

The General Executive Board recommends that the convention take up for discussion and sanction new methods of organizing activity among the unorganized workers along the following lines:

a) Within organized areas, where union shops and more or less unionized trades are found, the joint boards and locals should organize all-year-around permanent units to consist of volunteer workers employed in the shops, buildings, street blocks and districts where the unorganized are also located. Shop chairmen should be enrolled as members of these organizing committees and the more active workers in all shops to work under the direction of district or unit captains who in turn should receive their instructions from the chief organizing center, either the joint board or the local of the city or district. The work of personal contact with the non-union workers, the distribution of literature, the holding of shop meetings with them—work that may be done most effectively in the hours before work and right after work—should be divided by assignment among these committees so as to alternate them—without overburdening any group and with as much of a distribution of responsibility and duty as possible.

Such a system of organizing activity would have the wholesome effect of attracting into this work a large number of active workers who would be each contributing to the best of their ability to the most important task our Union is facing at present and who would be thus made to feel that they are the actual force of progress in the organization and that they are responsible for its advancement and welfare.

b) In unorganized, or less organized trades and areas, where the native American workers prevail, whose psychology and general environment are materially different from those in which most of our workers, particularly the women in our organized trades find themselves, we must apply different methods

of approach and agitation. The method that we have for years practiced of appointing a paid organizer, man or woman, who would distribute literature outside the shop or try to speak to the girls after they leave the shop, or even come up to see them in their houses in the evenings, does not seem to bring desired results. These women workers continue to regard these organizers, even though they might be native American, as strangers, as outsiders who come to them with a strange, disturbing mission. At best only a few become interested, but the majority, as a rule, remains hostile or indifferent.

In place of that, we must undertake to reach this element by placing in the more important non-union shops workers who are interested in the trade union cause and who would obtain jobs there, work in these shops, mix on terms of equality with the unorganized women workers and continually to conduct missionary work as members of the shop and as workers of the trade. Such organizers would not, by the logic of their position, be regarded as strangers to the mass of workers in the shops, and when they emphasize grievances or suggest remedies to them, they would not be treated as outsiders, and because they are in the shops, on the premises, so to say, they may be in a better position to find the proper psychological moment when to utilize an opportunity for protest or for collective action rather than when they are outside and are only known to the workers as union agents or organizers.

This work of shop penetration is not an easy task. But when we consider the amount of effort we had put in organizing activity along the old lines and the large sums we had spent for meagre returns, it is clear that this method is bound to be more effective and gain for us far greater results at less cost.

III. Organizing the Dress Industry

The incoming General Executive Board should devote the greatest amount of attention possible to help all joint boards organize the dress industry in every market where we have organizations and to launch organizing campaigns in new dress markets where no joint boards exist or where only small organizations are located. The dress industry is already the central industry in our line and its importance is still growing. In addition, the dress industry is much more scattered than any of our trades and it must be met everywhere by the organized effort of

the Union, for it is obvious that if we organize one place and leave the others out, we would only make a half job of it and the results would be uncertain and ineffective on work conditions in the trade in general.

This, however, does not imply that we should neglect the cloak trade wherever it is unorganized or under poor control. New York City alone, not to mention other centres, has a big organizing problem in the cloak industry. Work standards are not observed in New York in a large section of the trade, and the internal storm which struck our ranks in the last year has contributed greatly to demoralizing work conditions and the weakening of the Union in a multitude of shops. In this field the Union faces a great upbuilding campaign, and this liability must be met earnestly and honestly if the organization is to have a real influence in the cloak industry.

IV. Safeguards Against Election Frauds

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 had 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.

V. Appointment or Election of Business Agents

The General Executive Board recommends that the post of general manager of all joint boards should be filled by a referendum vote of all members belonging to locals affiliated with such joint boards. All posts of business agents of such joint boards should be filled by appointment by a competent committee representing the joint board and the affiliated locals.

As an alternate proposition, in the event of the rejection of the proposal to appoint business agents, we recommend that they be elected by locals, each local sending in its quota and not by a general mixed vote of all the locals. Voting in a general election on business agents we believe to be both inexpedient, unfair and a method which must lead to inefficiency and dissatisfaction. It should not be permitted that two or three locals with a large membership take advantage and pick business agents for all the other locals and crafts of the trade. It is a well known fact in our Union that cloak operators prefer to have their grievances taken up and adjusted by operator business agents, pressers by presser business agents, cutters by cutter business agents, etc. To impose upon these workers as business agents persons not of their own trades and choosing but such as would be selected for them by members of other branches of the trade is not fair dealing and is bound to create mischief.

As a third recommendation we suggest that, in order to give each local full opportunity to express its judgment and preference with regard to the choice of business agents for their crafts, instead of members sending in applications to the Joint Board offices, that candidates for business agents should be nominated by the locals themselves at member meetings, each local to select through such a method of primary nominations twice the number of candidates of their allotted quota of business agents. These candidates should afterwards go on the

general ballot and be voted on in a general referendum. This will insure that each local representing a craft in the industry will at all events obtain such business agents as its members prefer to have attend their complaints and shop affairs.

VI. Dues and Assessments

The right of the locals to raise their own dues should remain unabridged.

The joint boards should have the right to initiate a proposal to raise uniformly dues in all its affiliated locals. But it shall have no right to pass on it, but should submit the proposal to all affiliated locals for a vote. Such a raise in dues may then only become operative if approved by a majority of the locals representing a majority of the membership of the joint board.

Assessments levied by joint boards in cases of emergency may be submitted by them to the membership of the affiliated locals to vote upon and may become operative and in force upon a favorable vote by a plain majority of all the voters. The General Executive Board desires to make this distinction between the raising of dues and the levying of an emergency assessment because in the case of dues the membership is faced with a permanent increase of its most important contribution toward the maintenance of the organization and such a raise should therefore be imposed by as large a majority of the workers favoring it as possible, while an emergency assessment is an infrequent levy and when it is proposed the situation that calls for it is, as a rule, pressing enough to warrant its adoption by a plain majority.

VII. Systems of Representation

The General Executive Board recognizes that the present form of representation in the New York Joint Board has been the cause of considerable dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of several of the big locals affiliated with it, inasmuch as it has made possible for a minority to have a predominant influence on the affairs of the Joint Board.

On the other hand, the General Executive Board recognizes that a system of proportional representation which would hand over the control of the Joint Board to a few big locals, would result in a majority domination which would have a deplorable

effect on the smaller locals and would rob them of their independence.

The General Executive Board would, therefore, recommend that the convention consider this subject very carefully and devise a method of representation for the New York Joint Board which, while giving the big locals their due share of influence, would at the same time not deprive the smaller locals of the freedom of action which belongs to them.

The General Executive Board also recommends that the convention enact a revision of the present representation system at our conventions.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We are closing our report with the following few observations.

This account of the activities of our Union for the past year and a half does not bristle with pages reciting wonderful achievements in our organization, externally or internally, or industrial conflicts on a grand scale that, in defeat or victory, stir the imagination and quicken heart action. Quite the contrary, it is replete with the sobering recital of a heart-breaking and soul-destroying fraternal struggle in our ranks, of a fight of brother against brother and of sister against sister, of the black shadows of dualism and opposition that have not entirely disappeared from our skies and still spread gloom and galling despair wherever they fall.

We are, nevertheless, satisfied that from the first line to the last we have adhered in this report to the idea which was foremost in our mind when we began it,—to give you an unvarnished review of the life of our Union for the last eighteen months, truthful even if it hurts, and stripped of all trappings and embellishments, and without a desire to present our situation to you or to the world differently than what it really is. It is, in a word, a true picture of conditions in our Union as they are, and from it the reader may derive his conclusions without misgivings as to the fundamental facts that are woven into the background of our story.

On the floor of this convention will be discussed and solved important, vital questions to our own organization and to the Labor movement as a whole. There is an industrial problem fac-

ing the great majority of our membership that actually involves their bread and butter, a problem as vital as the one that faced them in 1909 and 1910 when upon the crest of the great cloak strike our Union was first swept into being. It is a problem the solution of which will tell whether week-work, wage scales, work-hours and every other safeguard that we had gained in the past fifteen years is to be swept away in a welter of demoralization and chaos.

There is an internal problem facing our Union of equal if not greater importance. We are weaker, in numbers, morale, and fighting resources, than we have been for many years past. We have lost a great deal of blood in internal fighting, and our enemies are aware of that. This convention will have to settle the differences which have been tearing our Union asunder in a thorough democratic fashion—and settle them fundamentally and not by a process of patchwork and half words.

Our fight has not been, as many had been misled into the belief, against the "left wing" in our Union. Our Union always has had a "left wing" within it and the preaching of extreme industrial doctrines has never been regarded in it as incompatible with the policy and practice of our organization. Our Union has never expelled members for belonging to any political party or for fighting within it for policies and principles that were contradictory to the accepted policies of the organization. But in the "left wingers" of the past, no matter how bitter the controversy may have raged, we never failed to recognize members of our own organization, who were fighting primarily and essentially for their ideas and policies as union members with union weapons. But we have waged our recent defensive struggle and we still are in the field, against a crafty, shrewd enemy who had stolen his way into our organization under a disguise, through a back door, and who by means of character assassination, and by making allies of every dubious element in our organization is hoping to capitalize the misery of our workers and the errors of some of its leaders, past and present, for its own political advantage.

The delegates to this convention will have to bear in mind one essential thing. We are in America and our movement must and will remain part of the American Labor movement if it is to amount to anything. Some of them may wish to adorn themselves in all sorts of pretty feathers, but all of us should never

forget that we must keep our feet on the ground if we don't wish to go in the air and become incompetent, as an organization, to fulfil our true purpose and mission as the economic organization of the workers in the women's garment industry of this country. Indeed, we are part of the American Labor movement, and we can no more divorce ourselves from it than we can from the very life we are living in, from the whole economic, industrial and social fabric which surrounds us, and, as part of this movement let us remember that a fleet travels only as fast as its slowest vessel and that a chain is as strong as its weakest link.

Our International Union has in the past conquered obstacles that seemed insuperable and solved problems that seemed insoluble.

If the delegates to this convention will rise to the great duty which is confronting them, the I. L. G. W. U. will emerge from this convention recovered in body, health and spirits, and equipped to fight the severe economic battles ahead of us. Such is our hope, our firm belief and our unshakable confidence.

Fraternally submitted,

MORRIS SIGMAN, President

ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary

SALVATORE NINFO

FANNIA M. COHN

ELIAS REISBERG

JACOB HALPERIN

ISRAEL FEINBERG

MAX AMDUR

SOL SEIDMAN

SAMUEL LEFKOVITS

DAVID DUBINSKY

HARRY WANDER

ISIDORE SCHOENHOLTZ

Vice-Presidents

FINANCIAL REPORT

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

APRIL 1, 1924 TO OCTOBER 31, 1925

EIGHTEENTH CONVENTION

NOVEMBER 30, 1925

EAGLES' TEMPLE
PHILADELPHIA, PA.



To the Delegates of the Eighteenth Convention of the
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Greetings:

I deem it my bounden duty to call upon you to give earnest attention to the financial report of our International for the period of May, 1924, to November, 1925, the eighteen months elapsing between the Boston convention and the present national gathering of our Union.

It is hardly necessary for me to emphasize that finances are an essential part of a labor organization. To make headway and to win its battles against the employing class, a labor union needs a high morale and a fighting spirit among its rank and file. But the battles of the organized workers are not being fought out in quiet academic studies; they are being waged in actual combat on the picket lines, and the most ardent enthusiast must admit that, unless supplied with the sinews and implements of war, an army of strikers is likely to become sooner or later demoralized.

And strikes alone are not enough. Very few trades in this country are organized one hundred per cent. Most industries, including ours, are only organized in part, and the organized portions, if they are to maintain work standards in the union shops, must seek, by every means at their disposal and by every ounce of strength they can muster, to bring the rest of the trade into their fold. That, of course, means a constant expenditure of funds and a regular drain upon the treasury of the organizations.

Our International Union, in particular, has during the past decade, been faced with this problem of defending the work standards of our men and women in the organized shops and of carrying on missionary work in the unorganized trades or districts in a very acute way. It is enough to mention that in the past ten years we have had to wage not less than five general strikes in our principal trades in New York City and about as many strikes in nearly each of our other markets. These general strikes have swallowed huge sums of money, and while we may justly criticize in some instances the advisability of

some of the expenses made in the course of this or that strike, it could not be denied that a general strike, no matter how economically conducted, involves a tremendous expense which empties the coffers of the union for many months or even years to come.

Our International Union has, in the twenty-six years of its existence, succeeded in organizing the more organizable elements in our industry. The masses that remain outside of our fold, tens of thousands of them, are of an element that listen but with great reluctance to the message of unionism and frequently regard the organized worker with little less than scorn. The amount of energy required to interest this element of workers in labor unionism is actually tremendous, and it is on the whole a very costly and tedious process. It was the recognition of this vital necessity primarily which prompted our last convention in Boston to vote for a raise of the International per capita from ten to fifteen cents weekly. That measure was intended to strengthen the International financially and to enable it to undertake a wider activity in the field of organization in general and to make every effort to organize the smaller towns surrounding our main centers in particular.

Nevertheless, this increase in per capita, which was intended to enlarge the International revenue fifty per cent and to make it financially less handicapped than in the past, did not unfortunately materialize. The income of the International Office, in the past year and a half, has shrunk tremendously, so much so that we were compelled, in order to carry on the legitimate functions of the General Office even on a modest scale, to increase our debt and liabilities.

Thus, for instance, while the first nine months of 1924, of which only three months were 15 cent per-week months, the General Office had an income of \$410,000, the first nine months of 1925—all of them 15 cents per-week months—show only an income of \$265,000. The reason for this alarming shrinkage of revenue was not, of course, that the membership of the I. L. G. W. U. had of sudden fallen off so tremendously, but was due, first, to the unusually poor last two seasons in the cloak and dress industry and, secondly, to the unforeseen sabotage of dues-payment launched in the last four months by the opposition elements in three big New York locals, who, in their eagerness to hurt the administration of the International, had gone

to the extent of carrying on a relentless agitation against dues paying. The same deplorable campaign made it impossible for the International to collect the general assessment levied in 1925.

The International owes today a large sum of money, nearly \$400,000. It is quite true that if the locals were to pay back the General Office their indebtedness and obligations, the International would not only be able to square its debts but would be left with a substantial balance on hand. Instead, however, of paying their debts to the General Office, several of the locals had to be helped by it, and the debts of some of them had to be written off our books entirely as it became evident that they could not meet them.

It must be further considered that these debts owed by the General Office are not all of recent origin. The General Office owed \$174,000 in 1922 at the time of the Cleveland convention and in May, 1924, at the time of the Boston Convention, its obligations amounted to \$184,000. Since that time the International Office has had to meet the large expense involved in the jubilee convention in 1924, which, on account of its extraordinary nature, cost a large sum of money. Since 1924, the General Office had to meet the expense of publishing the history of the I. L. G. W. U. which cost nearly \$20,000 including the cost of printing and of writing. The International Office also had to liquidate the great dress strike in Chicago which began in the winter of 1924 and lasted until June and was one of the bitterest and costliest strikes ever waged by our Union. Suffice it to say that we still have to pay today large sums for obligations incurred in that conflict, nearly two years ago.

In the winter of 1924-25 the International Office organized and carried out a strike in Montreal and Toronto, which also cost the General Office a large sum of money. During the same period, the General Office carried on an organizing campaign in the miscellaneous trades in New York City which later culminated in a strike in several of these trades and cost the organization a substantial sum. The Out-of-Town Organizing Department, the activity of which involves almost daily strikes in single shops in very difficult territory, is another phase of the steady work of our Union which is costly but which cannot be given up if we want the cloak and dress trade to stay in New York and not to drift away to the small non-union towns which surround it.

Lastly, we have encountered during this period another expense in the taking over of the Unity House in the winter of 1924-25 in accordance with the mandate of the Boston convention. And when we took it over we found it in such a dilapidated and run-down condition and each one of its departments so badly in need of repair, that we were compelled, if we were to run it at all, to renovate it at a large expense, having spent on the reconstruction work nearly \$25,000 of our own funds until we placed it in good running order. All this extraordinary expense we were forced to undergo in the last year and a half in the face of the constantly shrinking income of the General Office as a result of the campaign of demoralization carried on within our ranks by the opposition elements, and of the industrial depression which struck our trades.

Such in brief is the situation in which the International treasury finds itself today. The delegates to this convention will have to meet this problem of rehabilitating the finances of our organization in a constructive and statesmanlike way. The delegates must, first of all, take steps to wipe out the debt which the International has been carrying on its shoulders for the last five or six years, a debt which costs us about \$10,000 annually in interest only. This can be achieved by the levy of a moderate assessment which will free us from this burden and will make it possible for us to go on with our legitimate activity without the necessity of wasting our minds on how to meet notes and obligations from week to week and from month to month.

Moreover, the International Union will have to organize and carry on a nationwide campaign, in the course of the next two years, to awaken the masses of unorganized workers in every market of the land where women's garments are being made. No matter how economically we might carry on this work, it will be a costly undertaking, but it is the principal task facing our union today and we cannot, if we are to grow and make any progress, shelve it and bury our faces in the sand. The delegates to this convention should not therefore be deceived by any false notions that they can curtail the revenue of the International and at the same time expect the International to achieve substantial results in any field of activity. In plain words, this simply cannot be done. It must also be taken in consideration that we are face to face in New York with very serious prospects of a great struggle in our major trades, a

struggle for the very existence of our union, and it can reasonably be expected that if such a conflict breaks out in New York that it would be followed by conflicts in every market in the country, where the organizations would be expecting the International to aid them not only morally but financially as well to carry on the battle.

It is therefore quite obvious that it would be absurd if not suicidal at this hour to lend any serious attention to any proposal to curtail the income of the International Union. Such a plan means the crippling of the International and making it unfit to do any work whatever. This the delegates should avoid by all means. Our Union may be in need of some internal organizational reforms and we must seek by every means at our command to bring harmony and unity in our ranks to combat our common enemy, but we must not begin at the wrong end, and we must under no circumstances weaken the central body of our union.

I am optimist enough to believe that our membership, as represented at this convention by its delegates, will do everything in its power to restore our union to a sound financial status and help it to carry on vigorously and unhampered its legitimate mission of serving as the administrative and organizing center for the workers in the ladies' garment industry of America.

ABRAHAM BAROFF,

General Secretary-Treasurer

I. L. G. W. U.

BALANCE

I. L. G. W. U.

Assets

Investments:

International Union Bank....	\$25,000.00	
Liberty Bonds	1,000.00	
Avanti Publishing Company ..	5,000.00	
Brownsville Labor Lyceum..	100.00	
Rand School	100.00	
Ladies Garment Workers Center	500.00	
	<hr/>	
Total Investments		\$31,700.00

Receivables:

Accounts Receivable (From Locals)	356,011.88
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Loans Receivable:

Joint Board N. Y.....	46,744.08	
Unity House	23,895.50	
Local 9	896.00	
" 38—(L 90)	1,200.00	
" 41	1,000.00	
" 45	550.00	
" 46—(L 49)	4,200.00	
" 50	2,800.00	
" 91	500.00	
" 132	300.00	82,085.58
	<hr/>	

Loans Receivable (Ladies Garment Workers Center, Inc.)	151,991.81
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Revolving Funds	6,367.58
	<hr/>

Total Receivables	596,456.85
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Exchange	323.37
Sanatorium Assets	13,157.50
Furniture and Fixtures	15,278.22
Supplies (Estimated)	5,000.00
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Total	\$661,915.94
Check Account Overdrawn.....	1,734.85
	<hr/>

Total Assets	<u><u>\$660,181.09</u></u>
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SHEET

November 1, 1925

Liabilities and Surplus

Accounts Payable (Current Accounts)..... \$14,094.91

Loans Payable:

Joint Board New York	\$84,618.47
Joint Board Chicago	5,000.00
Joint Board Cleveland	4,000.00
Joint Board Cincinnati.....	1,527.80
Local 2	27,565.14
" 6	1,000.00
" 10	5,000.00
" 22	10,000.00
" 35	3,000.00
" 66	5,000.00

Total Loans Payable 146,711.41

Notes Payable:

International Union Bank	65,000.00
Federation Bank	20,000.00
Amalgamated Savings Bank (Chicago)...	15,000.00
International Fur Workers Union.....	25,000.00
International Pocketbook Workers Union..	25,000.00
United Mine Workers	75,000.00
For Current Bills	17,415.70

Total Notes Payable 242,415.70

Exchange 1,000.00

Securities (held for locals) 1,450.00

Sanatorium Fund 15,174.64

Total Liabilities and Fund..... 420,846.64

Surplus 239,384.43

Total Liabilities and Surplus..... \$660,131.09

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

I. L. G. W. U.

April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

RECEIPTS

Per Capita		
Dues @ 10c	\$109,890.00	
@ 15c	453,477.50	
		563,367.50
Special Income:		
Past Periods		
1921 Assessment	63.50	
1922 "	31,390.00	
Chicago "	26,283.00	
Total Past Period Special Income....	57,736.50	
Present and Future Periods:		
1925 Assessment	7,100.10	
Initiation Tax	19,983.86	
Total Present and Future Special Income	27,083.96	
Total Special Income		84,820.46
Supplies, etc. Income:		
Supplies	2,854.61	
Charter Fees	160.00	
Surety Bonds Premium	1,867.50	
Labels	830.60	
Historics	385.65	
" Royalties	285.00	
Total Supplies, etc. Income.....		6,383.36
Publication Dept. Income:		
Advertising	8,444.60	
Subscriptions	12.50	
Total Publication Dept. Income.....		8,457.10
Miscellaneous Income		155.08
Outstanding Checks written off.....		541.50
Exchange Items:		
From Joint Board for Out-of-Town Dept.	16,000.00	
From Joint Board for Chicago Strike....	10,000.00	
From Local 22 for Local 49 Strike.....	2,000.00	
Exchange—Sanatorium Fund	1,000.00	
Securities (Held for Locals)	550.00	
Balance of Local 93 Funds.....	24.50	
Balance of Local 96 Funds.....	86.04	
Total Exchange Items		29,680.54

Loans and Advances:

Loans Receivable—Returned	2,522.00	
Loans from Banks, Joint Boards and Locals	845,592.94	
Advanced Revolving Funds for Expense—Returned	63,870.70	
		<hr/>
Total Loans and Advances.....		911,785.64
		<hr/>
Total Receipts		\$1,605,171.18
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DISBURSEMENTS

Administration Expenses:

Salaries—Officers:

Salary—President	12,150.00	
Salary—Secretary-Treasurer	10,250.00	
		<hr/>
Total Salaries of Officers.....		22,400.00

Office:

General Office Salaries	12,417.58	
Auditing Dept. (Schedule No. 1).....	19,924.15	
Record Dept. (Schedule No. 2).....	13,789.28	
Research Dept. (Schedule No. 3).....	5,348.33	
Educational Dept. (Schedule No. 4).....	14,932.34	
Publication Dept. (Schedule No. 5).....	136,548.62	
Office Maintenance (Schedule No. 6)....	38,483.21	
		<hr/>
Total Office Disbursements		241,423.51

General Executive Board Meetings and G. E. B. Standing and Special Committees	22,981.30
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Per Capita to Organizations:

A. F. of L. (Current).....	8,525.40	
A. F. of L. (Due April 1, 1924).....	5,400.00	
Dues and Per Capita to Other Organizations	1,000.13	
		<hr/>
Total Per Capita to Organizations....		14,925.53

Convention Expenses:

International Convention (1924).....	38,893.44	
A. F. of L. Convention (two conventions)	6,042.95	
		<hr/>
Total Convention Expenses		44,936.39

Total Administrative Expenses	346,666.73
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Organizing Expenses:

Salaries and Part Salaries (General Organizers and Managers) ..	41,450.00	
Organizers R. R. and Expenses (sent to assist organization campaigns and strikes for existing locals).....	12,378.54	

Travelling Expenses—President	3,370.65	
Travelling and Committee Expense— Secretary-Treasurer	2,392.10	
Eastern Out-of-Town Dept.—Salaries....	47,466.00	
Eastern Out-of-Town Dept. — Expenses (includes strike benefit, strike expense, travelling, etc.)	72,725.42	
Western Out-of-Town Dept.—Salaries..	13,903.00	
Western Out-of-Town Dept.—Expenses..	12,889.12	
District Council City of New York — Expenses (includes strike expenses)..	22,992.73	
District Council—Salaries	13,880.00	
Legal Expenses—Current	28,427.84	
Legal Expenses (Due April 1, 1924)....	6,812.56	
Advertisements	1,081.60	
Publicity	1,180.65	
Statistics	686.00	
Strike Donations to Locals (Exclusive of Eastern, Western Out-of-Town Dept. and District Council) Schedule No. 7	153,928.00	
Other Donations to Locals for Mainte- nance—Schedule No. 8	4,141.00	
Donations to Members	3,890.00	
 Total Organizing Expenses		443,595.21
Donations to Organizations, Schedule No. 9	23,342.15	
Donations to European Organizations, Schedule No. 10	1,950.00	
 Total Donations to Organizations		25,292.15
 Other Expenses:		
Discount on Notes	13,190.95	
Bank Charges	143.03	
Surety Bond Premiums—Current	1,689.44	
Surety Bond Premiums— (Due April 1, 1924)	1,827.50	
Supplies (Printing)	3,608.00	
Report of Convention—Printing	5,925.71	
Furniture and Fixtures	601.64	
I. L. G. W. U. History	13,858.09	
Labels	785.04	
Gomper's Funeral Expenses	554.00	
Gomper's Statue and Bust	2,892.18	
Gomper's Autobiography	140.00	
Gifts	4,239.20	
 Total Other Expenses		49,455.78

Exchange Items:

Security Held for Locals—Returned....	200.00	
Sanatorium Fund—Disbursements	629.32	
Refund to Local 10 on Sanatorium Ass't	10,750.00	
Joint Board—Out-of-Town Expenses	10,512.07	
Exchange Due	323.37	
		<hr/>
Total Exchange Items		22,414.76

Loans, Advances, etc.:

Loans Receivable—Given	13,582.00	
Loans Returned to Banks, Joint Boards and Locals	625,544.46	
Advanced Revolving Funds for Expenses —Given	78,916.20	
Loans to Ladies Garment Workers Center, Inc.	11,983.08	
		<hr/>
Total Loans, Advances, etc.		730,025.74

Total Disbursements	<u>\$1,617,450.37</u>
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SUMMARY

Balance, April 1, 1924	\$10,544.34
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Receipts:

Per Capita	\$563,367.50	
Special Income	84,820.46	
Supplies, etc. Income	6,383.36	
Publication Department Income	8,457.10	
Miscellaneous Income	696.58	
		<hr/>
Total Income	\$663,725.00	
Loans and Exchanges	941,446.18	
		<hr/>
Total Receipts		\$1,605,171.18
		<hr/>
Total		\$1,615,715.52

Disbursements:

Administration Expenses	\$346,666.73	
Organizing Expenses	443,595.21	
Donations to Organizations	25,292.15	
Other Expenses	49,455.78	
		<hr/>
Total Expenditures	\$865,009.87	
Loans and Exchanges	752,440.50	
		<hr/>
Total Disbursements		\$1,617,450.37
		<hr/>
Overdrawn, November 1, 1925		<u>\$1,734.85</u>

SCHEDULE No. 1
AUDITING DEPARTMENT
April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

Salaries	\$18,759.60	
Traveling Expenses	1,086.95	
Supplies	77.60	
	<hr/>	
Total		\$19,924.15

SCHEDULE No. 2
RECORD DEPARTMENT
April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

Salaries	\$13,082.32	
Printing	372.21	
Stationery	17.50	
Postage	210.00	
Supplies	17.50	
Repairs	52.75	
Desk	25.00	
Subscriptions	12.00	
	<hr/>	
Total		\$13,789.28

SCHEDULE No. 3
RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
July 1, 1924 to May 31, 1925

Salaries	\$4,906.48	
Books	196.30	
Stationery	63.05	
Clippings	141.60	
Supplies	25.90	
Photos	15.00	
	<hr/>	
Total		\$5,348.33

SCHEDULE No. 4
EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT

April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

Salaries	\$8,896.14	
Lectures	3,536.67	
Janitor Services	241.08	
Services Rendered (Concerts, etc.)	651.00	
Postage	465.00	
Printing	649.00	
Stationery	53.55	
Advertisements	88.95	
Hall Rent	209.00	
Gifts	29.00	
Books	11.84	
Repairs	12.50	
Design for Banner	30.00	
Expense—Miss Cohn	65.40	
Miscellaneous Expenses	73.21	
Total		\$14,932.31

SCHEDULE No. 5
PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT

April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

Salaries:		
Editors	\$30,575.00	
Contributors	4,894.75	
Office	800.00	\$36,069.75
Gerechtigkeit:		
Printing	23,630.84	
Postage	9,587.38	
Composition	9,272.50	42,490.72
Justice:		
Printing	20,304.42	
Postage	5,467.40	25,771.82
Guistizia—Printing and Postage		19,959.66
Postage Returns	57.17	
Index—Gerechtigkeit	50.00	
Commission on Ads	975.73	
Bookbinding	164.00	
Legal Fees	365.50	
Cuts	44.46	
Engraving	59.99	1,716.85

Printing	94.10	
Stationery	28.45	
Clippings	32.85	
Postage	175.52	
Books and Magazines	38.15	
Carfares	8.32	
Repairs	71.25	
Miscellaneous Expense	298.33	796.97
<hr/>		
Office Mailing Department:		
Salaries	8,052.42	
Supplies	1,273.22	
Postage	169.50	
Paper	192.23	
Repairs	49.80	
Miscellaneous Expense	5.68	9,742.85
<hr/>		
Total		136,548.62
Bills Due and Unpaid October 31, 1925		
Gerechtigkeit:		
Printing	2,548.40	
Postage	863.99	3,412.39
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Justice:		
Printing	1,511.60	
Postage	437.70	1,949.30
<hr/>		
Giustizia—Printing and Postage	2,152.92	7,514.61
<hr/>		
Total		\$144,063.23

SCHEDULE No. 6
OFFICE MAINTENANCE
April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

Rent—Current	12,500.00
" —Due April 1, 1924	6,000.00
Printing	5,304.30
Stationery and Office Supplies	2,251.24
Telephones	3,181.70
Telegrams	993.01
Postage	828.27
Water—Towels and Ice	877.60
Carfares	333.99
Repairs	2,872.70
Insurance	1,360.58
Flowers	213.50
Translation of Constitution	600.00
Auditing General Books	180.00
Miscellaneous Office Expense	521.97
Building Expenses	444.35
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Total	\$38,463.21

SCHEDULE No. 7

STRIKE DONATIONS TO LOCALS

(Exclusive of Eastern & Western Out-of-Town Depts. & District Council, N. Y.)

April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

Chicago Dressmakers	\$137,328.00	
Toronto Cloakmakers)		
Montreal Cloakmakers).....	16,400.00	
Local 132—Button Workers of N. Y. C.).....	200.00	
Total		\$153,928.00

SCHEDULE No. 8

OTHER DONATIONS TO LOCALS

(Maintenance of Locals)

April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

Toronto Cloakmakers	500.00	
Boston Cloakmakers	500.00	
Local 45—Designers—N. Y.	150.00	
“ 50—Philadelphia Dressmakers	1,500.00	
“ 55—Knitgoods Workers, N. Y.	200.00	
“ 64—New York Buttonhole Makers	1,050.00	
Old Local 58—N. G. checks written off.....	241.00	
Total		\$4,141.00

SCHEDULE No. 9
DONATIONS TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS
 April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

Anti-Fascist Newspapers	500.00
Brookwood College	500.00
Conference for Progressive Political Action.....	1,300.00
Deborah Jewish Relief Society.....	100.00
Free Youth	100.00
Freie Arbeiter Stimme	200.00
Gas Workers	25.00
H. I. A. S.	500.00
Italian Chamber of Labor	4,000.00
International Labor Press	100.00
International Chorus	350.00
Jewish Socialist Verband.....	500.00
Jewish Consumptive Relief Association.....	500.00
Kropotkin Literary Society	200.00
Kropotkin Museum	100.00
Los Angeles Sanatorium	1,000.00
La Follette Campaign	1,030.75
Labor Institute of Philadelphia	5,000.00
Labor Age	200.00
Messenger	200.00
New York Leader	400.00
Naturalization Aid League	200.00
National Association of Child Development.....	500.00
New Leader	500.00
New York Tuberculosis Association.....	10.00
Private Soldiers and Sailors	100.00
Provisional Relief Committee	75.00
Relief Society for Exiles	500.00
Sacco-Vanzetti	300.00
State Comm. of Jewish Verband.....	100.00
Stetson Modern School	150.00
Socialist Political Prisoners	500.00
Society of the "Ort"	1,000.00
Textile Workers	300.00
Tickets and Ads—Various Organizations.....	2,301.40
Total	\$23,242.15

SCHEDULE No. 10
DONATIONS TO EUROPEAN ORGANIZATIONS
 April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

Cultural Schools of Poland	1,000.00
Roumanian Workers	500.00
Socialist Party—France	100.00
Schools of Warsaw	100.00
Trade Union—Poland	250.00
Total	\$1,950.00

SANATORIUM FUND

April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

Balance April 1, 1924		\$26,553.96
Receipts		
Sale of Chestnuts		200.00
Total		<u>\$26,753.96</u>
Disbursements		
Taxes on Property	329.51	
Insurance	60.00	
Repairs	199.00	
Caretaking	206.46	
Deed	33.55	
Refund on Assessments Paid—Local 10	10,750.00	
Total Disbursements		<u>11,579.32</u>
Balance Sanatorium Fund October 31, 1925		<u>\$15,174.64</u>
Balance Sanatorium Fund as follows:		
Land and Buildings	13,000.00	
Farm Implements	157.50	
Balance in International Funds	2,017.14	
Total		<u>\$15,174.64</u>

EXPENDITURES BY CITY

April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925

	Salaries	Railroad Fare and Expenses	Strike Donations	Other Donations	Legal Fees	Total
Baltimore	1,840.00				400.00	2,240.00
Boston	11,335.00	3,112.90		500.00	4,850.00	19,797.90
Chicago & Western	11,175.00	11,805.12				22,980.12
Chicago Dress Strike			137,928.00		13,533.00	151,461.00
Cleveland	828.00	1,084.00				1,912.00
Philadelphia	7,280.00	728.12		1,500.00		9,508.12
St. Louis	1,900.00					1,900.00
Toronto) Montreal)	12,426.00	5,332.19	16,400.00	500.00		34,658.19
Knitgoods Workers N.Y.				200.00		200.00
Designers N. Y.				150.00		150.00
Button Workers N. Y.			200.00			200.00
Buttonhole Workers, N. Y.				1,050.00		1,050.00
Whitegoods Workers, N. Y.	495.00					495.00
General Organizing ..	8,074.00	3,205.33				11,279.33
Legal Fees—General ..					11,457.40	11,457.40
Eastern Out-of-Town Department	47,465.00	72,725.42				120,190.42
District Council N. Y. ..	13,880.00	417.15	22,575.58			36,872.73
Total	\$114,699.00	\$98,410.23	\$176,503.58	\$3,900.00	\$25,240.40	\$430,753.21

We, the undersigned Finance Committee found all the disbursements made by the General Office of the I. L. G. W. U. for the period April 1, 1924 to October 31, 1925 (voucher 610 to 5544 inclusive) to be satisfactory and legitimate.

SALVATORE NINFO, Chairman

HARRY WANDER, Secretary

I Herby certify that the overdraft of cash amounting to One Thousand Seven Hundred Thirty-Four Dollars Eighty-Five Cents \$(1,734.85) as shown by the bank reconciliation in the cash book on October 31, 1925 is correct.

ALEXANDER J. MEYERSON,

Certified Public Accountant

The attached reports are rendered after a thorough and careful examination of all books and records of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The statements herein appended are the true state of affairs of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to the best of my knowledge.

Respectfully submitted,

F. NATHAN WOLF, General Auditor

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CONVENTION

OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT

WORKERS' UNION

Opening Session, Monday Morning,
November 30, 1925

The formal opening of the Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union took place at 10:00 A. M. on Monday, November 30, 1925 at a reception mass meeting and concert under the auspices of the arrangement committee of the Philadelphia locals of the I. L. G. W. U., at the Arch Street Theatre, 6th and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.

The meeting was opened by Vice-President Elias Reisberg, chairman of the Convention Arrangements Committee; amid the strains of the national hymn followed by the stirring tones of the Internationale. The excellent musical program throughout the meeting was rendered by a symphony orchestra under the direction of Mr. Joseph Kazze. The stage of the Arch Street Theatre was literally deluged with huge floral pieces presented by local labor bodies, cloak and dress shops and groups of individual members.

After the applause which greeted the first musical renditions had died out, Chairman Reisberg delivered a short address of welcome on behalf of the Philadelphia organizations of the International, extending their greetings to the delegates and visitors from out of town and promising on behalf of the arrangements committee to give the delegates, between sessions, every comfort and entertainment within their means. Brother Reisberg's speech was interrupted for several minutes by the arrival of a group of delegates, who came marching into the hall carrying placards on which were inscribed the legends "We want proportional representation," "We want recognition of Soviet Russia," "We demand Amalgam-

mation." "We demand general amnesty," and a few others.

In a few minutes the newly arrived delegates found seats and Chairman Reisberg proceeded with the meeting by calling first upon Brother Adolph Hirschberg, president of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, to address the assembled delegates and visitors on behalf of the central labor organization of the convention city.

Mr. Hirschberg: Mr. Chairman, officers, fellow musicians, delegates, visitors and friends, I am proud, indeed, to have the opportunity to bring to you the fraternal greetings of organized labor of the City of Philadelphia and its vicinity, and in extending that welcome to this City of Brotherly Love I feel almost like a thorn among roses, seeing all the floral decorations here. It is rare, indeed, for a man in the Labor movement to have an opportunity of presenting himself before such an audience in such surroundings as these. It is more in the spirit of a celebration. Of course, I trust that before your convention is over you will have the opportunity of celebrating the things that you will have accomplished during the time you are in session here.

In having your convention in this City of Brotherly Love you should be inspired by the wonderful things that have been accomplished in our home atmosphere, such as, for instance, the signing of the Declaration of Independence within a stone's throw from here, where hangs the famous Liberty Bell. Great things have been done in Philadelphia, and that ought to inspire you to do great things for yourselves while you are present. Brotherly love, if properly adopted, is the

only thing that can advance you to the rung of the ladder that you are trying to attain. I mean the kind of brotherly love that you would use to your own brother when you find that you ought to instruct him to do better; when you debate and argue a question with him with the utmost sincerity, and after it is all over you are brothers as heretofore. And that's the proper spirit for the Labor movement. Without that brotherly spirit, where there is no malice and ill-feeling left after you use your advice, Labor can rarely advance to where it wishes to go.

We are glad to welcome you, because Labor in Philadelphia is not very militant. I wish I could have them here this morning to gain some of the inspiration that you could have instilled in them. I don't know when I have seen such a great aggregation of people at a Labor meeting or a Labor convention, and for that reason I have great hopes that great things will be achieved here, and for that reason I welcome you in behalf of Labor and trust that your deliberations will be successful and extremely beneficial to you in your sessions. I thank you. (applause).

The next speaker to address the gathering was Brother David Braginsky, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades. Brother Braginsky spoke in Yiddish. He extended fraternal greetings of his organization to the International, and wished it success in its deliberations.

Brother James A. Ritchie, representing the American Federation of Labor in Philadelphia and vicinity, was next introduced. He spoke as follows:

Mr. Ritchie: Mr. Chairman, delegates and friends: There is always at least one day in a man's life when he has the opportunity to perform a duty that gives him a great deal of pleasure. This is one of the days for me. It, indeed, gives me great happiness as the representative of the American Federation of Labor for the Philadelphia district to have the honor of welcoming the Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

in the city of Philadelphia, and while it is customary to say that we know that your deliberations and your activities during the sessions of your convention are going to bring better things in life for the members of your whole International Union, it is also customary for one who welcomes you to this City of Brotherly Love to refer to its historic incidents and its many accomplishments that have been achieved in our city that have brought joy and happiness and freedom to the people of our country.

From time to time since then additional events have taken place in our city. Your convention is one of those events. Your coming here to Philadelphia to encourage each other, to devote your time, your energy and your thoughts to your deliberations will bring better things not only for the members of your International Union, but will reflect on the future well-being of all the wage-earners of this country (applause). It is going to add another chapter to the history of our city, and as the representative of the American Federation of Labor and on behalf of the entire Labor movement of our country and Canada, I have the joy and happiness of wholeheartedly welcoming you to this City. Philadelphia needs your convention. The members of the different unions in this district are glad that you have decided to hold your convention here. The movement in Philadelphia is just now going through a crisis.

It is said that history has been made in Philadelphia; and as far as the Labor movement is concerned, in the last five or six years, we have been on the battle line and we have been fighting as best as we were able to, sometimes with our back to the wall, in order to maintain our organization. We have gone through many hard-fought battles in Philadelphia, and because we had groups of men and women who had faith and confidence in their organization, and fighting as they did and making every sacrifice that men and women could make, we have resisted reductions in wages; we have resisted the destruction of the eight-hour day and of union shop conditions. We have gone through those battles and we

have saved our position, and I don't know of any other city where the battle was as severe and where the men and women of Labor have been called upon to make the sacrifices that they made here. We have saved our position and we are going to go into 1926 better equipped and more confident of future success than we have been for many years past.

The accomplishments and achievements of your convention here will give added encouragement to the Labor movement of this district. If there ever was a time to preach to every member of the aims and purposes and principles of organized labor, it is now. During the coming months we urge every member of every union to keep in touch not only with the shop, but to get in touch with your friends, your acquaintances, your relatives who are not members of the organization who are eligible to membership in order that we may build up our organization both in numbers and in influence. That, my friends, is your duty and our duty. If we do that, we will be able to go into 1927 better equipped than we are now going into 1926. Do all you can not only during this convention when your enthusiasm runs high, but after the convention is over and you settle back to the daily routine of your work. Bear in mind that your co-operation with the rest of the organized Labor movement of this district is needed in the building up of the movement in Philadelphia to make it better and stronger.

In conclusion, I want to congratulate the committee on arrangements for this magnificent affair, and I want to thank you for this privilege of welcoming you, and if there is anything that I might be able to do to serve you not only in this convention but at any time in the future, I shall, indeed, consider it a privilege to be called upon. (Applause).

Brother Reissberg: The next speaker I have pleasure in introducing is one of our very early organizers. He needs no introduction, and that is our everlastingly young Brother Weinberg.

Brother Weinberg spoke in Yiddish. He recalled the early struggles of the workers of the International, comparing

their wretched state in the past with the wonderful progress that had been made since the inception of the International, and urged that the delegates conduct their proceedings in harmony and solidarity. He was heartily applauded.

Brother Reissberg: I will next introduce to you the President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, who has come from Harrisburg to address you. I take pleasure in introducing to you Brother James H. Maurer. (Great applause).

President Maurer: As the chairman has informed you, I represent the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and as the representative of this State, I welcome you to Pennsylvania. Our State is wonderful in many respects. We have many historic spots that it would be well for you to visit before you go home, such as Valley Forge, Harrisburg, Gettysburg, etc., where human blood has been shed in the struggle for the uplift of the working class. We have also the State Constabulary that was brought into existence to keep down the enthusiasm of trade unionists, and they have been in certain quarters very successful in trying to polish some of our skulls with their clubs. It may interest some of you to know that they are using the members of the State Constabulary as a strike-breaking institution.

You are here to continue the work that was begun long ago for the general uplift of the working class. We, as a class, have been the suppressed people ever since the beginning of civilization. The struggle is only beginning to gather real momentum. We produce everything, yet as a class we own nothing. The harder we work the poorer we get, and the owning class—the less they work the richer they get. There is something wrong, and the Labor movement seems to know what is wrong and the only way we can solve the problem is to understand each other and get together as real men and women. We must learn to be reasonable with each other and stop splitting hairs, stop fighting about non-essentials and wrestle with the real big things.

In this great State at the present time, there is a terrible conflict raging

in the anthracite coal fields. Today marks the third month of the strike. In the soft coal fields west of the anthracite region, we have quite a different situation. Men and women and children are deliberately starving on the job and not on strike. We have a situation brought about by the people who manage industry who tell us that they know how to run things, and that all we need do is to obey orders. They have 200,000 more men in the industry than they need—an industry so frightfully over-developed that they can furnish work only from one to two days a week to the people dependent upon it for their existence. They are not looking after the workers' interests, but after the interest of the almighty dollar. That condition must be changed and only the workers can change it.

Ninety-five years ago in this city, we began a struggle for education for the common people. We demanded public schools for the rich and poor alike. The other side said: "The State is not here to take care of the people. The people are here to take care of the State, and if you are going to educate all the people it will mean that they will become shiftless and lazy and nobody will do the work." We had to fight for free text books in the public schools, and we got them. When I was a boy there was no child labor law, there were no laws to protect the men in the coal mines, no compensation law, and in my short life we went through the battle until today we have legislation in the interest of the common people. Was it handed to us by the other side? No! Everything we have we fought for. If I had the power today to emancipate mankind from the thralldom of wage slavery, I would not do it, because if I did do it you would not appreciate it. You would sink back into slavery in a short time after you were free. The only way you will ever get free is to go after what you want yourselves and fight for it, and if you know the price you pay for it, you will appreciate it. (Applause).

I want to congratulate this organization because it was one of the pioneers in workers' education. Time and again I am called upon to recommend some-

body from the ranks of the workers for some important state position but there are not many to choose from who are qualified. When the politicians pick somebody, he is not supposed to make good. If he does, he is liable to be fired. (Laughter). But when labor puts a man on a job he must make good or it will give us a black eye. Therefore I congratulate you on taking a forward step in educating the mass.

Before I close I want to remind you of this: there are 40,000 men and women in Philadelphia working in hotels and restaurants and only 700 of them are organized. Wherever you get a chance, get hold of the waiters and tell them the mistake they are making in not joining the organization. Pave the way for the organizers.

Another point — you ladies' garment workers don't seem to see the benefits of affiliating your organization with the state organization that I have the honor to be president of. Our dues are low. I want all of you delegates to join your state movement. We need your advice, your assistance, and we want you to send your delegates to attend the meetings.

In conclusion let me say this: In any decision you are going to reach at this convention, always keep in mind this idea, "How will this affect the working class?" If it is going to be good for your class, it has merit, but if it is only going to be good for you to shine in the spotlight, it has no merit. The working class of the world is watching you today. They are waiting for something constructive, they are expecting you to go forward and not backward. They are hoping that you will be practical and not impractical, and that when your convention adjourns you will be a unit, and I hope and pray that when your convention adjourns you will join hands and march forward in a solid phalanx and meet the enemy face to face for a better world to come. I thank you (prolonged applause).

Brother Reisberg: The time has come to transfer the gavel to the man who, by virtue of his position, will be the per-

manent chairman of this convention. I have the honor and pleasure to introduce to you the President of the International, Brother Morris Sigman.

(President Sigman was given an ovation).

President Sigman: Mr. Chairman of the Arrangement Committee, members of our Philadelphia locals, delegates and friends: We deeply appreciate the efforts that have been made in getting together this magnificent gathering, for inviting all members of our local unions and for the invitations that you have extended to our friends in the organized Labor movement in this City who have delivered such inspiring and constructive talks that should help us in our deliberations upon matters that vitally concern us.

In calling this convention formally into session, it is appropriate for me as President of the I. L. G. W. U. to call to the attention of our delegates representing the members of our locals throughout the United States and Canada and of our friends who are gathered here, some events in the history of our great International Union, back to its very early stages; back to the days when our International was yet in its infancy.

In the year 1900, the first convention of our International was called to order in the City of Philadelphia. There is no doubt in my mind that when they decided to call the first convention in the City of Philadelphia they had in mind the very high ideal and principle upon which organized labor is founded, and it is only upon that basis that it can go onward and make progress. They had in mind brotherly love. Twenty-five delegates were present at that convention. I don't know how many members they represented, but when I joined the International in 1908 the membership then consisted only of about five thousand throughout the country. These twenty-five delegates who gathered together here in Philadelphia in 1900 chose this city, where the Declaration of Independence of our country was signed, because their coming together here represented the signing of the declaration of independence of the ladies' garment workers of

this country, who at that time were wholly unorganized and who were treated as the most enslaved and the most exploited group of workers in the land. In 1900, when that little group of pioneers met here in Philadelphia, there were no floral decorations or music to inspire them. All that they saw before them was the huge task of organizing those countless numbers of workers and bringing them together into one fighting organization. Today, after going through very hard economic struggles because of the existing depression in the last four or five years, we can still count over one hundred thousand men and women organized in our International Union (applause); and now, coming to this convention, the task before us is how to get into our fold another hundred thousand workers who are still unorganized in the United States and Canada, and make them share the benefits of the organized workers' movement.

This is the eighteenth national meeting of our organization. A convention called by a labor organization is not called merely for the purpose of having delegates meet each other socially. Conventions are called in order to consider vital problems, which deal with the life and the happiness of the workers in the industry. A labor union is a constantly struggling organization. A labor union therefore has always to meet and deliberate upon vital problems confronting its membership.

At this present convention we will have to meet the problem of organizing many thousands of workers who have come into our industry and will keep coming in because of certain changes that have taken place in it. We will have to meet the problem which deals with the morale of the Labor movement and of our organization. We will have to decide on action which may lead to a very serious conflict with some employers in certain markets. We will have to look into the situation of our workers right here in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia has given our International a rich history. We had two tremendous battles here, one of the cloak-makers in 1913, when for twenty-six

weeks the cloakmakers were lined up on the battlefield. The employers at that time were the victors. But because our members did not lose their courage, we regained in one year, not only all that we had lost, but we went even further. In 1922 we had another very interesting battle and had almost the same experience. A year later our efforts were revived and the dressmakers' union was again re-established.

But the field in Philadelphia is still a large one. While we meet here, we shall have to look into every branch of our industry and do what we possibly can so that after our convention we shall be able to show what the workers have gained by having our convention here.

I don't know in what way we can compensate the speakers who have addressed us except by showing in our deliberations a unity of spirit and a willingness to push our movement forward toward greater progress. We appreciate, indeed, the generous welcome given us by President Maurer of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, Brother Ritchie, Braginsky, and our old friend Brother Weinberg, with whom I jointly in the year 1908, together with many other men and women in the City of New York, conducted the campaign to organize the cloakmakers and prepared as best we could for the general strike of 1910. I hope they will visit our convention meetings and I hope that they will enjoy our proceedings and will consider them to be beneficial to the organized labor unions in Philadelphia.

In conclusion I wish to say that the chairman of the Arrangements Committee has informed me that the place we had engaged for our proceedings, Eagles' Temple, was found to be too small to accommodate us, and we have succeeded in getting larger quarters at Lulu Temple, across the street from Eagles' Temple, where our proceedings will be held. There will begin our work and we shall receive the greetings of representatives of organized labor. We are going to have a representative of organized labor from the other side, Comrade Plettl, president of the German Clothing Workers' Federation, who comes as a fraternal dele-

gate to our convention. We certainly expect also the President of the American Federation of Labor, Brother William Green.

I will conclude with my heartiest greetings to you delegates to this convention. Please, bear in mind that you as delegates do not represent yourselves. You are only the trustees of the workers you represent, and who have placed their confidence in you. In the performance of your duties bear in mind the life and the struggle for happiness of the tens of thousands you represent.

I want you also to realize that a labor convention is the most constructive gathering for the good and welfare of the human family. As Brother Maurer has said the Labor movement will watch our proceedings. I greet the members of our International and I greet all of our friends and visitors. I am sure that this convention will, as our past conventions have, accomplish greater and brighter things for all of us and will lead our own organization, as well as the organized Labor movement of the country, to further progress and to further advancement. I thank you. (Prolonged applause).

The meeting was then adjourned at 1 p. m. until the following morning at 9:30.

Second Day—Morning Session. December 1, 1925.

The session was called to order at 10.30 a. m. by President Sigman, in Lulu Temple, the convention hall.

President Sigman: Yesterday, we had the formal opening of the convention. I believe you will all agree with me that the opening of the convention was an impressive proceeding and that the Arrangements Committee of our Philadelphia locals deserves our heartiest thanks and appreciation.

Today we have come here to conduct the regular business of our convention. Before this can be done the convention must be organized. It cannot be organized until our delegates are seated. This can be done only after the Credentials

Committee has submitted its report. Pending the submission of this report which is as yet not ready, Secretary Baroff will read several communications that have been received. I wish to advise the delegates that all resolutions must be submitted to the Secretary by 12 o'clock midnight. I am allowing only one day for the introduction of resolutions, inasmuch as we have called upon all of our affiliated locals and delegates to send in resolutions prior to the calling of this convention and we have received quite a number of them. It therefore seemed to me that one day would be sufficient for the introduction of additional resolutions.

Secretary Baroff proceeded to read the following communications and telegrams which were greeted with hearty applause.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention, Philadelphia, Pa.
Accept fraternal greetings. Amalgamated members are deeply interested in welfare of International. May this convention bring greater unity and strength to your organization. Your success will be cause for our rejoicing.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG.

New York.
Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Philadelphia, Pa.

Greetings to the Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Heartiest congratulations and best wishes for a successful conclusion of our industrial and internal problems. We sincerely hope that your deliberations will result in the rebuilding of our union so shamefully shattered by enemies from within and without. We also sincerely hope that your conclusions will result in the safeguarding of the elementary rights of the membership without domination of outside forces.

AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10 I. L. G. W. U.

David Frubling, Benjamin Sachs, Philip Ansel.

Cleveland, Ohio.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Accept our heartiest congratulations and best wishes for the Eighteenth Biennial Convention. May your deliberations place you in the forefront of the American Labor Movement.

WORKERS OF SENSHINE CLOAK AND SUIT CO.

Louis Zelman, Chairman.

Los Angeles, Cal.
Convention of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

On behalf Board of Directors and Patients Consumptive Sanatorium I extend you hearty greetings and wishes for successful inspiring session. Hundred sixteen patients in sanatorium look to you, their comrades in ranks of American working men, to help

them in their struggle for life and strength. May your deliberations lead to better life for those in shop, and life itself for those whom white plague has struck down.

DR. NAJUM KAVINSKY,
President Jewish Consumptive Relief Association.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Greetings. May success, harmony and unity be the keynote of this Eighteenth Convention. May this convention be another stepping stone in the path of progress to the vast membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

MEMBERS OF LOCAL 29.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Greetings and congratulations to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention. May the spirit of solidarity and brotherhood guide you in all your undertakings and may you achieve the distinction of being the leaders in the American labor movement.

LOCALS 26 AND 27.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Greetings and congratulations to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention. May the progressive spirit that has guided your undertakings in the past inspire you to greater victories and achievements in all your deliberations.

LOCAL 44.

J. Magistra, Chairman.

St. Louis, Mo.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Philadelphia, Pa.

Brother President and delegates, accept our heartiest greetings. May your deliberations strengthen the interests of our International. May you continue forever to be the guiding power of the workers in the Ladies' Garment Industry.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, LOCAL 28.

Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Accept our heartiest congratulations on the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. We sincerely trust that the thoughts of every office and delegate of this convention are for solidarity and the good of our Union. We hope that the policies laid down will make for tolerance and harmony and progress throughout our great organization. May every victory and every success be yours.

CLOAK, SUIT AND DRESS FINISHERS'

UNION LOCAL 69, I. L. G. W. U.

A. Sher, Chairman; M. Trubakov, Sec'y.

Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

To the Eighteenth Convention of our International the Philadelphia Waist and Dressmakers' Union extends its cordial greetings. We hope that the I. L. G. W. U. will continue to be a shibboleth and the inspiration of the labor movement of the land.

WAIST AND DRESSMAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 50.

Aaron Einbinder, Pres.; Abraham Bloomfield, Secretary.

Eighteenth Convention, I. L. G. W. U.

We, members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and students of the Workers' University of the International, met on November 21 and 22, 1925. In view of the fact that a convention of our International will be held in Philadelphia on November 30, we decided to address this communication to the delegates and officers.

In the first place we extend to you our

heartiest greetings. May your deliberations and decisions be wise and crowned with success. May all that you do help to strengthen our glorious International and to speed the day when Labor will come into its own.

As students in the activities arranged by the Educational Department of the International, we want to express our appreciation of its work. We realize the debt which we owe to our organization. Its educational activities have helped us not merely to understand better the economic, political and social conditions under which we live, but also to contribute more in service to our own organization and to the Labor Movement.

We are particularly proud of the fact that, in spite of the many difficulties and struggles which have continually confronted our Union our educational activities were maintained without interruption for eight years. We are gratified to note that in spite of difference of opinion which exists among various groups of our membership, they all unite in approving and supporting the work of our Educational Department. When we think of the inspiring Opening Exercises of the Educational Session held on November 14, where almost 3,000 members crowded the auditorium of the Washington Irving High School, full of enthusiasm and good will, we realize that our membership fully understands the tremendous importance of our educational activities and approves the manner in which they have been conducted.

We want to express our pride in the fact that the contribution which our Union has made to Labor Education has borne fruit in this country. The American Labor Movement has not only accepted it, but has also lent its aid and support to the idea that Labor must develop and control a system of education which will help it to achieve its aims. We are happy that our Union was the pioneer in this movement in America.

And finally, as we look to this Eighteenth Convention, we are certain that you will pursue the educational policy of the preceding conventions, and will instruct the incoming General Executive Board, not only to continue our educational activities, but also to extend them with greater vigor and success.

SAMUEL YOUNG,

Secretary Students' Council, I. L. G. W. U.

Boston, Mass.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Greetings to the Eighteenth Convention of our International. May we express our earnest desire and best wishes for a successful conclusion of the aim outlined by this convention to bring about friendly relations among the officers and members of our International and to regain the standards obtained by our Union through years of struggle and deprivation. We hope to come out victorious from the recent crisis in our organization and that in the future we shall be able to do constructive work for our union.

CLOAK MAKERS' UNION LOCAL 66
Morris Keshner, Acting Sec'y.

Boston, Mass.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention.

Greetings to the delegates of the Eighteenth Convention of our International. May our organization grow stronger in its gains and greater in its spirit for the happiness of the members and for the welfare of mankind.

CLOAK AND DRESS PRESSERS' UNION, LOCAL 12.

I. Spiser, Secretary.

Chicago, Ill.

The Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The Chicago Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union takes much pride and pleasure in greeting the officers and delegates of the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of our great organizations. We hope that the recent strife within our organization will now be forever eliminated and that when this convention comes to a close new strength and solidarity will be infused into our entire membership. Let us all strive together for the betterment of our trade conditions.

CHICAGO JOINT BOARD, I. L. G. W. U.
A. Sher, Chairman; M. Goldstein, Secretary-Treasurer.

South Norwalk, Conn.

To our delegates, David Harris and Charles Di Sanza, wishing you success and hoping you will carry on good work as you did in the past. Long live our International.

LOCAL 141.

Philadelphia, Pa.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Greetings and best wishes for the success of your Convention.

MARGARET BANK,
Sec'y, Millinery Workers, Local 44.

New York, N. Y.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention.

We, Cloakmakers and Dressmakers of New York, assembled at an open forum on November 30, 1925 at Local 2 building, request the convention to support the policies of the progressive delegation in their struggle for the interests of the entire membership of the I. L. G. W. U.

PRESS COMMITTEE.

New York, N. Y.

International Convention.

The delegates of the Eighteenth Biennial Convention are confronted with serious problems of our union due to the depression in the trade, the well-organized employer and the broken ranks of our membership. The life and death, the very existence of our union, is at stake. Let us hope that practical and good sense will dominate at this convention for the benefit of all those whom you represent and for the working-class in general.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, LADIES' TAILORS, CUSTOM DRESSMAKERS, THEATRICAL, COSTUME AND ALTERATION WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 38.
B. Drasin, Secretary.

New York, N. Y.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

May this convention be crowned with success and insure a spirit of unity.

NEW BRIGHTON CLOAK CO.,
Staten Island.

Toronto, Ont.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention.

Greetings. May this convention bring about peace and harmony in our ranks. Let the slogan be, "Union Above All."

TORONTO JOINT BOARD CLOAK-MAKERS' UNION.
A. Kirsner, Business Agent.

New York, N. Y.
Eighteenth Biennial Convention, International
Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Heartiest congratulations and best wishes to the officers and delegates to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention. May wise counsel and good judgment prevail at this convention and unitedly strive for the betterment of the conditions of our members. May the spirit of true brotherhood and solidarity guide all your deliberations.

1181. COUNCIL OF MISCELLANEOUS
TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK.
Max M. Eisenfeld, Sec'y.

International Ladies Garment Workers'
Union Convention.

We are confident that this convention will overcome all obstacles. We extend our best wishes for its ultimate success.

KEYSTONE DRESS CO.,
Jamaica, L. I.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies Garment Workers'
Union Convention.

Heartiest congratulations. Let common sense bring about harmony among the delegates assembled at this convention which will improve the relations among us and thereby further strengthen our organization and bring about better conditions in the ladies' garment industry. With that in view, we wish success to the convention.

EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE SKIRT
MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 27.

International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union.

We extend to the delegates our heartiest wishes for the success of this convention.

GOTTLIEB & SEIFF CLOAK CO
Jamaica, L. I.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union Convention.

Astoria Local 84 unites in sending a sincere wish for the success of this convention.

ASTORIA LOCAL 84.

Los Angeles, Calif.
Los Angeles Local sends greetings and congratulations to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention. Los Angeles is mindful of the achievements and traditions of our great international body and sends the wish that the record of achievements may be maintained. We take this occasion at the opening of your Eighteenth Biennial Convention to express our gratitude and our loyalty to our international. With love and greetings to all of the delegation.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, LADIES' GARMENT
WORKERS, LOCAL 52.

New York, N. Y.
Morris Sigman
International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union Convention.

Sorry cannot be with you. Fate decreed it otherwise. Sincerely hope that our Biennial Convention will prove to be harmonious and constructive. Wish to extend to you and all delegates my very best wishes for success.

MAX M. EISENFELD.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union Convention.

We urge the delegates to this convention to intelligently consider the problems of our union and we hope you will avoid the con-

dicts of the past by adopting such reforms as will give the entire membership full control of the union. We demand that the convention refer to the members the question of proportional representation.

WORKERS OF I. WEINGARTEN.

530 7th Ave., New York City
Sam Chessman, Chairman; H. Hochman
and N. Sharf, Committee

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union Convention.

Greetings. Local Twenty herewith extends its heartiest congratulations and best wishes to the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. May the outcome of your deliberations bring success to the deep problems confronting our Union at this time.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, WATERPROOF
GARMENT WORKERS' UNION,
LOCAL 20.

David Gingold, Manager; Abraham Weingart,
Secretary.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union Convention.

Accept hearty congratulations of the International Union Bank one of your institutions not represented by a delegation. Let us hope that all your endeavors will meet with success and that all your present internal differences may be adjusted in a manner so that in the next two years the entire work of the union will be devoted to strengthening our ranks and bringing our International Union in the position in the labor movement of this country in which it has been for the past fifteen years. Wishing you immense success.

PHILLIP KAPLOWITZ,
Cashier.

New York, N. Y.
Greetings to Eighteenth Biennial Convention of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Heartiest congratulations and best wishes. May your deliberations bring light, unity and harmony to the workers in the Ladies' Garment Industry.

BENJ. EVERY,
Local 10.

New York, N. Y.
Greetings to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Heartiest congratulations and best wishes. May the future work and determination to better the conditions of our members be crowned with success.

HARRY ZASLOFSKY,
Local 10.

New York, N. Y.
Greetings to Eighteenth Biennial Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Heartiest congratulations and best wishes. May your deliberations bring better conditions for the workers in the garment industry. It is with pride that we say self-determination and local autonomy are the means by which a powerful organization is maintained. Hoping your efforts will be crowned with success, we remain, fraternally yours.

CUTTERS OF HATTIE CARRICK, INC.
Joel Abramowitz, Chairman,
Katonah, N. Y.

International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union Convention.

We the I. L. G. W. U. members at the

Brookwood Labor College send greetings and best wishes to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. May this convention mark the end of internal dissension and bring about better understanding among all the workers. May our International continue to maintain the leadership in progressive thought and action that has always characterized it.

BESSIE MORIN, ADA ROSENFELT, LOCAL 80; ROSE PERATO, ANNA SABENOVSKY, CELIA SAMARODIN, LOCAL 22; NESTLE ESTERBROOK, LOCAL 46.

New York, N. Y.
Our warmest and best greetings to all delegates. We hope you will endeavor to exert all your efforts and energy in establishing perfect peace and harmony in our union. It has been and is the great desire of this Italian Dress and Waist Makers' Union, Local 80 that you conform with your opinions for the great benefit of our workers and thereby strengthen our organization that it may be respected by all. May wisdom inspire your actions and deliberations, which we hope will bring about a new era of success to our International through thoughtful and reasonable cooperation between all the various elements of its locals and membership. Long live our organization.

ITALIAN DRESSMAKERS' UNION, Local 80,
Frank Olivo, Acting Manager.

Caldwell, N. J.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.
Greetings and best wishes for progress and unity at your sessions.

A MEMBER OF LOCAL 82.
I. Graff.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.
Heartfelt congratulations and best wishes to the officers and delegates to the Eighteenth Convention. May your deliberation bring cheer, joy and comfort into the lives and homes of the tens of thousands of workers who with eager eyes and throbbing heart, look up to you for their guidance and council.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, EMBROIDERY
WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 6.

New York, N. Y.
Best wishes for the success of this Eighteenth Convention. May unity and harmonious spirit prevail.

PERFECT FIT CLOAK CO.,
Corona, L. I.

Cleveland, Ohio.
Accept our greetings and best wishes to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention. We hope that the constructive work that has so far taken place may inspire you to greater achievements, and may your endeavors be crowned with success.

CLEVELAND JOINT BOARD,
S. Bergstein, Vice-Chairman

Boston, Mass.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.
Heartfelt greetings to the officers and delegates of the Eighteenth Convention. May harmonious deliberations of this great assembly fulfill the purpose it was called for and may unity be re-established in the ranks of our International. May the past victorious achievements of our International be for ever greater and the future be brighter for the members affiliated with our organization.

tion. May this special convention leave our union undivided for a complete control on the economic and industrial field.

DRESS, SKIRT AND WAISTMAKERS'
UNION LOCAL 46.
Rose Simkins, Sec'y.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.
Congratulations and best wishes for success from the committee of progressives.

LOCAL NO. 3 OF AMSTERDAM, INC.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.
To the officers and delegates, the organized Millinery Workers of the City of New York send their sincere and heartfelt wishes for a successful convention. Let your deliberations and conclusions inspire the great membership of your international union for greater solidarity and unity. We hope that your convention will take the initiative in uniting the international unions and the needle trades for joint action and cooperation.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION,
LOCAL 24.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.
Eighteenth Biennial Convention.
Accept our heartfelt congratulations to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention. May the spirit of unity and peace prevail amongst the members of our great International Union. Let this historic convention lead the way to progress and success for the welfare of our membership. Stand united and success is inevitable. It is our hope that this convention will meet the problems that it faces with unquestionable loyalty to the entire membership of the International Union.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS' UNION, LOCAL 68.
Max M. Esserfeld, Manager.

New York, N. Y.
Greetings from workers Chas. Isaacs Shop. Hoping that you will be able to succeed at this convention in building a strong union.

CHAS. ISAACS SHOP.

Luzon, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.
Hearty congratulations, best wishes for successful deliberations.

S. SCHINDLER.

Newark, N. J.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.
Congratulations and best wishes for a successful convention. Members of our union look towards you for a brighter day.

DRESS, WAIST AND WHITE GOODS
WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 51, of
PASSAIC, N. J.

Newark, N. J.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.
Best wishes for a successful convention. May your deliberations bring more sunshine and happiness to our workers.

NEW JERSEY DISTRICT COUNCIL.

Newark, N. J.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.
Accept our heartfelt congratulations and

Best wishes to your Eighteenth convention.
May the adjournment of this convention bring
united and harmonious union.
**CLOAK AND SKIRT MAKERS' UNION,
LOCAL 21**

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.

Best wishes for a successful convention.
May your deliberations be of great benefit
to your membership. Permit no particular
group to control your organization.

**CHILDRENS' CLOTHING WORKERS'
JOINT BOARD, A. C. W. OF A.**
Joseph Gold, Manager.

Baltimore, Md.
International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union Convention.

We send our heartiest greetings to the
Eighteenth Biennial Convention and we trust
that the delegates will elect an adminis-
tration of such officers as will be able to take
care of the organization in the future as the
present administration has done for so many
years, and that they will be able to keep up
the standards of working conditions without
the interruption of any party or parties that
may seek to hinder them in these efforts. We
wish you all success in this undertaking.

**LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
LOCAL 4.**

A. Brightstein, Sec'y.

Brother Hochman: I rise at this time
to call the attention of this convention to
the great strike going on in the anthra-
cite fields of Pennsylvania conducted by
the United Mine Workers of America
against the coal barons of this State. I
believe it is no more than right that we
give our first thought to the great strug-
gle of these 158,000 miners, who have
already been out for three months. The
employers have refused to consider any
of their demands. They are striking
primarily for an increase in wages and
complete recognition of the organization.
They should receive our full support at
this time. I therefore move that the
Secretary be instructed to send a tele-
gram to the striking miners of the anth-
racite fields, giving them our encourage-
ment and sympathy, and promising them
all the support that is within our power,
(applause).

Brother Reisberg: I amend this mo-
tion to include the striking miners of
West Virginia. (Amendment seconded).

(Upon being put to a vote, the motion
was unanimously carried, amidst thunder-
ous applause).

Brother Greenberg: A wonderful strug-
gle has been waged by the Amalgamated
Clothing Workers of America against

the International Tailoring Company,
which has tried to destroy the Union. I
believe we ought to express our joy at
the wonderful victory achieved by the
Amalgamated. I therefore move that a
telegram of greeting and congratulation
be sent to the Amalgamated. (Great ap-
plause). This motion was seconded and
unanimously carried).

Sister Mollie Friedman: I rise at this
time to request the unanimous consent of
this convention to send a telegram of
greeting to one of our men in Chicago
Philip Davis, a man who was president
of his local for some time and who is
very much loved by our members in that
city. He was sentenced during the 1924
strike to 90 days in jail. The Chicago
organization has done everything in its
power to carry this case to the Supreme
Court of the State of Illinois and we have
done all we could to prove the innocence
of this man. Brother Davis is a sick
man and it was proved to the physician
of the judge who sentenced him that he
is not well enough to go to jail. But we
were unsuccessful in keeping him out
and it is now the third week that he has
been in the House of Correction in Chi-
cago, in the hospital ward, because of his
health. I move that we send him a tele-
gram thanking him for the sacrifice
which he is making for our organization.
I would also request that telegrams of
appreciation be sent to Brother John
Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago
Federation of Labor; Edward Nockels,
Victor Olander, secretary of the Illinois
State Federation of Labor; John Walker,
Agnes Nestor and Oscar Nelson, vice-
president of the Federation and attorney
for the union, for their splendid help
and support of our organization.

(This motion was seconded and carried)

Brother Zack: I move that these mo-
tions be voted on separately.

(This motion was seconded and carried)

Brother Antonini: I move that the mo-
tion in reference to Brother Davis be
voted on by a rising vote.

(This motion was seconded and carried.
Upon being put to a vote the first pro-

position of Sister Friedman in reference to sending a telegram of greeting and appreciation to Brother Davis was unanimously carried by a rising vote, amidst prolonged applause.)

The second proposition of Sister Friedman, in reference to telegrams of appreciation to Brother John Fitzpatrick, Edward Nockels, Victor Olander, John Walker, Oscar Nelson and Sister Agnes Nestor, was voted on by a show of hands and was overwhelmingly carried, there being a few dissenting votes.

President Sigman: Delegate Weiss has the floor.

Brother Manny Weiss (Local 6): Mr. Chairman, I move to extend a vote of thanks to the Arrangements Committee of the Philadelphia locals, as well as to the members of the International of the Philadelphia locals, for the loyalty and good comradeship displayed at yesterday's and Sunday's welcome of the delegates to this convention.

President Sigman: All in favor of extending such thanks to the Arrangements Committee and to all the members of our Philadelphia locals for the reception they have given the delegates of our convention will please signify by raising one hand.

(This motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.)

President Sigman: Mr. Chairman, I ask and move that this Convention send a telegram to Brothers Sacco and Vanzetti, telling them that the International still remembers them and is behind them and will continue making every effort to free them from the tentacles of the dastardly framed plot into which they have been dragged by the enemies of the Labor Movement.

Brother Marks: Mr. Chairman, I move that the motion be amended so as to include Tom Mooney.

(This motion and the amendment were duly seconded and unanimously carried and the Secretary was instructed to send

such telegrams to Sacco, Vanzetti and Mooney.)

President Sigman: Brother Hochman.

Brother Hochman: Mr. Chairman, I move that the Convention send a telegram to the proper authorities protesting against the imprisonment of Ben Gitlow.

Vice-President Halperin: I second the motion.

Brother Marks: Mr. Chairman, I move that the motion be amended so as to include a message of greetings and sympathy to Brother Gitlow.

(This motion with the amendment was duly seconded and unanimously carried, and the Secretary was instructed to send such telegram of protest and message of sympathy and greetings to Brother Gitlow.)

President Sigman: Brother Feinberg may now have the floor.

Brother Feinberg: Mr. President and Delegates to this Convention: I rise at this time to ask the unanimous consent of this convention to send greetings to one of the noblest men that the American continent has produced. He has fought for labor all his life. He is celebrating at this time his seventieth birthday and I think it appropriate that this convention send its greetings and good wishes to that old warrior of labor, Eugene V. Debs. (Great applause).

(This motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried by a rising vote, and the Secretary was instructed to send such telegram.)

President Sigman: I am informed that Local 10, Cutters' Union of New York, has sent to the delegates of this convention this basket of flowers. (Applause).

I think for the first session we did splendidly, and it would surely be appreciated if the Credentials Committee were ready to submit its report.

I now want to inform the delegates that we must leave this hall at twelve o'clock sharp. Because we were obliged to make the quick change in meeting places, we couldn't get this hall for the entire day, but from tomorrow on we will have the place all day up to five o'clock in the afternoon, and if we want to have any night sessions we will be able to make arrangements.

I will now call upon the Credentials Committee to submit its report.

(Brother Abraham Snyder, chairman of the Credentials Committee, read the report of the committee, as follows:)

Report of the Credentials Committee

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November, 1925.

Greetings: Your Committee on Credentials herewith submits its report on the credentials submitted to it for examination by 85 Local Unions, 8 Joint Boards and 4 District Councils of the International. Your committee has examined the credentials of 282 delegates. In its examination of the credentials the committee had in view to ascertain the eligibility of the individual delegates to be seated at this convention as per our constitution.

In the course of its work the Credentials Committee has had to listen to a number of objections which were filed against individual delegates. Your committee has in each case very carefully examined the evidence presented both by the objector and the objected delegate as well as the testimony of the witnesses where there were such. In this work it was actuated by a spirit of genuine impartiality and has let personal opinion play no part in its decisions or recommendations.

The Credentials Committee has also received certain objections against various locals and their delegations as a whole upon which your committee did not feel that it is within its jurisdictional

power according to the constitution to act, and did not entertain these objections, but informed objectors that they may refer their objections to the proper authority, the appeal committee of the convention, if they so desire.

In submitting this report to you, your committee is mindful of the fact that this convention was called somewhat earlier than usual for two outstanding reasons: firstly, because of an internal situation that our International has had to face in this past year and, secondly, in anticipation of various problems that may confront the cloakmakers of the City of New York in the near future.

In spite of the struggle within our ranks in the past six months, your committee is confident that the convention in its deliberation on the problems confronting it, will bring back the spirit of unity that has always prevailed within our organization and has placed the International amongst the foremost trade unions in the American Labor Movement as well as the Labor Movement as a whole.

The Credentials 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 in so far as meeting their obligations and indebtedness to the General Office is concerned. Among the delegates whose seating we recommend are included a number who represent locals that have failed to meet their obligations since the last convention, and some locals that still owe part of the 1922 Chicago assessment. Following is a list of the locals and the total of their indebtedness. This list does not include locals that owe the International less than \$100.00

LOCAL NO. 2—Cloak, Suit and Reefer Operators' Union (New York), \$42,911.92.

LOCAL NO. 3—Sample Makers, Cloak & Suit Tailors' Union (New York) \$3,347.70.

LOCAL NO. 4—Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (Baltimore, Md.), \$753.25.

LOCAL NO. 9—Cloak Suit Finishers' Union (New York), \$20,195.50.

LOCAL NO. 20—Waterproof Garment Workers' Union (New York), \$3,234.36.
 LOCAL NO. 21—Cloak & Skirt Makers' Union (Newark, N. J.), \$463.00.
 LOCAL NO. 22—Dressmakers Union of Greater New York, \$40,658.25.
 LOCAL NO. 23—Skirt Makers' Union (New York), \$4,583.35.
 LOCAL NO. 33—Corset Workers' Union (Bridgeport, Conn.), \$283.88.
 LOCAL NO. 34—Corset Cutters' Local (Bridgeport, Conn.), \$102.75.
 LOCAL NO. 35—Cloak, Skirt & Dress Pressers' Union (New York), \$21,738.50.
 LOCAL NO. 36—Cloak & Dressmakers' Union (Yonkers, N. Y.), \$122.00.
 LOCAL NO. 38—Ladies' Tailors & Custom Dressmakers' Union, (New York), \$7,490.85.
 LOCAL NO. 41—Tuckers', Hemstitchers' & Pleaters' (New York), \$5,473.90.
 LOCAL NO. 45—United Designers, Ladies' Wear Industry (New York), \$3,113.53.
 LOCAL NO. 46—Dress, Skirt & Waistmakers' Union (Boston, Mass.), \$9,272.40.
 LOCAL NO. 47—Italian Cloak, Suit & Skirtmakers' Union (Philadelphia, Pa.), \$417.25.
 LOCAL NO. 48—Italian Cloak, Suit & Skirtmakers' Union (New York), \$24,282.10.
 LOCAL NO. 50—Waist and Dressmakers' Union (Philadelphia, Pa.), \$3,275.12.
 LOCAL NO. 51—Dress and Waist & Whitegoods Workers (Passaic, N. J.), \$149.63.
 LOCAL NO. 52—Cloak, Suit & Reefer Makers' Union (Los Angeles), \$3,483.25.
 LOCAL NO. 54—Raincoat Makers' Union (Chicago, Ill.), \$307.50.
 LOCAL NO. 57—Jamaica, Long Island L. G. W. U., \$224.50.
 LOCAL NO. 62—White Goods Workers' Union (New York), \$14,490.46.
 LOCAL NO. 63—Ladies' Garment Workers (Cincinnati, Ohio), \$336.15.
 LOCAL NO. 64—Cloak Buttonhole Makers' Union (New York), \$1,283.00.
 LOCAL NO. 66—Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union (New York), \$2,202.75.
 LOCAL NO. 75—Cloak & Dressmakers' Union (Worcester, Mass.), \$534.40.
 LOCAL NO. 77—Corona, Long Island, \$382.75.

LOCAL NO. 78—Cloak & Skirtmakers' Union (St. Louis, Mo.), \$1,205.80.
 LOCAL NO. 82—Examiners, Begraders & Bushelers' Union (New York), \$1,431.00.
 LOCAL NO. 89—Italian Dress & Waistmakers' Union (New York), \$15,173.25.
 LOCAL NO. 91—Childrens' Dress and Bathrobe Makers' Union (New York), \$13,324.80.
 LOCAL NO. 100—Dressmakers' Union of Chicago, Ill., \$6,828.50.
 LOCAL NO. 107—Woodhaven Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (Woodhaven) \$650.25.
 LOCAL NO. 113—Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (Mt. Vernon, N. Y.), \$1,222.00.
 LOCAL NO. 127—Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (Stamford, Conn.), \$213.00.
 LOCAL NO. 132—Button Workers' Union (New York), \$2,200.00.
 LOCAL NO. 134—Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (Hackensack, N. J.), \$489.10.
 JOINT BOARD of Boston, Massachusetts, \$2,591.25.
 JOINT BOARD of Chicago, Illinois \$7,016.05.
 JOINT BOARD of Cleveland, Ohio, \$8,390.75.
 JOINT BOARD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, \$11,936.00.
 JOINT BOARD of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, \$3,863.25.

After considering the indebtedness of the above-mentioned locals towards the general office, the Credentials Committee recommends that the delegates of these locals be seated and that this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to see to it that every local make good its indebtedness towards the International within sixty days after the convention adjourns.

We now submit to you a list of the delegates which we recommend to be seated at this convention, local by local.

LOCAL NO. 2—Cloak, Suit & Reefer Operators' Union, New York—Morris Rubin, A. Wise, J. Boruchowitz, I. Steiner, S. Shally, Louis Horowitz, M. Gobel, A. Colow, H. Bravin, M. Abrams, I. Radish, I. Silkowitz.
 LOCAL NO. 3—New York Sample Makers', Cloak & Suit Tailors' Union—

- Abraham Freler, Simon D mblatt, Sam Rosenthal, A. Kravitz, Daniel Rubin.
- LOCAL NO. 4—The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Baltimore Md.—Joe Snitkin, Sam Cohen, Meyer Weitsman.
- LOCAL NO. 5—Cloak Makers, Chicago, Ill.—Rub Seigel, Harry Metrick, Earl Nadel, Barnet Soll.
- LOCAL NO. 6—Embroidery Workers' Union, New York—Manny Weiss, Morris Saffer, Philip Soldner, Carl Grabber.
- LOCAL NO. 9—Cloak & Suit Tailors, New York—Louis Hyman, Nathan Kaplan, Saul Miller, Harry Schalachman, Sam Lorber, Abe Goldberg, Abe Zirlin, Eva Pasher, Molly Perlman, Roso Kaplan, Wm. Greenberg.
- LOCAL NO. 10—Amalgamated Cutters, New York—Maurice W. Jacobs, Louis Forer, Henry Robins, Max Stollie, Philip Ansel, Sam B. Shenker, Isidore Nagler, Samuel Perlmutter, David Dubinsky.
- LOCAL NO. 12—Pressers' Union, Boston, Mass.—Joseph Weiner, Henry Tocman.
- LOCAL NO. 13—Cloak & Skirt Makers, Montreal, Canada—F. Goldman, A. Abramson, J. Melsack.
- LOCAL NO. 14—Cloak & Dressmakers of Toronto, Canada—Abraham Cooper, Max Shur.
- LOCAL NO. 15—Cloak & Dressmakers of White Plains, N. Y.—Frank Gambino, John Schweitzer.
- LOCAL NO. 18—Cloak, Suit & Dress Pressers, Chicago, Ill.—J. Hoffman.
- LOCAL NO. 19—Cloak and Suit Cutters, Montreal Canada—Max Kaiser, Albert Eaton.
- LOCAL NO. 20—Waterproof Garment Workers, New York—Sam Saroff, Meyer Polinsky, David Gingold, Abraham Weingart.
- LOCAL NO. 21—Cloak & Skirt Makers, Newark, N. J.—Max Bruck, Abe Gerber.
- LOCAL NO. 22—Dressmakers of New York—Sacha Zimmerman, Emma Yansky, Rose Wortis, Rose Wolkowitz, Peter Rothenberg, Louis Rosenthal, Julius Portnoy, Pauline Morgenstern, Benjamin Miller, Abraham Lupin, Pearl Halperin, Isidore Farblash, Sarah Dorner.
- LOCAL NO. 23—Skirt Makers Union, New York—Harry Wander, Max Sherman, Louis Pinkofsky, Harry Sadofsky, Samuel Fermed.
- LOCAL NO. 25—French Garment Workers, Montreal, Canada—J. E. Flouin.
- LOCAL NO. 26—Cloak Operators' Union, Cleveland, Ohio—Philip Starkopf, Louis Frind, Nathan Solomon.
- LOCAL NO. 27—Skirt Operators' Union, Cleveland, Ohio—Morris Stein.
- LOCAL NO. 28—Ladies' Tailors' Union of Seattle, Washington—Meyer Rosenberg.
- LOCAL NO. 29—Women Garment Workers of Cleveland, Ohio—Ella Kelcke, C. Gallagher, A. Tishler.
- LOCAL NO. 30—Ladies' Garment Workers, Stamford, Conn.—Fred Klett.
- LOCAL NO. 33—Corset Workers' Union, Bridgeport, Conn.—Fannie Resnikoff, Anna Claughessy.
- LOCAL NO. 34—Corset Cutters, Bridgeport, Conn.—Fannia M. Cohn, Edward Houston.
- LOCAL NO. 35—Cloak, Skirt & Dress Pressers, New York—M. Wincher, J. Goldsmith, F. Feinstein, J. Goretzky, A. Rosenblatt, H. Davidson, S. Kritzer, E. Kudrinskoff, L. Davidoff, J. Gerchikoff.
- LOCAL NO. 36—Ladies' Garment Workers, Yonkers, N. Y.—Benjamin Horowitz, Maurice Ellsberg.
- LOCAL NO. 37—Cloak & Skirt Pressers, Cleveland, Ohio—Abe Broth, Sam Turk.
- LOCAL NO. 38—Ladies' Tailors' Union, New York—Don Wishevsky, Joseph Zack, Rose Landy, Hyman Fomin.
- LOCAL NO. 39—Finishers' Union, Boston' Mass.—Abe Cushman, David Godes, Jacob Schneider.
- LOCAL NO. 40—Cloak & Skirt Makers, Philadelphia, Pa.—Abe Golden, Morris Levin, Samuel Rudin.
- LOCAL NO. 41—Tuckers, Hemstitchers, New York—Molly Milstein, Celia Langer, Jacob Schmarack, Victor Millitsky, Louis Rubin.
- LOCAL NO. 42—Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union, Cleveland, Ohio—Meyer Berkman, Chas. Kreindler.
- LOCAL NO. 44—Italian Cloak Makers, Cleveland, Ohio—Mary Liotta, Luigi Merolla.
- LOCAL NO. 45—Designers, New York—Jack Prokop.

- LOCAL NO. 46—Dress & Waistmakers, Boston, Mass.—Mary Teitelbaum, Rebecca Schwartz, Sarah Hurvitz, Anna Thomas.
- LOCAL NO. 47—Italian Cloak & Skirt Makers, Philadelphia—Leopoldo Palancia, Paolo Delmonaco.
- LOCAL NO. 48—Italian Cloak Makers, New York—Bono Domenico, Vito Catania, Ignazio Chiarchiara, Francesco Comunale, Antonio Cottonc, Basile Desti, Raffaele Esposito, Gennaro Licastro, Edward Mollani, Pasquale Nicita, Ercole Veltri.
- LOCAL NO. 50—Waist & Dressmakers, Philadelphia, Pa.—Clara Weiss, Aaron Einbinder, Philip Silver, Minnie Rubinstein, Abraham Bloomfield.
- LOCAL NO. 51—Dressmakers, Passaic, N. J.—Helen Bramberger, Elizabeth Bramberger.
- LOCAL NO. 53—Amalgamated Cutters, Philadelphia—Samuel Otto, Harry Dordick.
- LOCAL NO. 54—Raincoat Makers, Chicago, Ill.—Mandy Fineberg, M. Bialia.
- LOCAL NO. 55—Knitted Garment workers, New York—Sarah Chernow, Solomon Zaslowsky.
- LOCAL NO. 56—Cloak Makers, Boston, Mass.—Maurice Shapiro, Harry Raymond.
- LOCAL NO. 57—Ladies' Garment Workers, Jamaica, L. I.—Dorothy Jasinska, Philip Oretsky.
- LOCAL NO. 59—Cloak Finishers, Chicago, Ill.—Abraham Jacobson, Joe Yaffe, Freda Ashkanazy, Bertha Plonhasik.
- LOCAL NO. 60—
- LOCAL NO. 61—Cloak & Skirt Pressers, Montreal, Canada—Louis Nulman, I. Chelfetz.
- LOCAL NO. 62—White Goods' Workers, New York—Abraham Snyder, Molly Lifshitz, Yetta Melofsky, Fanny Bremer, Jennie Krooglick.
- LOCAL NO. 63—Ladies' Garment Workers, Cincinnati, Ohio—Dennis Cronin.
- LOCAL NO. 64—Buttonhole Workers, New York—A. Brick, Sam Cipes.
- LOCAL NO. 66—Bonnaz Embroidery Workers' Union, New York—Nathan Riesol, George Halperin, Sam Halperin, George Triestman, Rose Auerbach.
- LOCAL NO. 69—Cloak Finishers, Philadelphia—Fanny Spigel, Sarah Greenberg, Becky Stein.
- LOCAL NO. 71—Cloak Pressers, Philadelphia, Pa.—Max Levy, Harry Kaplan.
- LOCAL NO. 73—Garment Cutters, Boston, Mass.—Philip Kramer, Paul Goldberg.
- LOCAL NO. 75—Cloak & Dressmakers, Worcester, Mass.—Ben Smith, Chas. Brown.
- LOCAL NO. 76—Custom Dressmakers, Philadelphia, Pa.—Anita Levitt, Fania Finkelstein.
- LOCAL NO. 77—Ladies' Garment Workers, Corona, L. I.—Hannah Shubert, Hyman Chodash.
- LOCAL NO. 78—Cloak Makers, St. Louis, Mo.—Israel Feinberg, Ben Gilbert.
- LOCAL NO. 80—Italian Cloak & Dressmakers, Boston, Mass.—Federica Borza, Joseph Morabito.
- LOCAL NO. 81—Cutters, Chicago, Ill.—Sam Lederman, Roy Glassman.
- LOCAL NO. 82—Examiners, New York City—Leon Rosenblatt, Morris Grierer, Morris Mollin.
- LOCAL NO. 83—Cutters' Union Toronto, Ont., Canada—Julius Hochman.
- LOCAL NO. 84—Garment Workers, Astoria, L. I.—Isidore Diamondberg, Jack Grossman.
- LOCAL NO. 85—Ladies' Garment Workers, Keyport, N. J.—Matilda Heyer, Gladys Manuel.
- LOCAL NO. 89—Italian Dressmakers, New York—Giuseppe Salerno, John Gelo, Rose Faranda, Antonio Crivello, Salvatore Amico, Giacomo Di Nola, Luigi Antonini, Giuseppe Miranda, Anna Ridosti.
- LOCAL NO. 91—Children's Dressmakers, New York—Mary Yankelevitch, Peter LaCausi, Morris Sirotn.
- LOCAL NO. 92—Cloak Pressers, Toronto, Ont., Canada—Alexander Freeman, Sam Kraisman.
- LOCAL NO. 93—Ladies' Garment Workers, Long Branch, N. J.—Hyman Green, Helen Mathells.
- LOCAL NO. 100—Dressmakers, Chicago, Ill.—Molly Friedman, B. Stein, Philip Hauser.
- LOCAL NO. 104—Ladies' Tailors, Chicago, Ill.—A. Weissman.
- LOCAL NO. 107—Ladies' Garment Work-

ers, Woodhaven, L. I.—Josephine Kinney, Madeline Farrell.

LOCAL NO. 113—Ladies' Garment Workers, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.—Bertha Kelly, Louis Magglo, Samuel Cohen.

LOCAL NO. 123—Ladies' Garment Workers, Paterson, N. J.—Benny Topchik, Alex Wolkowitz.

LOCAL NO. 127—Cloak Makers' Union, Stamford, Conn.—Sally Sagnello, Isidore Shulman.

LOCAL NO. 132—Button Workers, New York—M. Tankowitz.

LOCAL NO. 134—Garment Workers, Hackensack, N. J.—Florence Pettit, Louisa Siano, Katherine Morgan.

LOCAL NO. 136—Ladies' Garment Workers, Jersey City, N. J.—Beatrice Shragor, Nathan Shaffer.

LOCAL NO. 138—Ladies' Garment Workers, Colchester, Conn.—Bessie King, Hyman Sherman.

LOCAL NO. 139—Ladies' Garment Workers, Lyndhurst, L. I.—Marco Durante, N. Ciappello.

LOCAL NO. 140—Ladies' Garment Workers, Plainfield, N. J.—Hilda Kolchlin, Mary Warden.

LOCAL NO. 141—Ladies' Garment Workers, South Norwalk, Conn.—Charlie DiSenza, David Harris.

LOCAL NO. 142—Ladies' Garment Workers, Staten Island—Grace Delluolse.

LOCAL NO. 143—Ladies' Garment Workers, Freehold, N. J.—Anna Budnochick, Charles R. Cirrincione.

DISTRICT COUNCIL of the State of Connecticut—Bernard Shub.

DISTRICT COUNCIL of the State of New Jersey—Abraham Rosenberg.

DISTRICT COUNCIL of Greater New York—Harry Greenberg.

DISTRICT COUNCIL of Long Island—Jacob Halpern.

JOINT BOARD of New York—Joseph Fish.

JOINT BOARD of Cleveland, Ohio—Abe Katovsky.

JOINT BOARD of Dress and Waistmakers, Philadelphia, Pa.—Ellas Reisberg.

JOINT BOARD of Toronto, Ont., Canada—Sol Polakoff.

JOINT BOARD, Chicago, Ill.—Morris Rapaport.

JOINT BOARD of Boston, Mass.—Wolf Viner.

JOINT BOARD of Philadelphia Cloakmakers—George Rubln.

JOINT BOARD of Montreal—Max Amdur.

In addition to the number of delegates just seated at this convention, we desire to announce that the General President, Morris Sigman; General Secretary-treasurer, Abraham Baroff, and First Vice-president, Salvatore Ninfo, are delegates to this convention by virtue of their office as per our constitution.

For the first time in the history of our International we have been honored by a sister-organization abroad, The Deutsche Bekleidungs Arbeiter Verband, who have sent us a fraternal delegate in the person of their president, Brother Martin Pieltl, whom we are proud to recommend as a fraternal delegate to our Eighteenth Biennial Convention.

Following is a list of the total number of delegates in each trade throughout the United States and Canada:

Cloak Makers	133
Dress & Waistmakers, and Children's Dresses	43
Homstitchers, Tuckers and Pleaters	5
White Goods Workers	6
Corset Workers	4
Raincoat Makers	6
Embroidery Workers	9
Sample Makers and Ladies Tailors	11
Knit Goods Workers	2
Button Makers	1
Joint Board and District Council Delegates	12
Total Delegates	232
General Officers	2

The Credentials Committee has also received a credential in behalf of Brother A. Davidowich as a fraternal delegate representing the Russian-Polish branch of the I. L. G. W. U. We recommend the seating of this delegate.

Brother Snyder: I move you to concur with this report. (This motion was seconded)

Brother Farblash: I did not sign this report because I believe the Credentials Committee had the right to pass upon certain charges that were made against

the delegation of Locals 2, 9, 22, 23, 48 and 62, instead of passing them on to the Appeal Committee.

Brother Nagler: I want to state for the Credentials Committee that we were guided by the constitution which gives certain powers to the Credentials Committee. Our Committee felt that its duty was only to pass upon the eligibility of the individual delegates as to the character of the individuals to be seated at this convention. On the other hand, various communications have been received by the Committee which were of no importance to the Committee. We felt these communications should be sent to the Appeal Committee and that is the reason we recommended that all these delegates be seated.

Brother Hyman: This is the first time I have ever heard of such a report being issued by a Credentials Committee. Instead of passing upon objections submitted to them, they have passed the objections over to some other committee. The Credentials Committee has the right to pass upon the eligibility and qualifications of delegates. I have been to practically every convention of our International with one exception since 1912. I know the functions of the Credentials Committee and I know the constitution, and I tell you that what you stated here from the floor is absolutely untrue, and, what is more, you are not acting fairly, because, by reporting these delegates as seated at the same time handing over the objections to the Appeal Committee, you are seating these delegates under a cloud. When you take into consideration the fact that the membership of Locals 2, 9, 10, 22, 23, 35, 48 and 62 constitute 70 per cent of our entire membership, you have no right to conduct the convention when there is a question mark upon the delegates who represent over 75 per cent of the membership. (Applause).

We understand the nature of the charges against Locals 9, 2 and 22. We do not recognize any Appeal Committee and we won't appear before them. (Applause).

President Sigman: Before you proceed I want to address the visitors to our

Convention. Our conventions have always been open because we believe that visitors interested in the Labor movement may learn from the proceedings of a Labor congress such as ours. But we sincerely request them not to partake in demonstrations one way or another.

To Brother Hyman I want to say this: Every delegate here is at liberty to say whatever he desires, but I personally think that you should think carefully of what you are expressing.

Brother Hyman (interrupting). I want to know if I have the floor or you have the floor.

President Sigman: I want to say this to you, Brother Hyman: you said before that you would not appear and that no one would appear before the Appeal Committee of this Convention. The delegates as well as local unions will have to recognize every committee this Convention appoints; otherwise they do not recognize the existence of this Convention. (Thunderous applause).

Brother Hyman: Perhaps you are not familiar with what took place in our organization. At the time we conducted our fight in New York against the policies and acts committed by the present administration, we gained the support and the sympathy —

Brother Hochman: A point of order. The question before the convention is the report of the Credentials Committee and not the nature of the charges. (Great applause).

President Sigman: I am not ready to recognize the point of order, not because it is not justified,—but I do not want any of the delegates to be under the impression that we will not permit Delegate Hyman to express a thought which in his opinion may be of tremendous value.

Brother Hyman: After a fight which lasted over three months, when we came together in order to establish unity, peace and harmony, the stand of the General Executive Board was that before

we can be reinstated as members and officers of our Locals, we must appeal our case before the G. E. B. We told you that we would not do it, that we would be looked upon by our membership as unworthy of their trust and confidence if we should appeal to the G. E. B., who were the judge and the jury, and had declared us guilty without any formal or informal trial. We told them, "If you want to make peace with us, you will have to recognize us as equals, you representing one side and we the other side, and whatever you did and whatever we did were acts of war," and you know very well that you cannot judge people for deeds committed in time of war. We refused to appear before the G. E. B. and we now refuse to appear before an Appeals Committee of the convention. The Credentials Committee is the only committee that has the right, and it is their duty to pass upon the qualifications of delegates. You cannot make a motion that they be seated and then appear before the Appeals Committee, which usually does not hold its sessions until the closing day of the convention, and in the meantime they will be full-fledged delegates and pass upon every question that will arise. It is for this reason I want to tell you before I sit down that no points of order, no artificial majority, is going to rule this Convention and I want —

(Interrupted by cries of "Sit down" and applause).

Brother Hyman: If you mean to act the way you speak, about unity and brotherly love, I want this convention to be an exception to the usual conventions. Instead of listening to a lot of orators giving us lectures as to what our duties are and leaving the work of the convention for the last two or three days when there will be no time left for the delegates to express their opinions, this convention should do away with these political maneuvers of the Credentials Committee and do away with delegates who are not eligible, giving an opportunity to the delegates here to pass upon the real character of the objections that were brought in. I say that the Credentials Committee has brought in a report that

no convention can accept. There is no body that can pass upon the qualifications of a delegate except the Credentials Committee. For this reason I move that the report of the Credentials Committee be not accepted and that it be handed back, and that it report on the nature of the objections raised against each and every one who is objected to. (Applause).

President Sigman: It is my sincere hope that some of the delegates and their friends in the rear of the hall will do away with artificialities including artificial applause and demonstrations, something which they and you are making quite frequent use of. Every question of disagreement upon a report of any committee, no matter what it may involve, will be decided by the delegates to this convention, who are the supreme body to pass upon and decide such questions. I am fully satisfied that every delegate here represents a certain group of members in our International and there is no justification on the part of any one delegate to refer to "an artificial majority". The question upon which Delegate Hyman has spoken belongs to an entirely different category. It might do us good to have this discussion continued right now. It might help quite a bit, but we cannot do it today, as we were supposed to leave this meeting room at twelve o'clock.

I will therefore, be compelled to adjourn the session and continue the discussion of the Credentials Committee report tomorrow. The meeting stands adjourned and it will reconvene tomorrow morning at 9:30 sharp.

(Chairman Snyder of the Credentials Committee, announced that the Credentials Committee will meet in the Dutch Room of the Majestic Hotel at three o'clock this afternoon).

At 12:30 noon the session adjourned.

Third Day—Morning Session.
Wednesday, December 2, 1925.

President Sigman called the session to order at 10.00 a. m.

Secretary Baroff read the following

communications and telegrams which were received with hearty applause:

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention.

The Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity extends its fraternal greetings to your special convention opening in Philadelphia today. We trust that your deliberations will be successful and that upon adjournment you will solve many of the problems to the best interest of the vast membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

JOHN P. COUGHLIN,
Executive Secretary.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention.

To all the officers and delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, kindly accept my heartiest congratulations upon the Eighteenth Biennial Convention. Hope and trust that this convention will legislate and find ways and means to better the condition of our men and women who are toiling for their daily bread. I also wish that all partiality will be cast aside and harmony will prevail between our members at this convention.

HERMAN GROSSMAN.

Philadelphia, Pa.
The members of the Philadelphia Custom Dressmakers, Local 76, greet the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International. May your deliberations pave the way to further advancement and greater happiness in the life of those engaged in Ladies' Garment production.

CUSTOM DRESSMAKERS' UNION,
LOCAL 76.
Sophia Pollack, Secretary.

Philadelphia, Pa.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention.

Greetings and best wishes to the officers and delegates of the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers. May your deliberations be crowned with success.

S. RUDOW,
Manager, Philadelphia Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention.

Accept our hearty wishes that the Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union be successful in terminating its deliberations to bring about harmony in our great organization and better conditions for the members of the shop.

EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE RUSSIAN-POLISH BRANCH
A. Aninowaki, Vice-President; I. Shervencko, Secretary.

New York, N. Y.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention.

Accept the heartiest greetings and best wishes of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. May this convention result in strengthening all the resources of the organization so as to enable it to meet successfully all the problems you

are faced with and combat the attacks of the employers.

M. ZUCKERMAN,
General Sec'y-Treas.

New York, N. Y.
Morris Sigman, President; Abraham Haroff, Gen. Sec'y-Treas., International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The International Pocketbook Workers' Union sends herewith its greetings to the delegates assembled at Lulu Temple, Philadelphia. May your deliberations restore order out of chaos in the Cloak, Suit and Dress industry. Remember, not only your own employers are on the warpath because of the division and civil war in your ranks but all other employers receive aid and comfort because of the Union's factional fights. The thousands of workers in the factories and workshops will be looking forward to a restoration of the high moral standing, respect and command which the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union enjoyed for the last decade. Will you disappoint all of our other needle trade unions? Our unions were built in blood and warfare and are the result of suffering and great sacrifices. Let us keep the colors flying high. Let your convention be a source of new inspiration for the rank and file. All family differences set aside, unity of purpose and unity of action will turn the tide in the interest of your membership and the entire Labor movement. May your historic gathering in Philadelphia proclaim the independence of the needle trade unions of all political parties and doctrines and lead your membership to high union standards, union wages, union conditions and unity and democracy in the shops. Long live the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Long live the Labor movement.

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION
Ossip Wallowsky.

Fitchburg, Mass.,
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention.

The Young Peoples' Socialist League of the United States joins the multitudes in congratulating your splendid organization for its wonderful progress and hoping that the future will bring further growth and power. May every success attend your deliberations.

THE YOUNG PEOPLES' SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

A. J. Parker, National Director.

New York, N. Y.
The Eighteenth Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Greetings. We heartily greet the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at its convention. May your deliberations be crowned with success.

EXAMINERS, REGRADERS AND BUSHLERS' UNION, LOCAL 82.

Boston, Mass.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention.

Hearty greetings of the Italian members in Boston to the delegates of the Eighteenth Convention. We wish great success to our International in all its achievements.

ITALIAN CLOAK & DRESS WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 80.

Salvatore Miceli, Secretary.

New York, N. Y.
Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
Our heartiest and deepest congratulations

to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention. The gathering in the city where one hundred fifty years ago the Declaration of Independence was signed should be the medium to end fraternal strife in our union. May your deliberations sound the Liberty Bell for more unity and harmony and strengthen your determination to continue the same and constructive program for our union, carrying the banner of our International not to the narrow streets of the few but to the straight road of all.

EXECUTIVE BOARD ITALIAN
CLOAKMAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 48.

Secretary Baroff further read the messages forwarded by him to a number of persons, in conformity with the wishes of the convention as expressed during the preceding session.

These telegrams follow:

JOHN L. LEWIS,
Pres. United Mine Workers of America,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

The eighteenth convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union pledges its full support to the striking miners in the anthracite fields and in West Virginia. We are confident that the brave battle of the United Mine Workers for human standards of living and for the unqualified recognition of their organization will soon be crowned with the success they so richly deserve, despite the obstinate and despotic opposition of the mine owners.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

EUGENE V. DEBS,
Terre Haute, Indiana.

The Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union greets you on the occasion of your seventieth anniversary as the noblest fighter in the cause of American freedom. May you continue to serve the Labor movement with your ever youthful spirit and with the health and vigor your life of service so greatly deserves.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

NICOLA SACCO,
Dedham Jail, Dedham, Mass.

BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI,
Dedham Jail, Dedham, Mass.

The Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union protests against your imprisonment on what has proven to be wholly insufficient and perjured evidence, and pledges itself to continue unabated the fight for your freedom.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

BENJAMIN GITLOW,
Auburn Prison,
Auburn, N. Y.

The Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union protests against your imprisonment and extends its sympathy to you as one unjustly imprisoned for your political beliefs.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

HON. ALFRED E. SMITH,
Albany, N. Y.

The Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union urges you to pardon Benjamin Gitlow. In our judgment unjustly imprisoned for his political beliefs under a statute that is a denial of the

elementary rights of American citizenship and of our guaranteed liberties.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

To JOHN FITZPATRICK,
105 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
EDWARD NOCKELS,
160 W. Washington, Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
VICTOR OLANDEE,
166 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
OSCAR NELSON,
100 North La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
AGNES NESTOR,
311 So. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.,
and to

JOHN H. WALKER,
Ill. Federation of Labor, Springfield, Ill.
The Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union joins in greeting you as valiant and devoted fighters in Labor's cause and in particular for your generous and unstinting service to our union during the Chicago dressmakers' strike of last year as well as the organization efforts of our workers ever since.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS
OF AMERICA,
31 Union Square, New York City.

The Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union greets your organization on the occasion of your splendid victory over the International Tailoring Company. Your fine achievement will be a continuous source of inspiration to the Labor movement of the entire country.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

PHILIP DAVIS,
c/o Chicago Joint Board,
324 West Van Buren Street,
Chicago, Ill.

The Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union greets you as a member we are proud to have in our ranks. The International pledges all in its power to secure a reversal of the unjust conviction which has resulted in your imprisonment because of your great loyalty to Labor. We pledge ourselves to continue with renewed fervor the struggle for the ideals for which you have made such a noble sacrifice.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

TOM MOONEY,
State Prison San Quentin,
California.

The Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union protests against your imprisonment as a result of the most disgraceful frame-up in all legal history and pledges itself to continue to strive for your freedom.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

HON. FRIEND W. RICHARDSON,
Sacramento, California.

The Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union protests against the continued imprisonment of Tom Mooney, who we believe to be a victim of a palpable frame-up which is a disgrace to the vaunted justice of our courts. Common justice demands the immediate release of Tom Mooney and the other victims of the conspiracy which sent him to jail.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

President Sigman: Delegates, we have many pressing matters for consideration, but before we proceed, I desire to announce that we have several speakers here who would like to address the convention on behalf of the institutions they represent. We have with us a representative of the Los Angeles Sanitarium who wants to speak to us, and I will now introduce to you Mr. I. Rubinstein.

Mr. Rubinstein thereupon addressed the Convention, outlining the work of the Los Angeles Sanitarium. He stated that most of the contributions to this institution come from the working class and that the International had rendered splendid financial support in the past and expressed the hope that they would continue to be of assistance in the future.

President Sigman next introduced Mr. Abraham Rokita, who addressed the Convention in behalf of the Ex-Patients Tubercular Home of Denver, and made an appeal for financial aid. He expressed the hope that the Convention would be generous to the patients of the hospital he represents.

President Sigman: We will now proceed with the discussion of the Credentials Committee's report which was interrupted by our adjournment at noon yesterday. I will call upon the delegates who asked for the floor yesterday while the discussion was on. The first to speak on this question will be Delegate David Dubinsky, of Local 10.

Delegate Dubinsky: Mr. President and Delegates: After the Credentials Committee submitted its report, Brother Hyman, speaking on this question—whether intentionally or unintentionally, I don't know—tried to create an impression and convey an idea to this Convention that the Credentials Committee obviously never intended. You have before you the report of the Credentials Committee as we received it this morning in the minutes. Before I proceed to answer Brother Hyman I will make it my business to clarify the real meaning of the report of the Credentials Committee. I am now reading from that report:

"The Credentials Committee has also received certain objections against var-

ious locals and their delegations as a whole upon which your committee did not feel that it is within its jurisdictional act, but informed objectors that they may refer their objections to the proper authority, the appeal committee of the convention, if they so desire."

Instead of discussing this report fairly and squarely, he started off with fire-cracker oratory, which is the kind of ammunition that will never get him anywhere. You will have to make up your mind and the minds of your colleagues that you cannot scare anybody at this Convention. When you make such threats you ought to be prepared to carry them out, and you know very well that you don't intend to carry them out. And furthermore if you do carry them out, no one is afraid (applause). And what is more, you will gradually learn your lesson if you persist in that attitude.

I am ready to convince any delegate that the report of the Credentials Committee did not intend to convey the meaning that Hyman tried to make you believe it meant. I, too, attended conventions of the I. L. G. W. U. I, too, served on the Credentials Committee at two consecutive conventions, and I know the procedure of the Credentials Committee and I know the procedure of our conventions. The constitution is very specific in charging the Credentials Committee with its duties. The Credentials Committee is charged with the duty of investigating the character of every individual delegate, but it has never been trusted with the power to pass upon charges against locals. The power to pass upon charges against locals is not within the jurisdiction of the Credentials Committee but of the General Executive Board, the appeal committee of the convention. When charges were brought against these locals the Credentials Committee informed the objectors that if they insist upon pressing these charges they would have to go to the proper authority, that is, the General Executive Board, the Appeal Committee, and finally, if they were dissatisfied, they would have to go to the highest tribunal, the floor of the convention. And anyone who defiantly challenges the authority of the

convention to pass upon and decide such matters. I say has no place in a labor congress (loud applause).

Instead of analyzing the report of the Credentials Committee from a fair and square point of view, you began firing off charges of "artificial delegates." Were you not blushing when you mentioned this subject of "artificial delegates"? If you didn't blush yesterday, I will make you blush today. Every delegate at this Convention knows it, and there is no secret about it, that you canvassed and tried to buttonhole every "artificial" delegate that you could approach; and furthermore, that you made them all kinds of promises, and when your promises failed, you tried to intimidate them, and to get them over to your camp in that manner. And then, when you failed in all your efforts, you come out and charge them with being "artificial!" If you call that honest, if you call that fair then I have a different term for it which I wouldn't want to blur the record with. (Loud applause).

On the subject of "artificial" delegates: I well remember how we all felt, how every conscientious man and woman in our movement felt when for years we had been confronted with the problem of the unorganized shops out of town. You will now find that all the small towns which we were never able to reach in previous years are well organized. Their conditions may not be equal to the conditions in New York or other big cities but there is one thing we have accomplished: We have found the door to these shops; we got in there; we know the people who are working there; we have learned how to improve the conditions of these workers year after year. The duty of continuing to organize these small towns still rests upon us, and no matter how limited the abilities of a general manager might be, it is his business to try to resort to all efforts to organize these small town shops where our workers are employed, and who, if unorganized, would remain a detriment and a menace to the organization. I say it is our duty to encourage them instead of attacking and antagonizing them.

I remember the Camden strike. I re-

member that the International spent \$20,000 to organize that shop. I remember the sacrifices that the girls made there, not with speeches, not with phrases, but in endangering their lives on the picket line, ready to go to jail, and some of them did go to jail. And now, at this Convention, instead of applauding their efforts, when you fail to get them on your side, you call them "artificial", you intimidate them, you malign them. It is an attitude of defiance, and a perfect method for destroying a union instead of solidifying and strengthening it (great applause).

I want to say to you that if I would not be willing to submit to the voice and mandate of this Convention, I would not come here at all (great applause). If you came here, and, after resorting to the meanest tactics in order to get a majority, you failed to do so, you should have made up your mind either to get out or stay and submit to the decision of the convention (applause). Even if you stood a chance of convincing a single delegate after you tried to button-hole them, you certainly lost that chance by telling them that they are "artificial" and that you are "natural". You might consider yourself the best man, but you know in your heart that you are not, you are only an accident (laughter and applause), and I want to tell you again that you can't scare or intimidate anybody with that kind of speech and that kind of tactics, especially when you know that you don't mean what you say and you know you won't do what you said you would.

Delegates, I say to you that if you will consider it from that point of view, you will come to realize that the report of the Credentials Committee is the only kind of report which could have been submitted to the convention. Probably they will say that I don't represent any membership, because I don't belong to their clique and I never will, but everybody in this room knows that I do represent the membership of Local 10. And I am going to tell you, if you don't know it, that the charges against our delegation were manufactured. We are in position to substantiate and to prove that

the Trade Union Educational League called a secret meeting of cutters in the office of Local 22 and there these matters were discussed and settled. The letter calling that meeting was signed by a certain Bert Miller, whoever he may be who signs himself "Industrial Organizer". I don't know whether he is a member of the Union or not. They manufactured the objections there against us; they manufactured other objections, but we are wise to their game and they will not get away with it.

I say to you delegates, in conclusion, that if you want to speed up matters, if you want to start to do real work, accept the fair and logical recommendation which has been made by the Credentials Committee, to seat all the delegates and start business.

Delegate Portnoy: I am sorry that I cannot use the flowery language of Brother Dubinsky. I will confine myself to fact. I am satisfied that we can see better than we can hear. There is no body that can pass upon the qualification of a delegate except a Credentials Committee and for that reason I believe that the report of the Credentials Committee should not be accepted. In reference to the country delegates, according to our report of 1922, there were 320 dues-paying members in the State of Connecticut; in 1924, there were only 185 members. In 1922, they had three delegates and in 1924 they had sixteen. In the State of New Jersey in 1922, there were 341 members and 4 delegates; in 1924 they had only 322 members and 20 delegates. We realize the importance of the districts around New York and we know that it is to our interest to work for them but this work should be done for the benefit of the membership and not for increasing the number of delegates.

When we came to this convention, we knew that such delegates were being brought in. We did not expect to have a majority, but we were promised fairness and unity. We were told that the old tactics would be abandoned, but here the old methods are brought in again and we want to tell you that the Joint Action Committee is right here. (Applause).

On the Credentials Committee nine members were appointed, two from our side, who are not in a position to state their case because of their inability to speak English. The Credentials Committee is supposed to get the respect of every member of the International, and yet people were appointed to it who were accused of conducting dishonest elections.

I can prove by our past records that the Credentials Committee has always passed upon the eligibility of local delegates. In 1924, on Page 99 of the proceedings, it says: "The Credentials Committee received the following objection against the delegation of Local 9," Mind you not one delegate, but a whole delegation. The charge was that the delegates of that local were selected at a secret meeting which was held under the auspices of the Trade Union Educational League. Most of the delegation were unseated. On Page 51 in the report of the 1922 proceedings it is stated as follows: "The attention of the Credentials Committee is called to the fact that Local No. 49 held its election on two days instead of one day, as provided for in our constitution. The committee immediately notified Local 49 as follows: "According to Article 5, Section 6 of our constitution, elections should not be continued for more than one day. You are therefore notified that unless you make a new election, your present delegation will not be seated. As the local did not comply with the request of the Credentials Committee and since the method of conducting that election was in direct violation of our constitution, the committee recommends that the delegates representing that local should not be seated."

On page 19 of the 1920 proceedings, it reads: "A protest was received by the Credentials Committee against the seating of the delegates of Local 100 on the ground that they were not elected according to the constitution. The committee representing Local 100 stated that due to the lack of time and a misunderstanding, they were unable to have an election by ballot. The Credentials Committee recommends that the delegates be seated."

Such is the action by the Credentials Committee in the past. Why did not the Credentials Committee at this convention take up the charges against Locals 2, 9 and 22? Because they knew that if they took up these charges, they would have to take up the charges against Locals 23, 48 and 62 whose delegates were never elected, but were appointed. (Applause). You do not want the facts of these elections brought to light. We don't want any favors of our friend Dubinsky. If we should not be seated, let us go back. If we should be seated, let us stay here. The attitude of the Credentials Committee seems to be that they do not want to investigate facts. They are interested in smuggling their delegates through, whether elected or not. If you conduct the convention along these lines, you cannot expect anyone to have any respect for the laws that will be passed here. (Applause).

Delegate Zimmerman: We are all acquainted with the bulldozing methods of Delegate Dubinsky. He is nothing but a cheap actor. (Applause). It is all right for him to say that we must abide by the constitution. Only a few weeks ago when the General Executive Board concluded a peace agreement with the Joint Action Committee, Delegate Dubinsky through petty tricks and petty maneuvers took off the ballot every eligible member because they were not of his particular clique. He came to the Joint Board and threatened the Joint Board if they would not decide on local elections, that Local 10 would withdraw from the Joint Board. The time of bulldozing has passed. You will not be able to overrule the membership. We are going to carry out the decision of the membership. (Applause). We will not carry out the decisions of an administration that does not represent any body, and is merely trying to manipulate things for their own purposes.

Before this convention is over, we will prove to the out-of-town delegates that it is we, the progressive delegates, who have them as well as the New York membership at heart. We don't accuse the out-of-town delegates as being responsible for artificial majorities. We accuse

the administration of the International (applause). Brother Portnoy mentioned a few facts taken from the records of the conventions of 1922 and 1924. In 1922 we spent \$100,000 for organization work, and yet the membership decreased, and we have more locals. The purpose was to have more delegates to the convention and nothing else.

We are ready to face all the charges against us and fight them out on their merits. You are afraid to face the facts and you are resorting to bulldozing tactics. We did not come here to split the convention. The International has already been broken up by its destructive policies. We came here to fight for the rank and file and not to swallow anything that you are going to tell us (applause).

Delegate Antonini: I cannot speak English as well as Brother Dubinsky or Brother Hyman or Portnoy or Zimmerman. But I am a poor Christian, because, if some one slaps my right cheek, I will not turn my left to him. Delegate Hyman was clever enough yesterday to interpret the report of the Credentials Committee in his own way in order to stop the convention. He spoke of an artificial majority. I don't know what he means by an artificial majority. I suppose if we agree with Hyman, then we will have a natural majority. But if we do not agree with Hyman, then it will be an artificial majority. I know that in the case of Local 82 when they joined with you, they became of a sudden a natural local.

I agree with Zimmerman in one thing—it is time to stop bulldozing. But this does not apply only to Dubinsky. It applies to you also. (Great applause). Brother Portnoy resorted to bulldozing yesterday, and it is not the first time. Brother Portnoy resorted to bulldozing when he said with a threat that the Joint Action Committee is here. If you believe that by resorting to bulldozing tactics, you will scare anybody, you are mistaken. You can swing our members, who are sentimental, for only a short time. You can get them to vote for 25 cent dues with a 14,000 vote in the ref-

erendum. But when it came to the question of giving you a vote of confidence, they give you only 5,000 votes, and yet you claim you represent the people. That was not a majority, it was just an artificial minority, because our Joint Board has at least 50,000 members, and you cannot claim that these 5,000 members constitute the majority of the Joint Board.

I admit that you are a militant minority and very well organized. But please don't come here and say that we are an artificial majority because you cannot convince us, and then threaten us with the Joint Action Committee. That is bulldozing. If you claim that the Delegates of Local 89 were appointed, why don't you admit the same thing is true of Locals 2, 22 and 9? Whenever a "slate" is formed, this condition exists. In your local, Brother Portnoy, the delegates were appointed because you had no opposition whatever. You know who they would be two days before they were elected. Why don't you be good sports? You succeeded in getting your men elected to the Joint Board and we took it as good sports. But because we succeeded in electing our men as delegates of the locals, you call it an artificial majority.

As regards the out-of-town shops, we have several thousand members around New York, in cities like Passaic, Jamaica, Corona, etc., and so far as their meetings are concerned, I only wish that the attendance at the meetings of the New York locals were nearly so successful.

I will cut this speech short. We came here for the purpose of preserving the International. We did not come here to bulldoze anybody. Let us do away with this petty fighting. We are here to save the organization.

The aim of the Credentials Committee was to expedite the work of the convention. Let us approve the report of the Credentials Committee, and let us in open forum discuss the problems of our International. If you can convince us, we are ready to be convinced, although you are unwilling to be convinced. We are here to act according to our conscience for the interest of the workers in

this terrible crisis that we are facing. (great applause).

Delegate Rubin spoke in Yiddish. He took occasion to denounce the administration of the International and stated that practically all the delegates who did not conform to the views held by him and his group are not genuine proletarians and do not represent the workers.

President Sigman: I sincerely trust that the next speakers will talk to the point. As a matter of fact, after having listened to his oratory, I still do not know whether Delegate Rubin spoke for or against the report of the Credentials Committee. Our convention so far resembles a general mass meeting. I will permit this session to go on without any restrictions, but I plead with the delegates to use their common sense and stick to the question before us. Sister Rose Wortis now has the floor.

Delegate Rose Wortis: The present administration of our Union on many occasions has given mere lip-service to the phrase, "Peace, Harmony and Unity." Their action has been of a different character.

The Credentials Committee recommends the seating of delegates who were objected to together with those delegates who were not objected. For what reasons? They refuse to entertain those objections because they want to get out of a situation which is not very favorable for them as gracefully as they can. Everyone of us here present heard that the Credentials Committee report should be accepted and that the objections made should be referred to the Appeal Committee. Brother Farblash of the Credentials Committee made an objection and the President permitted a discussion on the question and then, when it was realized that they would be placed in a very uncomfortable position, they thought it over and then came in with a statement that there was a misunderstanding. Brother Dubinsky, you may be an orator but I think we can understand plain English when we hear it.

Brother Dubinsky spoke about the fairness of the Credentials Committee re-

port. There are a number of delegates who were present at the Boston Convention and these delegates know that if this report is fair it is not because of Brother Dubinsky's having become fair-minded, but it is because we have conducted a bitter struggle for the rights of the members. It is not your spirit of fairness, but it is because of our fight that you were compelled to seat those delegates who were objected to at the Boston Convention (applause).

Brother Dubinsky reproaches Hyman because he objects to artificial majorities. Yes, Brother Dubinsky and the rest of you delegates, we want to tell you that experience in our Union has convinced us that majorities that don't represent the majority of the membership can't rule this convention. At the Boston Convention by an overwhelming majority you voted in favor of the expulsion policy, but since then the General Executive Board was compelled to repudiate that policy (loud applause). We want to warn you that any forced decisions without the approval of the entire membership will only end in the destruction of our Union and in the disruption of our ranks and will not solve the problems we came here to solve (applause).

I want to say a few words to Brother Dubinsky with respect to his alleged interest in the out-of-town locals and his championing the rights of out-of-town delegates. He rejoices in the fact that we have so many more locals organized throughout the country, but he does not say that he sacrificed the interests of the workers of New York, the operators, the pressers and finishers and the rest of the workers for the sake of gaining some benefits for this particular group.

Brother Dubinsky further states that we have sent out emissaries through the country in order to button-hole the out-of-town delegates. I want to tell you, Brother Dubinsky, that we did go into the country in order to be able to come to this convention and prove to you that you have not organized the workers throughout the country, that you have paid no attention to out-of-town locals. You do not organize the out-of-town

locals, but you simply tried to get together some to fight against those members of the locals who revolted against your expulsion policy. Those were your activities in organizing the out-of-town locals. There are delegates from out-of-town locals who will bear me out in my contention that they did not see an organizer in those out-of-town locals. You didn't pay any attention to out-of-town locals until about a month or two before the convention when you knew you would need them to support the policies that you are trying to force upon the membership, and we are going to prove that you could not be guilty of a more serious neglect than your neglect of the out-of-town locals. The expense of maintaining those locals is constantly going up and their membership goes down. You don't protect them, and we are going to prove it.

In conclusion, I wish to say that it is not fair to include locals that have been objected to and which have already been acted upon by the General Executive Board with locals that have torn up their ballots. It is in the light of these facts Delegates, that I will expect you to act on the report of the Credentials Committee, and not on the basis of Brother Dubinsky's remarks. (Applause).

Delegate Jacob Halperin: I rise at the present time not to defend the Credentials Committee, nor to defend the administration, because as far as the Credentials Committee is concerned I believe that when the proper time comes the chairman, secretary and the members of that Committee will be well able to defend their stand. And when it comes to the administration, if there are any criticisms or charges to be made against us, I am ready to meet them and I am sure the rest of the administration is ready to face them and if you pronounce us guilty of mismanagement even after our best efforts have been exerted, I will abide by your decision no matter how painful it may be (applause).

I am not here, as I say, to defend anybody, to talk you into anything, nor to get out-of-town delegates to vote for me or vote for the administration or for anybody else. I am not asking you to do anything for my benefit individually.

I am a member of this convention just as you are. I am here to help speed up the work of this convention, and so are you, or you ought to be. It is your duty as well as mine, and I am here to discourage long drawn-out speeches on both sides of the question.

On the question of organizing out-of-town locals let me say the following: You spent thousands and thousands of dollars in trying to organize the workers in these cities. I take it that you tried your very best to organize those workers. We have tried our best and we have partially succeeded. It isn't our fault and it isn't your fault and it isn't anyone's fault if we didn't succeed entirely. We all pray for the day when we will be able to get every worker organized.

Concerning the charge that we haven't been around often enough to these out-of-town locals, I should refer you to these delegates. Don't we visit your places daily? (Cries of "yes, yes"). Take the delegates from each and every out-of-town local and ask them one by one for your own satisfaction. You speak of spending money. You know as well as I do that we have spent last year \$80,000 in the City of Camden and yet we haven't got the local here, much to my sorrow. We failed in getting any delegates here from that city, but we spent \$80,000. And yet you say we have created artificial representation. I can give you illustration after illustration of where we had from 200 to 500 workers organized in out-of-town locals who are not here. So don't talk about artificial representation.

In conclusion, I again want to impress upon you that we are here to build up this great Union of ours and not to destroy it (applause).

Delegate Jacobs: Mr. President, on the question of procedure: I believe we have all formed an opinion one way or another on this question and I believe it is useless to listen to all these speeches. I would suggest that we proceed to take a vote on the question and decide it.

President Sigman: The entire procedure with respect to the report of the

Credentials Committee is in my judgment out of order. We have heard up to now all sorts of criticisms dealing with matters that have no relation whatsoever to the Credentials Committee's report. However, I thought it would be advisable to let a number of the delegates speak on the question or rather let loose some of the extra steam they have accumulated, and when they get it out of their system I think we will be able to proceed in a smoother and a more regular way. Sister Wolkowitz now has the floor.

Delegate Wolkowitz: Mr. President and Delegates to this Convention: It seems to me that a stitch in time will save nine on this question before the house. The Credentials Committee brought in a report that objections were made against certain delegates. In the first place, we don't know the nature of those objections. Perhaps, in some cases they are right, but there may be other objections of which we are unaware. Rules and regulations are made, but we don't follow them.

Let me tell you of my own experience. Unfortunately, I have had experience with objections myself and was not seated at conventions. They told me I didn't represent any members. I thought perhaps they were right. I went back to my constituents and was re-elected and still was kept out of the convention.

This is a special convention called for the purpose of straightening out the poor condition of our International. What are we doing to overcome it? This is not an external conflict but an internal one. If it were an external conflict we could all fight together, but here we are fighting out openly and take up the nature of the cases and let each and every delegate say whether he agrees with the Left section or the Right section of our internal conflict? We should vote on the question according to our own views, not merely because the Credentials Committee recommends that it be voted. We don't know what we are asked to vote on. Let us show our intelligence and let us know what we are voting on. (Applause).

Delegate Morabito (Local 80): I have a few remarks to make,—because of the

remarks made with respect to the out-of-town delegates, I also consider myself an out-of-town delegate and I want to emphasize the fact that the outside delegates can take care of themselves and I don't want to hear any further remarks on the outside delegates (applause). Our aim and purpose is peace and harmony. Now, is this the way we go about getting peace and harmony? I was astounded when Brother Hyman came out yesterday and broke the ice for a fight. What are you here for? Simply to stir up the mud and throw it into our own faces? Absolutely not. We are here for peace and harmony. Then, by all means let us have peace and harmony.

This so-called "left-wing" business can go only so far and no farther. I have also been a militant in the Boston Joint Board and when one of your groups was expelled he chose me as his attorney. But how far could we go? We could go only so far and no further.

I believe the report of the Credentials Committee was in order if we are here for peace and harmony, and that report ought to be accepted, because I believe the Credentials Committee saw that by objecting to this side and throwing out this side the whole membership would have to be expelled and that then we would have no organization. Please remember that we are here for harmony, and accept the report that the Credentials Committee has submitted to you. (Applause).

Delegate Perlmutter: Most of the speakers who got up and spoke on this question didn't speak on it at all. Some of them gave instructions on what the Credentials Committee should have done and others told them what they should not have done. The President just ruled that it is in order to be out of order, so I will take the floor to say a few words because of the many insinuations that have been made against the local of which I am a member, Local 10.

It seems to me that Local 10 has become a target of criticism for those who don't like the policies of its administration. Each and every one of those who are now claiming that they are really

championing the cause of their members, gets up and claims that he has the entire membership in his vest pocket. I want to say that, while I don't claim to have the entire membership in my vest pocket, I do claim that we represent Local 10. At a recent meeting at which 600 members were present, all of them, with the exception of three, expressed the utmost confidence in the administration of our Local 10.

An insinuation had been made that Dubinsky, in order to protect the "clique", worked against the decision of the Joint Board for a general election and that they refused to participate in the election, or that the old business agents did not file applications. I want to say that, when we refused to file application as business agents for the Joint Board, it was no maneuver of politics. We decided not to run for the reason that we realized that there had developed a clique that was determined to keep the present administration out of Local 10 by hook or crook, and I am going to prove it right now. I will give you facts that cannot be denied. Before the so-called peace had been concluded, for twenty long weeks propaganda was conducted and all sorts of misstatements and insinuations were made, which were not even believed by those who made them. They came out with all sorts of propaganda and leaflets attacking the officers of our local. Only about two or three weeks ago a charge was made against Brother Dubinsky that he had participated in a conference with others representing an organization that has for its object the undermining of the Joint Board. They are trying by all means to discredit and destroy the confidence of the membership of Local 10 towards the administration.

We do not come here to shout hurrahs. So far as the report of the committee is concerned, it is very plain and it cannot be misinterpreted. I appeal to you to concur in the report of the committee.

Delegate Hochman: I have a just grievance against the chairman for not accepting my point of order at the last

session, but having faith in his wisdom, I presume it will all work out for the best. Instead of sticking to the report of the committee, they have turned this into a general discussion on every subject under the sun.

A great deal has been said here about tolerance and brotherly love. We have been reminded that, when peace was concluded, we came to an understanding that we would try to work together for the best interests of the union. I was one of the committee that brought about peace. But what happened? Those very same brothers who pledged peace and harmony began immediately after the signing of the documents, their old tactics of attack and insinuation, trying to undermine everything and everybody that they did not as yet control (applause).

I will in due time read many an excerpt from the statements issued by them since then, but it will suffice me now to read only one little statement of one of their leaflets that was issued by them many weeks since the signing of the peace understanding: "They are planning to work with the bosses' association, with the police and the underworld, to make the next general strike a failure." Now I want to know, is there anyone here who will dare stand up on this platform and say that Sigman or Dubinsky or anybody is combining with the bosses, with the police and with gangsters to make the next general strike of the cloakmakers a failure? You know it's a lie, it is treachery, it is contemptible, and yet you do this after pledging yourselves to peace and harmony and work for the upbuilding of the Union! (great applause).

And what happened after that? The G. E. B. decided for an early convention in Philadelphia, in order to have the convention city near New York. We knew that you would be able to bring people here to make demonstrations, but because we did not want to bring the locals to too great an extravagance, we decided to have the convention here. And when the convention had been announced, and delegates elected, and the local people of Philadelphia had made every possible arrangement to take care of the dele-

gates, what did you do? You made your own arrangements, you secured your own information bureau, you sent a man here as a special look-out to keep yourselves solid. Is this unity? Is this working together? Is this harmony?

Then the convention was opened. The local people had arranged for a fine opening and a musical program. All the delegates came and were seated, but there were a number of chairs vacant. Where were those delegates who are a part of us? Where were those people with whom we formed one organization, one union, to look out for the interests of the workers? They weren't there. A little later, they came parading through the streets and into the hall with signs of denunciation. I suppose you expected everybody to stand up and cheer wildly, but you were awfully disappointed. (Applause). It was a cheap act and it received its proper consideration. We came to this convention in the best of spirits. The President wanted us to proceed immediately with our work. The Credentials Committee submitted a report, paving the way to harmony, and the first thing that happened was to hear Brother Hyman actually delivering an ultimatum to the convention. I suppose after the meeting was over, wiser judgment prevailed and they had a change of heart.

We must get down to business. Let us hope that these general discussions will have given most of us an opportunity to let off steam and leave the brain cool, so that we can intelligently deliberate upon the problems before this convention. Let us treat each other with courtesy and understanding as befits organized workers. Let us also understand that you cannot and will not intimidate anybody. Let us understand that because a man happens to be a delegate of a local of 12,000 and receives 400 votes during his election as delegate, that this does not make him an aristocrat at this convention. (Hear! Hear! and applause). In all labor movements there are rules which give delegates of provinces a representation according to their numbers, more than in the case of cities. In the official report of the British Trade Union Delegation to Russia, on page 140, ap-

pears the following: "The All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions consists of one delegate for each 10,000 members; but provisional branches have a delegate for each 3,000 members." The people who will be seated are delegates and you can plead with them and reason with them but don't threaten, because there is no delegate here who has not enough self-respect not to stand for such nonsense. (Great applause).

Delegate Shally spoke in Yiddish. He stated that, while he signed the report of the Credentials Committee, he disapproved of its action in many respects and that he believed in particular that it had the power to pass upon the eligibility of the locals that had been protested against.

Delegate Snyder: I also know something of the constitution and I also claim to understand the laws that guide our organization. It was our understanding that we have no right to take up certain cases that were presented to the Credentials Committee. We did not, as it is charged, purposely carry the question to the convention so that the Appeals Committee if they took up these question would not bring in a report until some time next week. Our position was that the Credentials Committee is not a trial body. A week before the convention everybody was notified that, if they had charges to prefer, they were to bring them before the General Executive Board, that they need not go before the Appeals Committee if they did not desire.

There was no such thing as a minority and a majority report. The only objection that Brother Shally made was in the case of Local 62. He stated he wanted to know whether the delegates of Local 62 were elected or whether they were appointed. Local 62 was notified to appear before the committee and he had the opportunity to learn the manner in which the delegates of Local 62 were elected or appointed and he was satisfied after that. Brother Farblash did not say that he had a minority report until Saturday morning and we told him that he had the privilege to make one. Prior

to that he did not make any such statement although we had been meeting all week. Brother Farblash one morning would agree with the committee and the next morning he would come in with something else that we did not anticipate. From that we have a right to infer that he followed certain instructions that he received. From whom he got the instructions is none of my affair, but such was the case. He would agree on one thing and after lunch disagree on the very same thing.

The committee acted in the fairest possible way. We had in mind the fact that we had a quarrel in the union last summer. We were aware of the effects of the quarrel and the committee was primarily interested in bringing to this convention a plan that would pave the way for a permanent peace in our union. Are you helping up? No, you are not. If you criticized the report alone, we could swallow it but you are carried away. You are bringing up matters that have nothing to do with the report.

All sorts of complaints were brought in. On Saturday a man came in who objected against a certain man as unfit to be a delegate to the convention. He gave us his name and we found that he was not even numbered amongst our delegates. We asked him how he got the name and he told us from his boss. What can you do with a case like that? We had several such instances.

Let me refer you to our report. I will quote from it: "The Credentials Committee has also received certain objections against various locals and their delegations as a whole upon which your committee did not feel that it is within its jurisdictional power according to the constitution to act, and did not entertain these objections, but informed objectors that they may refer their objections to the proper authority, the appeal committee of the convention, if they so desire."

We said "appeal committee" because we are no longer in New York. We are now in Philadelphia assembled in convention. The G. E. B. does not meet now, and so we referred it to the appeal

committee. Were we unfair in our deliberations, we certainly would have done something else. Were we not guided by the thought and spirit of upbuilding the Union, we would have acted differently.

The Credentials Committee did not mean by its proposal that we bring the matter before the Appeal Committee. It was not our intention and, if you misunderstood us, it is not the fault of the Credentials Committee. At the conclusion of our report we state:

"After considering the indebtedness of the above-mentioned locals towards the general office, the Credentials Committee recommends that the delegates of these locals be seated and that this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to see to it that every local makes good its indebtedness towards the International within sixty days after the convention adjourns."

We did this in order to take care of the locals that were indebted to the International.

If you think that you can intimidate us by your Joint Action Committee, you are greatly mistaken. There are still a number of cases to be decided. This report is only a partial report and was submitted in order that the convention might be organized and that we might proceed with our regular business. Later we will complete our report and you will be able to judge if we were fair or unfair in our deliberations and decisions. We also represent people, we also represent unions, we also are interested in seeing that the International is built up again and restored to the strength it had before the fight that occurred in New York, and that is why we rendered this report, and I hope that the delegates who are assembled here this morning will realize that it is a fair report and will accept it (applause).

Delegate Nagler: I was greatly surprised when Brother Portnoy stated that a colleague of his on the Credential Committee did not know how to defend himself. Then, how in the world does it happen that he was elected as a delegate to this convention?

I appreciate a man who is frank in his opinion in preference to a man who tries to hide himself on the floor of the convention for fear that he may be given a raw deal when he returns to his city. I refer to our Brother Shally. When we framed our report, the only objection that Brother Shally made was in reference to the paragraph in our preamble which reads:

"In submitting this report to you, your committee is mindful of the fact that this Convention was called somewhat earlier than usual for two outstanding reasons: Firstly, because of an internal situation that our International has had to face in this past year, and secondly, in anticipation of various problems that may confront the cloakmakers of the City of New York in the near future."

"In spite of the struggle within our ranks in the past six months your Committee is confident that the Convention in its deliberation on the problems confronting it, will bring back the spirit of unity that has always prevailed within our organization, and has placed the International amongst the foremost trade unions in the American Labor Movement as well as of the Labor Movement as a whole."

Brother Shally, after giving this matter thought, signed his name to it, and by the way, Brother Shally, you tried to get Brother Farblash to sign the report as well. Isn't that right, Brother Farblash?

Brother Farblash: Yes, it is.

Delegate Nagler: Now, my dear Brother Shally, didn't you see the objectors of Local 10 whom I pointed out to you through the window in the International office, who came over with different propositions to the Credentials Committee in order that we bring a peaceful report to this Convention? Who was interested—

Brother Shally (interrupting): I was interested.

Delegate Nagler: I want to say to you, Brother Shally, that on all questions

you were in accord with the Credentials Committee. Brother Farblash was the only one who stated he would bring in a minority report and it is not fair of you, Brother Shally, after signing the report to come here on the floor after you have possibly been intimidated, and reach around to a different position from that which you stated here yesterday in the ante-room (applause).

Some statements have been made here about an artificial delegation at this convention. May I ask you, Brother Portnoy, about the delegation of Local 45, the designers' local, a "militant" organization—are they artificial or are they not? After it was proved before the Credentials Committee that this local had issued receipts for dues to their membership in the last five months instead of placing stamps on their books, we did not recommend the unseating of these delegates, although we had good grounds for doing so. This cannot be denied by Brother Farblash or Brother Shally. We took into consideration the unity of the convention. You agreed to these artificial delegates because it suited your purpose and you did not say anything about it (applause).

Brother Zimmerman stated the fact that delegates to this convention were appointed instead of elected. Brother Zimmerman, in the City of New York when it was a question of business agents in the Joint Board, did you not confer with the officials of Local 10 about 3 and 2 or 4 and 1 or 4 and 2 propositions? (applause). How could you tell whether it was going to be 4 and 2 or 3 and 2 or 4 and 1 (laughter and applause)?

Brother Zimmerman stated at this convention that Delegate Dubinsky was trying to bulldoze the members. Brother Hyman bulldozed the convention yesterday, but he took water today. The reason no member of the Credentials Committee answered Brother Hyman's statement yesterday was because we had to adjourn, to my sorrow. These threats will not work, especially with a member of the Credentials Committee who is also a member of Local 10 (great applause).

Brother Portnoy referred to a convention which was held in 1922 when an objection was raised against the delegates of Local 9. Brother Portnoy, do not misconstrue the proceedings of that convention, as you know it has nothing to do with the present report of the Credentials Committee. The objection raised at that time was against each and every delegate. They had participated as individuals in an illegal caucus which was contrary to the constitution of our International and it was not as a local that they were charged with committing a crime. You must be very careful and not misconstrue any proceedings because the next speaker, who may be a "reactionary," will be in a position to answer you in regard to everything.

Delegate Portnoy: Answer in regard to Local 49.

Delegate Nagler: Yes, Brother Portnoy, you will take water as soon as I answer. When you mention Local 49, I want to call your attention to the fact that as a constitutional authority you don't know what you are talking about. (applause). Aren't you aware of the fact that the constitution was revised in the City of Boston in 1924? And that this revision deals with the powers of the Credentials Committee?

Delegate Portnoy: Not with regard to this clause.

Delegate Nagler: Look it over. Delegates, if the so-called "rights" were not sincere, I want to call Brother Rubin's attention to the fact that he might not have been sitting here as a delegate to this convention were it not for the fact that we were interested in securing harmony (great applause). None of these delegates can be accused of organizing a dual union. Brother Rubin, and of having advertised in the press that you will settle shops under piece-work when Brother Sigman as the manager of the New York Joint Board enforced the week-work system (great applause). I am glad, Sister Wortis, that you spoke in a fairer spirit when you said, "I do not accuse the Credentials Committee of any malice in submitting this report." But

you had an opinion as to the manner in which the Committee should have reported. You said that the reason the Credentials Committee brought in this report was because of the victory of the militant workers in the New York Joint Board. You claim before these delegates representing the United States and Canada that you were victorious and you are trying to make an impression on the delegates. Let me tell you, Sister Worth, I am representing here a local which I also represented in Boston. Our delegates come to this convention with our manager as the leader of that local, representing even a better organization than we had represented in the City of Boston. We bring our same local, stronger if possible, to the City of Philadelphia—but it is a tragedy that you have lost the confidence of your membership to a certain extent in the shops.

In the election for the Executive Board of Local 2, they voted at the same time on the question of 35-cent dues and 40-cent dues. You wanted 40 cent dues. You cannot fool us. But the membership decided on 35-cent dues and they would have voted for 25-cent dues if you had given them the opportunity. But when it came to the election of delegates to the convention, how many votes were cast? The same amount as was cast for the Executive Board? No, there was no question of 25-cent dues then (great applause). A membership of twelve thousand in Local 2 cast a vote of one thousand and a membership of four thousand in Local 10 cast twelve hundred votes. And let me call your attention to this, that out of the twelve hundred votes that were cast in Local 10 in New York, eleven hundred, according to the records, paid dues that day.

After you had demonstrated that you could get the membership to vote for lower dues, you came with that report to our membership, and by a vote of four hundred against ninety, they voted for 40 cents after the brilliant revolution that took place in the City of New York, and we permitted the so-called "lefts" to count the vote. Who represents the membership here? It is you or we? (Great applause).

The first objection that came into the Credentials Committee was against the conservative Local 10, as you call it, and when we sent out telegrams which I have in my possession here, that they appear before the Credentials Committee that we may inform them as to the proper procedure, why did these cowards not appear, if they had objections?

As Brother Hochman stated, we took cognizance of what was going on in New York. We tried our best to bring about peace and unity. We did not expect what took place yesterday. We are not after the scalp of an individual. We had in mind the entire membership of our international. We had in mind the manufacturers that we have to face in our daily lives in order to protect the interests of our workers, and it was for this reason that the Credentials Committee did not fail in its business to dig into every minor proposition in order not to bring about any ill-feeling in the convention. Instead of being criticized, we should have been congratulated. We stated in our preamble: "In this work it was actuated by a spirit of genuine impartiality and has let personal opinion play no part in its decision or recommendation." We wanted the convention to be unified in order to face the employers in a solid phalanx. I hope, delegates, that you will vote for the Credentials Committee report, and as for those who do not care to do so, we will see their color (great applause).

Brother Farblash spoke in Yiddish. He charged Delegate Hochman with having made use of gangsters and the police in ill-treating the members of the Union. He stated his opposition to the action taken by the Credentials Committee. He charged the committee with being partial and stated that if the Credentials Committee had not met in caucus without him he would not have been obliged to hold caucuses elsewhere.

President Sigman: I will call upon Brother Farblash to prefer charges in written form against Brother Hochman and then the convention will be in position to act upon them. This slander, these accusations and acts of irrespon-

sibility will have to stop at this convention.

It seems to me that we have had quite a prolonged discussion on this proposition. I believe that the delegates present are in a position now to express their judgment on the report of the Committee as well as on the minority report of one member. I will therefore refrain from personally contributing to this discussion at this time. I suppose that in the course of the convention I shall have my opportunity, too.

There are two propositions before the house: one is the motion of the Credentials Committee to seat all the delegates enumerated in the report, and, if there are any objections against any particular locals, they may be made before the Appeals Committee of the convention. There is a minority report of one which asks that the entire report be referred back to the Credentials Committee for it to go into each of the objections made and render a report on each case separately. You will now vote on these two propositions.

A vote by roll call was requested.

President Sigman: The rules adopted at the last convention will apply to this convention. The request is to vote on this question by roll call. "Yes" will signify approval of the majority report; "no" will signify disapproval of the report.

A vote by roll call was thereupon taken and the Secretary, after counting the votes, announced that 158 votes were for approval of the report and 107 against the approval.

President Sigman: The report of the Credentials Committee is approved, and all those delegates mentioned in the report are formally and officially seated as delegates to this convention.

We will now adjourn until tomorrow morning.

Whereupon, at 4:00 p. m., the convention adjourned to reconvene Thursday, December 3, 1925, at 9:30 a. m.

Fourth Day—Morning Session. Thursday, December 3, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 10 a. m.

President Sigman: I am sure that all of you delegates know of the bitter struggle that the United Textile Workers of America are conducting against the American Thread Company's mills in Williamantic, Conn. We have here with us a representative of the textile strikers who is desirous of acquainting us with the situation of that strike. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Miss Mary Kelleher.

Sister Kelleher: Mr. Chairman, officers, brothers and sisters: As your worthy chairman has announced, I am here representing the textile workers of Williamantic, a group of about 2,550 people out on strike since the 9th day of March in protest against a 10 per cent reduction in wages by the American Thread Company, which is a foreign corporation whose policies are dictated from Manchester, England. They said that the wages of the Williamantic workers were too high and we would have to accept a 10 per cent reduction.

The fight is not only on the 10 per cent reduction in wages. It is also to maintain the 40-hour work week which we have established in the mills since 1919. The manufacturers of Massachusetts are now making efforts to have that law repealed. So we are not only fighting this gigantic American Thread Company, but we are fighting the combined efforts of the Massachusetts Manufacturers' Association.

Out of the 2,550 strikers less than 250 have broken ranks. You have to go down there to see the spirit that is displayed by the strikers. We didn't lose one striker except those that were evicted from their homes, and we are doing everything in our power to help them and keep them together. The winter is coming on, and the only means we have of carrying on is to appeal to the labor unions in general asking for contributions. So, Mr. Chairman and brothers and sisters, if there is anything that

you can do to help us it will be deeply appreciated.

President Sigman: Delegate Fannia Cohn has the floor.

Delegate Cohn: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I move that we send a message of greetings and encouragement to the strikers in Willimantic and promise them all support possible in their brave struggle to counteract the attempt of the employers to force them into submission and to reduce their wages; and also that the Committee on Resolutions be requested to prepare a suitable resolution offering financial assistance to the strikers (applause).

This motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

President Sigman: I am sure that all of our delegates know the Capmakers' International Union. It is one of the first labor organizations in the needle trades that has demonstrated its ability to organize the workers of its industry and fight for the rights of the workers in the most aggressive manner. We have with us a representative of that International Union. They call him the "youngster" of their organization, and I take great pleasure in introducing Brother Max Zuckerman, who will address our Convention.

Brother Zuckerman: Mr. Chairman. Delegates and Fellow Workers: The Executive Board of our organization, which was in session last week, conferred upon me the privilege of delivering to you the fraternal greetings of the members of our organization. I might just as well be frank with you and tell you that, being the secretary, I am not much of a speaker. This is practically the first time that I have been given the honor and privilege of addressing your convention. I did appear before your convention in Chicago in 1920, but that was merely an accident. Our General Board met in Chicago at the time your convention took place there and our General Board in a body came to your convention to pay their respects to you. At that time the address of welcome for

our organization was made by President Zaritsky.

I would like to give you a detailed account of my observations during my connection with the trade union movement, but I don't wish to impose on your time because I know you have many pressing and important problems to meet. I deeply appreciate this honor and privilege of appearing before you, especially because of the fact that the officers and active members of the I. L. G. W. U. were the first men I met in the Labor movement at the time I became an officer of our organization. I then met Brothers Rosenberg, Schlesinger, Grossman, Polakoff and a few more. And I greatly admired the wonderful courage and tenacity of purpose that these men displayed because to me it seemed they were trying to overcome insurmountable obstacles. At that time the I. L. G. W. U. was merely a skeleton, and its wonderful progress up to this day no doubt was due in great part to the fore-sight and ability of these early strugglers.

At that time I became the general secretary of our organization, a young, inexperienced worker, not young in years but young in experience; and I naturally took advantage of my acquaintance with these men and sought and took their advice, and their advice certainly was sound and worth taking. So I have a special attachment for the I. L. G. W. U. because they were, so to speak, my teachers. Later on I became acquainted with other officers of your organization, who are still officers, President Sigman and Vice-President Lefkowitz, and my acquaintance with them has been to my profit and advantage.

Now, I won't go into detail about the struggles of our organization. Your struggles and our struggles are similar, and what you have to contend with we also have to contend with, and, brothers and sisters, we are watching with great interest the work of your convention. I had an opportunity of looking over the report of your General Executive Board. You have your problems and we have ours. You will have to tackle your problems in your way and we will have to

solve ours in our way, yet there is a similarity in purpose and method.

Now, let me express the hope and wish that your deliberations, marked by sound and constructive criticism will result in great success and that you, who represent the aspirations of your constituents, will rise to your responsibilities and will leave this Convention united in spirit, united in purpose and united in effort to meet the great problems that are confronting you. I thank you for this privilege and honor (applause).

President Sigman: I will now call upon the following to act as sergeants-at-arms during the period of this convention and maintain order in the hall:

Basilio Desti, Chairman, Local 48, New York; Harry Sodosky, Local 23, New York; Louis Forer, Local 10, New York; Joseph Mirenda, Local 89, New York; Max Levy, Local 71, Philadelphia; Aaron Einblinder, Local 50, Philadelphia.

Delegate Zimmermann: I want to ask the unanimous consent of this convention to send a message of greetings to the group of miners who are conducting a militant struggle in Ziegler, Illinois. The miners conducted a fight for a wage increase. The company agreed to the increase, but found a way of stealing the earnings of the workers by the manner in which they weighed the coal that they produced. The miners protested and the company used the Ku Klux Klan to suppress them. At one of the local meetings of the miners the Ku Klux Klan attacked the workers and one of the workers was shot and another seriously wounded. One of the Klan men was arrested, being caught with a gun in his hand, but the authorities being members of the Klan themselves refused to indict him and he was released. Instead a group of miners were arrested, charged, framed up and they were accused of shooting their fellow workers. I think this convention should go on record to send a message of greetings and encouragement during their coming trial. (Great applause).

Delegate Antonini: I rise to second the motion.

(Upon being put to a vote it was unanimously carried).

Delegate Portnoy: I rise to protest against the manner in which the minutes were printed in yesterday's proceedings. I realize that it is impracticable to print every word spoken on the floor, but those in charge of the minutes have no right to take out sentences and make a speech meaningless. I said yesterday that we heard one report the day before from the Credentials Committee and ~~we~~ see another report today, and I am satisfied that we can see better than we can hear. I said I am satisfied that the administration took a back seat and we accepted. The way it is printed today it is meaningless. It says: "I am satisfied that we can see better than we can hear. There is nobody that can pass upon the qualifications of a delegate except a Credentials Committee." What does it mean? I also stated that I charge the Credentials Committee that when a member came there to lodge a protest against a delegate, he was misinformed and misled, so that no objection could be brought up against the delegate, and I think I have a right to see such a fact in the minutes. I find the same thing true in the statements of all the delegates who are opposed to the administration. On the other hand, the stenographer is a very good stenographer, for every speech made by those supporting the administration is correct.

President Sigman: Every delegate has a right to correct the proceedings if he finds that his thoughts are incorrectly expressed. It can be done in a simple and open manner by speaking to the Secretary. If the talk delivered by Delegate Portnoy is not properly presented, corrections will be made. We have never made a practice at previous conventions to print the proceedings in full, as it would be obviously an impossibility. If the delegates feel that some very important points have been eliminated, they will kindly call the Secretary's attention to it and the minutes will be corrected.

Delegate Halperin: I'd like to make a correction. In answer to Brother Portnoy I said that you, Brother Portnoy, spent thousands of dollars to organize Newark and you did not succeed, although I have nothing against you, as you did your best.

Delegate Antonini: Since Brother Portnoy said that his speech was cut short, I want to say that the same thing applies to the others as well. I said yesterday that Brother Portnoy told me at one time that Ninfo is a good sport, why can't he also be a good sport. I want the members to know that you sometimes have a good opinion of Brother Ninfo.

Delegate Perlmutter: Yesterday in trying to prove the methods which some of the so called progressives are trying to impose upon the membership of Local 10 and other locals, I stated that a certain meeting at Webster Hall held by the so-called progressives was attended by men of shady character, and some of our people were cut up.

President Sigman: It seems to me that it will not be possible to insert every word spoken in our minutes. It has never been done that way, and we must at least in our official proceedings not record any of the recklessness that occurs at some of our local meetings.

The chairman of the Credentials Committee informs me that he is ready to continue with his report.

Report of the Credentials Committee (Continued)

Delegate Nagler: Your committee has received an objection from Brother Harry Feld, Ledger No. 5031 of Local 2, against Brother B. Rubinstein, Ledger No. 4139 of the same local.

Brother Feld stated that he is at present employed by the firm of Hyman and Binder, of 15 E. 27th Street for whom he has been working for the past four weeks, and where Brother Rubinstein is also employed. To his surprise, he has found that the workers in the shop have been working illegal hours, and have been receiving time and a quarter for overtime. This was found out at the shop meeting called by the union about two weeks ago. And since he hears that Brother Rubinstein is a delegate to this convention, and a very active man in Local 2, he feels that a man that claims

to be such an active member of the union should have made some attempt, in the past three seasons that he is working there, to know the conditions of the shop. And he therefore considers him an unfit delegate to the convention.

Brother Rubinstein stated that he first learned in the month of September from some of the brothers in the shop that they are not receiving proper pay for overtime and that he has advised them to go down to the office of the union about it. He further states that he received the proper pay for overtime, and the Sundays that he is being charged with working were permitted by the manager of that district. This was during the Jewish holidays.

Your committee, after examining the witnesses in the case, found that this case is being investigated by the union and it is not as yet established whether Brother Rubinstein worked under such conditions or not and therefore unanimously recommended the seating of the delegate.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

We received an objection from Brother D. Schwartz, Ledger No. 829, Local 22 against Vice-President Samuel Lefkowitz on the ground that he was elected by Local 131 after being defeated by the District Council of the Miscellaneous Trades of the City of New York and therefore he believes that he is not eligible to be a delegate to this convention.

Your committee fails to see anything in our constitution that would disqualify a delegate on the above mentioned grounds and therefore recommends that Brother Lefkowitz be seated as a delegate to this convention.

Delegate Farblash: I have a minority report. I believe that when a member of the union runs as a delegate and he is defeated by one local, he has no moral right to run in another local and be elected.

Delegate Rubin: In 1914, in the Cleveland convention we had the case with

Abraham Mitchell, who was a Vice President of the International, and the convention in 1914 rejected him on the same grounds. I don't see why an exception should be made in the case of Brother Lefkovits.

Delegate Nagler: In 1914 the Mitchell case was altogether different from the case of Delegate Lefkovits. Brother Mitchell was unseated for two reasons: first he ran in two locals at the same time, and secondly he had not been six months in the local from which he was elected as a delegate, as provided for in the constitution. Brother Lefkovits, being the manager of the Miscellaneous Council of the City of New York, has been with every local of the Council for more than six months. As to Brother Farblash's objection on moral grounds, the Credentials Committee does not consider moral factors but guides itself according to the constitution.

Delegate Miller also objected to the seating of Delegate Lefkovits.

President Sigman: Delegate Mitchell ran at the same time in two different locals, not wanting to take a risk, I suppose, and thinking that if he were defeated in one he might be elected in the other. When he came to the convention I opposed his seating. I was a delegate to that convention and I was able to prove that he did not deserve to be seated. Brother Lefkovits ran in the District Council and was defeated. Then one of the local unions affiliated with the District Council asked him to accept the candidacy as delegate to the convention from that local, an election took place and he was chosen. A proceeding of that kind in my opinion is absolutely legal and moral. The same question came up at the Joint Board of the Cloak-makers, when Brother Fish was elected as delegate to this convention. Many delegates to the Joint Board were nominated. I was present at the meeting and Delegate Zimmerman or Portnoy or Hyman asked me this question—"If a member runs here and is defeated, will he have the right to run at his local union as a delegate to the convention?"—and I expressed the opinion that he would

have the right to run, and that settled the affair.

Delegate Zimmerman: I don't think it is a proper procedure when a man is defeated in one local that he should be able to run in another local and be elected, but inasmuch as there is no legal objection, I will second the motion of the Credentials Committee and recommend the seating of Brother Lefkovits. (Applause).

(Upon being put to a vote, the recommendation of the committee was adopted and Brother Lefkovits was seated).

The committee received an objection from Brother Harry Bakat, Ledger No. 1567, of Local 27, Cleveland, Ohio, against Brother S. Flax, delegate to this convention from the same local, charging that Brother Flax, being a member of Local 26, and seeing no chance of being elected from that local, erased that number from his book, marked in Local 27 and was elected delegate from this local to the convention.

Brother Friend, of Local 26, who is also a member of the Credentials Committee, stated that this was not the case, that Bro. Flax is a member of Local 27 and that the office of the Joint Board marked his book Local 26 by mistake. He believes that the only fault that the man has committed is that Brother Flax himself erased the number 26 and put in 27, instead of bringing this to the attention of the secretary. Your committee unanimously recommends that Brother Flax be seated as a delegate to the convention.

(Upon motion duly made and seconded the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted).

The Credentials Committee received an objection from Brother Dave Harris, Ledger 8 of Local 141, against Brother Frank Amler, Ledger No. 7 of Local 30, charging that Brother Amler is at present employed at men's tailoring and is not a practical ladies' garment worker as specified in our constitution. He therefore believes that he is not eligible as a delegate to this convention.

Brother Amler states that this is not the case. He is at present employed by the firm of Woaker and Son in Stamford, Conn., where they work on both men's and ladies' garments.

The committee, not having sufficient proof to offset the testimony of Brother Amler, unanimously recommends the seating of the delegate.

(Upon motion made and seconded the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted).

An objection was received from Sisters Sophie Knisnick, Ledger No. 2658, Beckie Levy, and Bella Gray, all of Local 91, against Sister Dora Friedman, Ledger No. 2027 of the same local,—charging Dora Friedman with dishonesty that the elections and objections committee took her off the ballot, and that Brother Baroff, the General Secretary of the I. L. G. W. U., later ruled that Dora Friedman was entitled to go on the ballot, and was so placed.

Upon examination of the records of the Appeal Committee of the International we find that about two and a half years ago when Dora Friedman accepted a nomination for executive board member in her local, the same objections were brought against her, and Sister Friedman appealed the case to the Appeal Committee of the International, and has since then been serving on the executive board of the local.

In the testimony presented before the committee, it appears that Dora Friedman has been a paid and unpaid officer of the union for the past six and a half years, and since she was vindicated of those charges two and a half years ago and remained a member of the Executive Board during this period, the committee unanimously recommends the seating of Sister Dora Friedman as delegate to this convention.

(Upon motion duly made and seconded the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously carried.

We received an objection from Sister Dora Friedman, Ledger No. 2027, of

Local 91, against Sister Sophia Knisnick, Ledger No. 2658 of the same local, on the ground that she has not been in the trade for the past six months as provided in our constitution, and is therefore not eligible to be a delegate to the convention.

Sister Knisnick explained that late in May or early in June she left the city to take charge of a summer camp and was promised that when she returned her job would be given back to her,—but when she did return, the employer refused to reengage her, claiming that it was very dull in the shop, and that he did not need any more help than was at the time employed,—that she has since been trying to secure another job but has been unable to do so.

Your committee considers that Sister Knisnick is still in the trade and therefore unanimously recommends seating her at the convention.

(Upon motion duly made and seconded the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted).

The Credentials Committee has received an objection from Brother Barnett Soll, Ledger No. 1891, of Local 5, Chicago, against Brother B. Dolnick, No. 1907, of the same local, on the following two charges: first, that at a local meeting Brother Dolnick assaulted a member by the name of Zeff; and second, that he obtained a credential illegally from Local 60, he being a member of Local 5.

Brother Dolnick states that at a meeting of Local 5, at which he was present, nominations for officers took place. Brother Zeff was nominated and, when asked by the chairman of the meeting, Brother Soll, who is the objector, whether Zeff accepts the nomination, Zeff said he did—Brother Dolnick rose and, addressing himself to the chair, stated the following: "Mr. Chairman, I object to Brother Zeff as a candidate to the Executive Board, for the reason that Brother Zeff has been found guilty by the Chicago Joint Board on charges of having unjustly accused officers of the Union of scabbing. He has not been vindicated as yet." When Brother Zeff heard this objection, he rose and made

the following remark to Brother Dolnick: "Why do you object me? I didn't scab as you did."

Brother Dolnick admits that he lost himself for the moment, knowing that Zeff was in the habit of accusing officers from time to time of scabbing, and struck Brother Zeff. After this, Brother Dolnick was brought on charges before an impartial committee, mutually agreed upon. This committee brought in a report in which they stated the following: "Your committee, after listening to the evidence submitted on both sides, came to the following conclusion. According to the evidence submitted by the witnesses, there was not much to judge from, because some of them told the truth and some were absolutely not conscientious in their statements.

"Your committee took into consideration most of the testimony submitted by the defendant, Brother B. Dolnick, who pleaded guilty of having struck Brother Zeff at a local meeting.

"Your committee does not approve of physical force, but believes that Brother Dolnick was bitterly accused before the fight occurred, and consequently grew excited and lost control of himself, which any one is likely to do when a bad reflection is thrown on his character.

"The committee therefore unanimously reached the decision that Brother Dolnick is guilty of displaying physical force at the meeting, and shall apologize for his action at the next meeting of Local 5.

"Respectfully submitted,

"M. Fineberg, Chairman,

"M. Trubakoff, Sec.,

"Phil Davids, of Local 18,

"H. Festenstein, of Local 18

"S. Morris, of Local 100."

Since Brother Dolnick's testimony was corroborated by Brother Rappaport, the secretary of the Joint Board, and by Brother Blais, the manager of the Chicago Joint Board, stating that Brother Dolnick is one of the most active men in the City of Chicago in his present capacity as business agent, and was re-

cently appointed by the General Office as organizer in the district of Chicago and vicinity,—and since our committee finds that it is not the first occasion that the brother in question has accused officers of the Union of scabbing, and also since we find that the second charge against Brother Dolnick—that Brother Dolnick has been illegally elected as a delegate from Local 60,—is unfounded, your committee therefore recommends that Brother Dolnick be seated at the convention.

Delegate Nagler: I also want to call your attention to the fact that Mandy Fineberg, who acted as chairman of that committee, is at present a delegate to this convention.

Delegate Farblash: I present a minority report on constitutional grounds that he did not run in his local because he could not be elected there; he was appointed by another local. The constitution provides in Article 2, Section 4, page 13, that elections for delegates to the convention should be only by ballot.

Delegate Nagler: According to the constitution, when anyone is elected by acclamation at a local meeting, it is a legal election and it does not have to be by a referendum or by ballot.

Delegate Farblash: That applies only in the case of elections at local unions.

Delegate Soll: I want to know whether a member or a delegate who is still under charges can be seated.

President Sigman: Brother Dolnick was tried by a formal committee of the locals of the Joint Board in Chicago and the case was disposed of. The fact that there is an appeal does not mean that he cannot in the meantime serve in any office or as a delegate to the convention.

Delegate Soll: I ask the delegates not to seat Brother Dolnick, as he struck a member at a local meeting, which no union man, and especially no person appointed by the President to be an organizer, should do. Furthermore, knowing

that he would be objected to in Local 5 and would not be elected as a delegate, he tried this political maneuver. We have a little branch of Polish workers in Local 60, and with the help of Mollie Friedman, Local 60 which has no funds to send a delegate, elected Dolnick. Nobody knows how, because in the Joint Board of Chicago we have a by-law that any local having an election should report to the Joint Board and the Joint Board sends a committee to help supervise the election. Such a committee was never asked of the Joint Board and when the minutes came to me, I was surprised to learn that Brother Dolnick had been elected. I asked the chairman how Brother Dolnick got elected and he refused to answer; therefore it was my duty to prefer charges against Brother Dolnick.

Delegate Bialis: I have known Dolnick for a number of years. I know him to be an active member of the Union who has always been entrusted with the confidential work of the Union and there has never been a spot on his character. If any delegate here in an open meeting were called a scab, he would act exactly as did Brother Dolnick.

Delegate Stern spoke in Yiddish, stating it as his judgment that Brother Dolnick was not eligible to be a delegate to the convention as he at one time had conducted a "corporation" shop.

Delegate Metrick spoke against the seating of Delegate Dolnick, stating that a man guilty of such behavior as Dolnick is not fit to be seated as a delegate.

Delegate Hauser next spoke on the question, saying in part: "I say that a business agent and an organizer in the International who picks up a chair and attempts to strike another member is not fit to be a delegate to this convention. No reason was advanced why Dolnick should be seated. They said he is one of the most active workers in Chicago. I want to tell you that Dolnick is one of the most hated members in Chicago. He came here as a delegate without authority."

Delegate Steinkor spoke against the seating of Brother Dolnick, stating that his election as a delegate to the convention was in violation of the provisions of the constitution. He said in part: "The constitution provides that a local Union immediately upon the receipt of such notice shall call a special meeting for the purpose of nominating candidates as delegates to a convention, and that the election shall be by ballot." I heard the statement made that Delegate Dolnick was appointed by the executive board and not elected by ballot. Section 15 provides that an election must be held, and I understand that these provisions were violated.

President Sigman: Delegate Steinkor, this question of election procedure will be taken up later by the proper committee.

Delegate Rappaport is now recognized.

Delegate Rappaport spoke in favor of seating Brother Dolnick, saying in part: "All that I heard here I expected to hear. The whole thing is a matter of personal animosity between Zeff and Dolnick. I was present at that meeting where the altercation occurred and I know what happened. When Harry Zeff was nominated as the chairman of that meeting, it was the chairman's duty to say that Harry Zeff cannot be an officer. Brother Soll knows exactly what the situation was when charges were preferred against Zeff and he was found guilty and denied the privilege of the floor for a period of two years. The chairman at that meeting of the local knew that Brother Zeff could not be an officer, but instead of that the chairman said the following: 'I don't believe Harry Zeff can be accepted at this time, and if the Joint Board doesn't act we will act. Are you satisfied with that, Brother Zeff?' Brother Zeff said he was satisfied. Brother Dolnick arose and he said: 'Mr. Chairman, I object to that. What do you mean, if the Joint Board won't act, the local board will act?' The Chairman answered, 'We are not taking any instructions from business agents from now on.'"

A Delegate: Can you prove that?

Delegate Rappaport: I was present. They only conform to the constitution when it is in their favor, but when it isn't in their favor, why, there is no constitution for them, and when I say "them" I mean the "progressives" of Chicago. To go back to what happened at that meeting, Dolnick stated, "I am a member of this local and if any communication is going to be sent, I am a party to that communication." Zeff got up and said, "What are you always picking on me for? I didn't scab like you did." And of course, Dolnick got excited, grabbed a chair and ran to this man, dropped the chair and hit him with his fist. As soon as that happened, instead of trying to bring about quiet, five or six of the men present attacked Dolnick and beat him up. We knew in advance that objections would be raised against Dolnick, not because he was illegally elected, but because of the fact that they want to kill him morally and break him down in every possible way they know. They haven't got one iota of proof because these very same people who are now accusing him and objecting to him supported Dolnick in caucus when Dolnick was with the so-called "progressives" against the administration. When you analyze the whole thing you will find it is nothing but personal animosity, a hatred aroused to kill him at any cost and I say to you, delegates, that a delegate should not be unseated simply because of personal altercations with another delegate (applause).

Delegate Roy Glassman spoke against seating Brother Dolnick, saying in part: "I say, delegates to this convention, that if we are to teach respect or to have respect from the members to the officers, we must have the officers show respect to the members. I would excuse a member behaving as Dolnick did, but an officer should know better. I say that this convention must show Brother Dolnick that he has not acted as an officer should and as such he is not fit to be a delegate to this convention because if he doesn't know how to act in a local Union, he certainly would not know how to act at a convention."

Delegate Manny Fineberg spoke in favor of seating Brother Dolnick, saying

in part: "I was the chairman of the impartial committee. The testimony that was presented to us was gone over intelligently and was judged by us to the best of our ability. It was found that Harry Zeff provoked this situation. Zeff is of a very nervous temperament. He cannot help it, it is his nature. If he doesn't like anything you do or say, he immediately insults you; he isn't responsible. I don't blame him; I pity him. Harry Zeff provoked the situation, but nevertheless, we don't approve of one member striking another and we found him guilty. It seems to me that it is only a personal fight. Harry Zeff is in office and Dolnick is not. It was not an organization fight, but a personal fight, and therefore, in my opinion Brother Dolnick should be seated.

President Sigman: Delegate Wolkowitz is recognized.

Delegate Wolkowitz: I don't know anything about this Chicago matter, but it reminds me of another case which was presented to the convention in Cleveland, the case of Sister Ida Rothstein, of Local 25, President Sigman took the stand against her. The charges against her were that she partook in a meeting of Local 25 to demand that a chairman from the members at that time be elected and not be appointed by the Joint Board. Brother Sigman was the manager of the Joint Board. He came to that meeting of Local 25 and told them that the Joint Board appointed him as chairman of the meeting. The members of Local 25 said that, if we were called together at a meeting, it is our right and privilege to elect our own chairman.

Delegate Dolnick: You have all heard the delegates of Chicago besmirch my character. It is strange that all those who spoke about my conducting a "corporation" shop and scabbing, just three years ago elected me business agent by a great majority, and if anyone is to be rejected at this convention it is those very men who elected me at that time and kept still, knowing the facts that they allege.

Let me give you the facts that occurred at the meeting on the night of

September 2nd. It is my duty as an officer of the Union, when the chairman of a local meeting rules improperly to call his attention to it. And when a member of the local was nominated for office who was under a two years' punishment for calling business agents and members of the Joint Board scabs on the floor of the convention, I rose and informed the chairman that this brother, Zeff, was ineligible to run for office until June, 1926. The chairman said, "Brother Zeff, we will appeal your case, and if the Joint Board don't act properly the local will take action." I asked the chairman what he meant by that statement. He said, "You are a business agent, and we don't take the advice of officers. Sit down." I said, "As a member of this local I am a party to whatever action you take and if I cannot do anything else, I can at least vote against it." At that moment, Harry Zeff arose and said, "Now listen, Dolnick, I did not scab as you did." I want to tell you, delegates, that this same Harry Zeff, at the time they claimed I had a "corporation" shop, was business agent for the Union. This Harry Zeff asked me to run for the Joint Board, he asked me to run for business agent, and did not bring charges against me.

Delegate Stein: That is not true.

President Sigman: I want to say in the presence of this convention, that I asked the same question of Brother Zeff when I was in Chicago, and he said he did, and he gave me the reasons why.

Delegate Dolnick: Harry Zeff claims that he knew all about me and yet he did not do anything but boost me until the time came when our opinions differed and immediately they began to besmirch me. I believe that if anyone had acted any differently from what I did when I was called a scab, would not have any red blood in him. I never denied that I struck Zeff after I was so bitterly insulted.

As regards Local 60, I was approached in Chicago and asked to represent that local at this convention. They called an executive meeting, which recom-

mended to the local meeting by a special letter to all its members that I be sent as delegate. After the special meeting was held and no opposition appeared against me, I was notified at the next meeting of the Chicago Joint Board that I had been elected by acclamation, by the chairman and secretary of that local.

President Sigman: As to the question of the legality of the election, all delegates to this convention should be elected by ballot. That is a provision in our by-laws. There are many delegates here who were not elected by ballot, particularly those who come from the Joint Boards and district councils. There is however another provision, and if there was any irregularity in this election of Local 60, it is not the local's fault, but it is rather my fault. This local asked me by telegram whether it is necessary to institute an election by ballot if there is only one candidate. I took the constitution and struck the wrong provision. There is a provision in our constitution which says—Page 37, Section 19, "All officers will be elected by ballot, except when they may be elected by acclamation, according to the constitution." In a hurry I wired back, "If there is but one candidate, he may be elected by acclamation."

Now, as it was explained, a special meeting was called. The only fault in the election was that there should have been a ballot printed, but as I said before, in our Joint Boards and in our district councils, the law referring to an election ballot has never been applied and I would not consider it fair or justified that because of this minor error, a delegate should be unseated.

Now, on the question of Brother Dolnick, I cannot speak from very intimate relations. I have never lived in Chicago although I have visited Chicago many times even before I was president. I am always interested in the activities of the officers. I like to see the officers work, and put in full time as I do. Whenever I have been in Chicago, I have been interested in acquainting myself with the activities of our paid officers. I was in

Chicago after some of the old officers were defeated and Brother Dolnick elected. Dolnick has been elected three times as business agent for the Joint Board by the Chicago locals, and when I came and decided to appoint an organizer to do some organization work in Chicago and around Chicago, you will understand that before I made such an appointment, I consulted the entire leadership as well as many of the rank and file. I appointed Dolnick after careful consideration as business agent of the Joint Board and placed him as organizer, because he is the most active member and I knew he would make the best organizer I could choose to organize the unorganized workers in the various localities.

You heard me make a reply to Delegate Stein when he said that it was not true that Dolnick was encouraged by the so-called present "progressive" group to become active in the organization. Dolnick was encouraged by these very same people to substitute for others who were in office. He ran for business agent three times and they never dared raise any objections against him. The tragedy began at a certain meeting at Schoenhofen's Hall, in Chicago, called by a small group of members of the various locals in Chicago, five or six, and when orders were given him with regard to a certain matter he told them, "You sisters and brothers must realize the fact that I am serving the Joint Board; in other words I am serving the entire union, and orders, instructions and advice must be given to me by the Joint Board through its actions and decisions." From that day on Dolnick became persona non grata. But even under these circumstances, in all the fights and in all the activities that the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers Union was confronted with in the last two or three years, Dolnick has always been pushed to the front to meet the hardest tasks. Dolnick this time did commit a wrong, but it is not the wrong that makes them oppose him, because I know how they acted when a real wrong was committed by an officer of the Joint Board. A certain member by the name of Bozun protested against the abrogation of union standards and union ethics in a certain shop, and because he dared to suggest

that the shop chairman be elected by secret ballot, the Joint Board officer, who in his day had done very wonderful work for the Union but who had drifted away from the true path of service to the union, caused Bozun to be beaten up and badly too.

When I went to Chicago I did not go particularly for this matter. I instituted a new trial, and let me call this to your attention. You have seen how bitter Brother Stein is against Brother Dolnick. At that time he was not so bitter, nor was he as much of a "progressive" as he is now. He belonged to what you call the right machine. Because of the decision that the other brother was not to hold office in the union for six months, a few of the followers of that brother, including Brother Stein, resigned from their activities in the Union and finally turned "progressives." I know Brother Stein turned. I don't know about the others, but I hope they did, because we need "progressive" people anyhow. I want to say to you that I at least cannot realize how people can twist around that way and this way so frequently and lose every sense of fairness. I did not make Dolnick leader in the union, nor did you. They did it. I give them credit for it. I think they picked a very good man. (Applause). I made him organizer on their judgment and if he was good enough to serve the Union in various activities up to this convention, I certainly believe that he is good enough to be a delegate to this convention. (Applause).

Delegate Hyman: How can Brother Dolnick, being a Jew, represent a Polish local?

President Sigman: Since when is the question being raised amongst progressive groups that a Jew cannot represent a Polish worker and a Polish worker cannot represent a Jewish worker? (Prolonged applause).

We will now proceed to vote.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands, the result being 147 delegates in favor of the report of the Committee to seat Brother Dolnick, and 107 against).

The session adjourned at 2:15 p. m. to reconvene at 3:00 p. m.

Fourth Day—Afternoon Session,

Thursday, December 3, 1925

Vice-president Ninfo called the session to order at 3 p. m.

Secretary Baroff read the following messages and communications, which were received with applause:

December 2, 1925.

The Officers and Convention Committee of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Lulu Temple, Philadelphia, Penna. Friends:

The New York Office of the Jewish Consumptive Relief Society of Denver, Colorado, wishes to convey its greetings to the officers and delegates of your great organization, conveying in the City of Brotherly Love.

In the name of the inmates of our Sanatorium, most of them themselves members of your organization, we wish that unity and good-fellowship prevail in your ranks and that this, your Convention, should result to the end that your Union become stronger than ever.

We know that a few hours of the Convention's time will be devoted to considering the needs of worthy institutions. Our institution is the one under the roof of which most of the sick of your organization have found a haven of refuge. We are now engaged in a drive for the expansion of our Sanatorium in order to admit those applicants who cannot be taken care of for lack of room. Again to repeat, most of those applicants clamoring for admission are members of your organization.

We cherish the hope that you will do your best for us—for them.

With greetings,

Fraternally yours,

H. BOSNN,
Manager.

New York.

Greetings to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention. We congratulate you heartily upon your past achievements and are confident that your collective wisdom will give your deliberations to further victories for the benefit of the entire membership. It is the sincere hope and deep concern of all our members in the trying days of trade unionism that you shall emphasize the imperative need of unity and solidarity which will be helpful and beneficial to labor.

EXECUTIVE BOARD LOCAL 3, INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION.

H. Berkowitz, Acting Secretary.

New York, N. Y.

Friends, accept our heartfelt congratulation for your Eighteenth Convention. May the great spirit of your wonderful and strong union succeed in its work for success and progress. May your great union be symbol for many other organizations.

Sincerely yours,

DEBORAH JEWISH CONSUMPTIVE RELIEF SOCIETY.

D. Shapiro, Pres.

Baltimore Md.

Fellow delegates, accept my hearty wishes in all your endeavors and deliberations. Let not empty phrases distract your constructive minds. The unity of the workers depends upon a sane and sound program.

With fraternal greetings,

H. BERNSTEIN, Ex-Secretary Local 50.

Boston, Mass.

Heartiest wishes for unity and harmony. May your deliberation help our International regain its power on the industrial field.

ALMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT

CUTTERS UNION, LOCAL 73.

Benjamin Kurland, Chairman;
Emanuel Frank, Secretary.

We send to all you delegates our whole-hearted wishes for the success of this Eighteenth Convention. May unity prevail.

GUARANTEE DRESS CO.,

Woodhaven, L. I.

The workers of Rabinowitz Dress Co. express our heartfelt greetings.

RABINOWITZ DRESS CO.,

Corona, I. I.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Greetings to the Eighteenth Convention. May unity and harmony prevail in our ranks and through united action march to victory. Member of Local No. 28.

SAM REIDER.

Greetings from picket line Metropolitan Opera strikers. Wishing you success. May unity dominate the convention. Raise question before convention.

STRIKE COMMITTEE, WILKES.

New York, N. Y.

Luigi Antonini, Eagle Temple, 1336 Spring Garden St., Philadelphia, Penn.

All provato interessamento componenti delegazione Italiana raccomandiamo autorevolmente appoggiare al congresso supporto e contribuzione finanziaria alleanza anti fascisti urgentemente bisognosa di fondi per proseguire le sue lotte.

Alleanza Anti-fascista.

PIETRO ALLEGRA Segretario.

Boston, Mass.

Greetings to the officers and delegates of the Eighteenth Convention. Heartfelt wishes of all membership that this convention shall strengthen the ranks of our International by bringing back into our union the brotherly spirit of unity and solidarity and unhampered freedom of the deliberations. We hope that this special convention will succeed in strengthening our achievements of the past quarter of a century and will start a new era that will uplift our members to a brotherly order and spirit and to industrial freedom, the emancipation of the working class.

BOSTON JOINT BOARD, CLOAK, SEIRT AND DRESSMAKERS' UNION, LOCALS 12, 59, 46, 56, 73 AND 50.

B. KURLAND, Chairman.

New York, N. Y.

Greetings on behalf of our membership. We hereby extend a hearty and sincere welcome to the delegates of the Eighteenth Convention. May this convention mark the dawn of a new era for the upbuilding of the principles and ideals embodied in the progressive movement. Let us by our sincere efforts and deeds bring about that sorely needed inspiration to combat successfully our common enemy so that the traditional spirit of our workers may live forever.

EXECUTIVE BOARD LOCAL 2.

I. L. G. W. U.

B. Zeldis, Acting Manager.

Chicago, Ill.

Sincerest greetings for a successful convention. We hope it will prove beneficial for the future welfare of the Ladies' Garment Workers.

EXECUTIVE BOARD OF LOCAL 100

Chairlady, R. Loomes;
Secretary, E. Rock.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Greetings. The progressive members of Philadelphia locals join the expectation and demand of the left wing of the country over and trust that this convention will act in a manner to secure solidarity and unity for our union and will decide to give full amnesty to the expelled and against expulsion policy for amalgamation of the needle trades, for shop delegates system, for proportional representation, for freedom of expression and political opinion, recognition of Soviet Russia, and for world unity in our organization.

**THE PROGRESSIVE MEMBERS,
PHILADELPHIA I. L. G. W. U.**

New York, N. Y.

We greet the special convention and we wish and hope that this convention will really be the expression of the new progressive desires of the membership and for a more militant union.

**WORKERS OF MATCH AND EBERT,
104 W. 25th STREET.**

Toronto, Ont.

Greetings. United we will win. Delegates think of union first. Work for unity.
ABE KIRZNER,
Business Agent Toronto Joint Board
Cloak Makers' Union.

New York, N. Y.

We, the workers at the cloak shop, Shonberg, Diamond and Silverman, of New York, greet the Eighteenth Convention of our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and hope that this convention will fulfill the wishes of the rank and file of our union.

**SHOP CHAIRMEN, M. KISHENBAUM,
FRIEDLANDER, SARAH MELANED,
ARONWITZ, COHEN, GOODMAN,
AND BESSIE WEINSTEIN.**

New York.

Greetings to the progressive delegates. May your efforts for a better union be successful and the good work continue indefinitely.

**WORKERS OF MAX ZIFFER,
206 W. 39th STREET.**

New York, N. Y.

Abraham Baroff:
Greetings to the officers and delegates of the Eighteenth Convention and success to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

F. NATHAN WOLF, General Auditor.

New York, N. Y.

On occasion of your convention we extend warm congratulations on your past accomplishments and best wishes for unity, growth and success. Deeply appreciative of your past favors, we feel confident of receiving further support and co-operation.

**HEBREW SHEILTERING AND IMMIGRANT
AID SOCIETY.**

John L. Bernstein President.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Greetings. May this convention intelligently solve the many problems confronting our international and destroy all evils in the midst of our union.

**MT. VERNON LADIES' GARMENT
WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 113.
Sarah Hoffman, Recording Sec'y.**

Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Greetings. Accept our heartfelt congratulations and best wishes for a successful convention. Remember in unity there is strength.
**WORKERS OF NOVELTY WOMEN'S
WEAR MFG. CO., MT. VERNON, N. Y.
Celia Rosal, Chairlady.**

Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Greetings. May your disputes and deliberations result in the achievement of your aims and ideals.
WORKERS OF YONKERS CLOAK CO.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Greetings, heartfelt congratulations and sincerest wishes for a successful convention.
**YONKERS OF CHESTER GARMENT CO.,
Rose Miller, Chairlady,
Mamaroneck, N. Y.**

Seattle, Wash.

We extend hearty greetings for deliberations. Lead to the final emancipation of the working class.

LOCAL 28, I. L. G. W. U.

New York, N. Y.

May the outcome of your deliberations bring peace and harmony in the ranks of the workers. May this Eighteenth Convention endorse our resolutions for a general strike in our industry and to become part of the joint board.

EXECUTIVE BOARD LOCAL 41.

New York, N. Y.

Greetings. May your deliberations bring about the spirit of political tolerance in our ranks so that we could proceed as one united and mighty force towards the organizing of all the unorganized workers in our trade. The workers are looking towards you to bring this about also, so that we could prepare for the approaching battle against our bosses and towards our final goal—the abolition of capitalism. Long live the International, long live workers' solidarity the world over.

**EXECUTIVE BOARD, DRESSMAKERS'
UNION, LOCAL 22.**

New York, N. Y.

Greetings. May this convention cement the solidarity among the ranks of the great masses of workers and also endorse our resolutions to become part of the joint board and a general strike in our industry.

**STRIKERS OF THE STAR PLEATING
CO., 151 W. 26th ST.**

New York, N. Y.

Brothers and sisters, Hillcrest Silk Mill strikers in New Jersey are on strike now for six weeks against three and four loom system and drastic wage cut. Bosses are determined to crush us as they know we are fighting the struggle of thousands of textile workers in New York City, Long Island, Brooklyn and New Jersey. Many

of us are feeling pinch of want and need money badly, to continue the fight. Local members of your union have asked us to wire you for immediate financial help. Will you not please help toward our strike financially as soon as you can? Send contribution to 283 Broadway, Union City, New Jersey.
ALBERT WEISBORD, ORGANIZER OF HILLARYST STRIKERS.

Bridgeport, Conn.

Greetings to officers and delegates. Wishing you a successful convention. From
CORSET CUTTERS, LOCAL 34.
 Wm. S. Hoffman, Secretary.

Springfield, Ill.

In behalf of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, I assure you I appreciate very much the kindly sentiment conveyed in the telegram sent us by your convention. I know the membership will be encouraged by your message. We are glad to have been of service. Wishing you and your organization every success in the future, trusting that the action of your convention may be helpful to your union and its membership and to the general labor movement, with kindest personal regards and good wishes.

I am yours fraternally.

J. H. WALKER.

President Illinois State Federation of Labor.

P. S.—The smallest actual accomplishment for good is of more value than all the world of extravagant promises—one acre of land that will raise potatoes is of more value than the whole country of Utopia.

J. H. WALKER.

Chicago, Ill.

Appreciate very much kind telegram of greeting from the Eighteenth Convention of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Will you kindly extend to the officers and delegates of the convention my sincere best wishes for a successful meeting filled with that wonderful trade union spirit which has guided your International Union for the protection and advancement of the interests of the workers of your trade. The Chicago labor movement appreciates such leaders as Morris Rigman and Mollie Friedman. Despite intemperate and interference of outside interests as well as opposition of the organized employers, your International Union has rendered effective aid to the men and women of labor.

OSCAR F. NELSON.

Vice-President Chicago Federation of Labor.

New York, N. Y.

The Italian Chamber of Labor Halls and acclaims with mixed pride and anxiety the Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. We, your Italian brothers of all trades, await with deep emotion and no little perplexity the outcome of your proceedings. May these be guided solely by the sacred interest of the masses which are entrusted in your hands and may the spirit of brotherhood rule over all your councils and deliberations. Let any theory or tendencies which cannot stand the supreme test of tolerance, forbearance and solidarity perish and be forgotten. Let there be neither violence nor rancor, neither matters nor heroes, where only brothers and the dear loved comrades ought to and must be. One of the cruelest of this day has been the prison a stronger, better, more militant and harmonious union of the Ladies' Garment Workers, solemnly pledged to fight for the achieve-

ment of unity of all the exploited of the world and their emancipation from every form of slavery. Long live the I. L. G. W. U.
 Arturo Giovannitti, Leonardo Frisina.

New York, N. Y.

Greetings to the Eighteenth Convention. May your deliberations be of great benefit to the workers of the International at this trying moment.

WHITEGOODS WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 62

New York, N. Y.

Greetings to the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. We hope this convention will cast aside its old tradition and introduce such reforms in our organization as will give expression to the demands of the entire membership. We hope you will adopt such measures as proportional representation, direct election and recall of officers, create a new spirit in the organization and give expression to the demands of the progressive wing of our union. The way to abolish inner struggle in our organization does not lie in suppression but in the removal of the causes which have brought forth the recent protests in New York. Long live the I. L. G. W. U., long live our organization controlled directly by the members. Fraternally yours.

EXECUTIVE BOARD CLOAK AND SUIT TAILORS' UNION, LOCAL 9.
 I. L. G. W. U.

Philip Herman Acting Manager.

Denver, Colo.

Patricia and Board of Trustees of Jewish Consumptive Relief Society send you heartfelt greetings and congratulations and take this opportunity to express to you our gratitude for your moral and financial support and wish you successful and fruitful deliberations.

C. D. Spivak, Secretary.

The girls of the A. and R. Dress Co. desire to convey to you their keen interest in this convention and their best wishes for its success.

A. AND R. DRESS CO., Woodhaven, L. I.

New York, N. Y.

Greetings and heartfelt wishes for the success of our organization in its deliberations to benefit the workers in the ladies' garment industries and for the fulfillment of our common aim for the accomplishment of a better and fuller life for the toilers.

Mary Goff, Fannie Shapiro, Samuel Grakin, Local 62.

New York, N. Y.

Please accept my sincerest wishes and heartfelt congratulations to yourselves and all the delegates assembled at this convention. May your deliberations result in adopting a constructive policy based on the principles of solidarity, harmony, tolerance and discipline. May you also include in your future program ample provisions for the further promulgation of the sanitary label and the unemployment insurance fund outside of the New York market.

CHARLES JACOBSON.

The workers of the Engel and Helmsland Dress Co. extend our greetings to the delegates of this convention. We hope that our representatives recognize the need of a har-

monious spirit. May this convention be crowned with success.

ENGLE AND HELSANRAD DRESS CO.,
WOODHAVEN, L. I.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Accept your best wishes and sincere desire that your deliberations shall bring harmony in our great organization for the betterment of our working conditions in the shops. We earnestly hope that the spirit of tolerance and brotherly feeling shall prevail in dealing with problems of small locals.

SCHWARTZ, ACTING MANAGER.
LOCAL 40

New York, N. Y.

Heartiest greetings to assembled delegates. Your deliberations are being looked upon by all elements interested in the betterment of the workers. In your efforts for a united centralized union you have the support of all workers in the radical movement. Everywhere the sober elements are realizing the fallacy of dictatorship. The day is near when the flag of the I. L. G. W. U. will be flying as high as ever.

SOCIALIST PARTY, SIXTH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.
Louis Reiff Organizer.

Bridgeport, Conn.

With greetings and best wishes for a successful convention from
CORSET WORKERS, LOCAL 33.

New York, N. Y.

Greetings to the delegates of the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. The Children's Dress, Bathrobe and Housedress Makers' Union, Local 91, calls for unity of the entire delegation to this convention. Let it rest in the minds of the delegates that their mission to this convention is one upon which tens of thousands of our membership look with great anxiety. Progress and solidification of the ranks of the membership can be accomplished only if our efforts will be concentrated upon problems of our industry and not center our minds upon matters referred to by influences outside of our International.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, LOCAL 91,
C. SOLOFF.

Greetings to the Eighteenth Convention. Wishing you success in all your undertakings and hoping that your deliberations will strengthen and inspire our organization toward its further goal.

MEMBER OF LOCAL NO. 20,
SAM FINKEL.

Boston, Mass.

Accept our heartiest wishes for a successful convention which will lead our great International to its endeavor. We hope that the brotherly spirit will prevail in your deliberations and in the future undertakings of our International. Best wishes of success to our union.

FINISHERS' UNION, LOCAL 32.
Max Hollman, Secretary-Treasurer

New York, N. Y.

Greetings, delegates. A great task is confronting you at this historical convention of our International. Get out of the realm of phrases and look upon facts with open eyes. Our International is at present at a low ebb, both morally and organizationally; this is due primarily to the policy of class collabora-

tion pursued by our superior officers in the dealings with the employers and to the policy of persecuting the militant elements within our organization, and as a result of this a complete demoralization was brought about within our ranks. The conditions of the workers in the shops are becoming worse each day and the bosses are getting more and more aggressive. Make a halt to this situation. The policies of class collaboration, suppression of the freedom of opinion, strong-arm methods of unionism and organization work through professionals should be completely repudiated. May our deliberations mark a new era in the history of our International. Always have confidence in the power of the masses with the proper policies adopted and with a militant leadership at the head of our International we will overcome all obstacles and make our organization strong and powerful so that the bosses will tremble before its power. Brothers, onward to victory.

Fraternally yours,

EXECUTIVE BOARD CLOAK, SKIRT
AND DRESS PRESSERS' UNION,
LOCAL 33, I. L. G. W. U.

H. Goretzky, Acting Manager.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Greetings. Heartiest congratulations to the delegates of the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. The structure of our International Union has been extremely weakened by the incessant onslaught of the employers on one side and the factional struggle within our ranks on the other. A continuance of this struggle will undoubtedly end in the demoralization of our mighty organization which we have helped to build through many sacrifices. You are now gathered in this vast assemblage for the prime purpose of reconstruction aimed for the betterment of our organization in general and our membership in particular. This can be accomplished through unification and on the basis advanced by the progressive movement. We sincerely hope that all your endeavors and deliberations in that direction will be crowned with success.

OFFICIALS AND BUSINESS AGENTS OF
LOCAL 2, JOINT BOARD CLOAK, SKIRT
DRESSMAKERS' UNION.

New York, N. Y.

Brothers, we, the workers of Lorraine Dress Co., 157 W. 21st street, greet you and your Eighteenth Convention; we hope that this convention will set a wonderful example to organize the unorganized, to establish the spirit of political tolerance and to prepare for the coming battles against our real enemy, the bosses.

HIMALAYAS AND GLUCK.

New York, N. Y.

May your work be crowned with success in every way and may it keep to establish harmony in your ranks with a concentrated effort to obtain the best results for the laboring men and women in your organization.

NATIONAL EXEC. COMM. OF WORK
MEN'S CIRCLE.

International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union.

Gentlemen:

You are undoubtedly acquainted with the work of our home, the Home of the Daughters of Jacob, which is giving a peaceful shelter to 500 old men and women.

Since the great calamity which has befallen our institution in the sudden calling

away of two of its mighty pillars, the President and the Superintendent of the Home, the Board of Directors is bending all its energy upon reducing the expense of the Home by paying off its present standing mortgage, amounting to about \$175,000.

To raise this sum we want to enlist the support of all our friends.

Our Acting Superintendent, Mr. Adolph Lourie, is desirous of addressing your convention which is to be held at Philadelphia, November 27 and 28.

We respectfully refer you for information about the work of the Home to Mr. Joseph Baroness, who has been with us and has given us his friendship and support from the very day that the Home was organized twenty-nine years ago.

We feel that after acquainting yourself with the good work which our institution is doing, you will lend us your aid and co-operation and grant us the request asked in this letter.

Please accept my best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

M. G. WAEFFERT, M.D.

Honorary Secretary

Delegate Reisberg announced in behalf of the Arrangements Committee that a banquet would take place on Saturday, December 5, at 7:30 p. m. at Adelphia Hotel, to which all the delegates, the members of the G. E. B. and the President were invited. He furthermore stated that the shop chairmen of Philadelphia would attend.

Delegate Nagler, chairman of the Credentials Committee, proceeded with his report as follows:

Delegate Nagler: Before I proceed with the report I want to call your attention to the fact that President Sigman has notified the Credentials Committee that he invited a few guests to this convention, namely, Brothers H. Abramowitz, H. Fried, Charles Laskowitz, who are three of the Committee of Chairmen—that were appointed at the Cooper Union meeting, and Brother M. J. Ashbes. The committee recommends that these brothers be invited.

(Upon being put to a vote, Brothers Abramowitz, Fried and Laskowitz were unanimously invited to attend the convention. Brother Ashbes was voted on separately by a show of hands, 143 being for and 101 against his being invited to attend the convention.)

(At this point President Sigman took the chair).

Sister Mary Goff, Ledger No. 1541 of Local 62 has filed an objection against Sister Bessie Helfand of the same local on the ground that on November 10th when elections were held, Bessie Helfand, being assigned to 106 Forsythe Street on official duties, behaved in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Union, electioneering from the platform and slandering the officers of the Union, and creating a turmoil in the polling place while it was her duty as a member of the Election Committee to preserve order and help carry through the election in a union-like manner.

It appears from the testimony that the charges against Sister Helfand were brought before the executive board of the local union, which in turn referred the matter to the Advisory Board, and that body found her guilty and imposed a punishment—but since the Advisory Board's findings have not as yet been approved by the Executive Board, which is the procedure in this local, your committee therefore recommends that Sister Helfand be seated.

(Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.)

An objection has been received from Brother Guiseppe Curasi, Ledger No. 6347, of Local 48, against Brother Luigi Rea, Ledger No. 105, of Local 38, stating that in 1923, Brother Luigi Rea, not being a member of Local 18, and being the editor of a certain newspaper, "La Frustra," made it his business through the columns of that paper to slander the administration of Local 48, as well as the Joint Board of New York and the International. At one time, it was at his instigation that some of his colleagues went to the District Attorney of the County of New York, charging the officers of the local with misappropriating money.

He had also been found guilty on other charges, in March, 1922 by the Grievance Committee of the Joint Board and fined \$50. He appealed his case to the Appeal Committee of the International and they have sustained the decision of the Joint Board.

Brother Rea was asked why he failed to appeal his case to the last convention in Boston. His reply was that he knew that he would not get justice at the convention, where the rest of them were of the same type as Ninfo and he could not expect justice there.

Your committee, after considering the facts in the case, feels that a man who claims to be a good member of the Union should never have resorted to the practices mentioned in the charges and which Brother Rea did not deny. It is not proper that a member of the Union having any grievances against any officials of the organization should resort to methods of this kind.

Your committee therefore unanimously recommends that Brother Rea should not be seated at the convention.

Delegate Antonini: I rise to oppose the recommendation of the committee. We came here to bring about peace and harmony in our industry, and since many a delegate has been seated and will be seated who is just as guilty as Brother Rea of violating the rules of the Union, why make an exception in his case? Why pick on this poor Italian? This is the first time that you will have thrown out an Italian. I was surprised the way Brother Hyman spoke this morning. He is the manager of the New York Joint Board and he says that Polish workers should not be represented by a Jew; then we as Italians should defy Brother Hyman.

I don't want Brother Rea to go back to New York and pose as a martyr. He published a paper and he slandered everybody in it, including me. I have no sympathy with him, but I don't want him to go back and pose as a martyr. While I agree with the reasons advanced by the Grievance Committee as to why he should not be seated, I don't think an exception should be made in his case. Besides I want to hear from him how he thinks this organization can grow to be stronger and more powerful and how to conduct ourselves so as to emancipate the working class. For these reasons I move that he be seated as a delegate.

President Sigman: Brother Di Nola has the floor.

Delegate Di Nola: I agree on one thing with what Antonini said. The only thing I regret is that he did not agree with me at the Boston convention in 1922. I was of the opinion then that all delegates who were properly elected should be seated; but the charges against Brother Rea are such that I want to tell who this man really is. Besides going to the District Attorney attacking an official of our Union, the man has tried to do something which is slanderous to the whole Labor Movement. He has agitated for the Fascisti in the Italian paper "La Frusta," he has slandered all of us and called us Fascisti.

President Sigman: Brother Di Nola, I want to inform you that you must speak on the charges presented to the Credentials Committee. That matter of Brother Rea's agitating in "La Frusta" is not before this convention.

Delegate Di Nola: Then I will have to change my vote. I was going to vote not to seat him for the reason enumerated by the Credentials Committee but I will change my vote and I will appeal to the delegates to this convention to seat Brother Rea for the reason that he was properly elected (applause).

President Sigman: Delegate Hyman is now recognized.

Delegate Hyman: It seems to me that while I agree with Brother Antonini in certain respects I also disagree with him. I agree with him that Brother Rea should be seated as a delegate. I don't care to go into the merits of the objections at the present time for several reasons: First, that the act that he was supposed to have committed took place a long time ago, and we believe that if a man made a mistake once he is not to be harried from union activities or from the councils of the Union forever; and secondly because I believe and I have always advocated that when there are certain objections made not of a secret nature, but where members have made certain statements and have written certain articles

that are a matter of public record, and if the membership that the delegate represents disregards such objections and if the membership that he represents elects him as a delegate to a convention, it means that the membership is satisfied to have such a man represent them, and we have no right here to disfranchise such members who have elected that particular delegate. Brother Antonini was right when he said, let them be seated, they won't do anything.

I was always opposed to these expulsion policies for the reason that if you want to do away with the activities of a man like Rea, you can't kill his influence by unseating him as a delegate. On the contrary, you make him stronger with his constituents, he is looked upon as a martyr and a hero, and they look upon you as being afraid to hear the truth and therefore you hurt nobody but yourself.

I say that we are not here to pass judgment upon the rights of the members as to what representatives they should have; we have absolutely no right to exclude them as delegates. We can fight against the ideals that they may represent and try to convince them that their theories are wrong and false. I say again that I don't want to be misunderstood, and I don't want to go into the merits of the articles published or the statements made by Rea, but I reckon with one fact, and that is that this man committed these acts not secretly but openly and his members know and know it and they elected him as a delegate here and he should remain so and be seated (applause).

President Sigman: Brother Zack has the floor.

Delegate Zack: I have known Brother Rea for a number of years and anyone who tries to create the impression that he is a Fascist or is working for the Fascist doesn't know what he is talking about. I for one would certainly oppose most determinedly any delegate, including Brother Rea, running as a representative to this convention if I had the slightest suspicion whatsoever that the delegate or candidate is a Fascist, but I

know just the contrary to be true in the case of Brother Rea. The Credentials Committee charges Brother Rea with the crime of having written in "La Frusta"—

President Sigman (interrupting): I just want to correct you in that statement, Brother Zack. Brother Rea is charged before the Credentials Committee, not by the Credentials Committee.

Delegate Zack: Yes, and the committee only finds him guilty, Brother President. From what I know of this case from personal conversations I had with Brother Rea at the time this occurred, Rea was agitating in that paper or with the group that issues that paper against the expulsion policy practiced in one of the Italian locals in New York, Local 48, and it was agitating against this expulsion policy especially after nine members of that local had been expelled from that local. Now, Brother Ninfo, one of our vice-presidents, who did the expelling of course, provoked an agitation of that sort, simply provoked it, and now you come here and sustain a charge that because Brother Rea has been agitating against the expulsion of the nine members of Local 48 he should not be seated at this convention.

Now, let me tell you that if you are going to unseat all the delegates to this convention who have been agitating against expulsions in the International and who have been opposing the expulsion policy, you can begin unseating about half of this convention right now.

Now, there is another thing that I may mention in this connection, and that is that Local 48 and the administration of Local 48 is known as one of the blackest of the black of our International.

President Sigman (interrupting): Now, just stop there and do not continue any further if that is going to be your line of argument. Kindly refrain from any further remarks such as that.

Delegate Zack: That is my opinion, Brother President.

President Sigman: You will have to withdraw that if you are to continue.

Delegate Zack: I will not withdraw such a statement because it is my conviction, Mr. President, that it is so.

President Sigman: Then you will sit down.

Delegate Zack: I will not sit down Mr. President. I have a right to express my opinion.

President Sigman: You have a right to express your opinion and every delegate has a right to express his opinion but this sort of insinuation and mud-slinging will not, in my judgment, be tolerated by the delegates to this convention.

Delegate Zack: I will take note of your request, Brother President, but I will not change my opinion.

President Sigman: I didn't ask you to change your opinion.

Vice-President Ninfo: Mr. Chairman. I rise to a point of order.

President Sigman: What is your point of order?

Vice President Ninfo: Local 48 has a membership of over 7,000 members, and a little individual whom I consider as a nobody cannot insult a membership of 7,000. If he wants to proceed he will have to withdraw that statement that Local 48 is one of the blackest of the black; otherwise I will be compelled to make a motion that he be expelled from this convention.

President Sigman: The convention is recognizing these delegates of Local 48 as representing their membership, and your statement, Brother Zack, with respect to that local is insulting and unbecoming a delegate to this convention. I am certainly in sympathy with the request made by Delegate Ninfo and the other delegates that a statement of this kind if made by you or any other delegate should be withdrawn and retracted. I would not, on the other hand, advise the delegates of Local 48 to go to extremes because Delegate Zack has made such a statement. I suppose that the dele-

gates to this convention will appreciate the judgment of this delegate and will not take the remarks that he made seriously.

Delegate Zack may now proceed.

Delegate Zack: If I have been misunderstood, I want to make clear to the delegates that I am not in any way insulting.

President Sigman: We are through with that phase of it. Please proceed with the question before the house.

Delegate Zack: Now, delegates, I have known Brother Rea for quite a number of years. He is one of our most active members. We have to remember that if we are going to build up our International into a strong organization, we have only a few thousand really active workers who devote their time day in and day out in activity without remuneration, without making a living out of it, and I know that you cannot charge him with any crime whatsoever.

Now, you charge him with having gone to the District Attorney. I would like to know where you got that charge from. In fact, you didn't question him about that matter, and so far as I know, it isn't true. I am sure that Brother Rea when he gets the floor will deny your charge. Your charge is that he has been agitating against the expulsion policy in Local 48, and on the basis of opposition to the expulsion policy that has been practiced for one was against it and was also subject to expulsion because of criticism of the expulsion policy.

In conclusion, I want to say that if we are going to get any unity and harmony in this convention, we delegates will have to disregard such objections and seat Delegate Rea as a regular delegate of this convention (applause).

President Sigman: I want to tell the delegates of this convention that if your desire is to bring about harmony, you certainly can't expect to accomplish it by throwing mud at each other.

Delegate Merollas, Mr. President, I want to ask a question.

Delegate Merolla: I want to ask Brother Zack whether he knows how long Brother Rea has been in America and when he joined the Union.

President Sigman: Do you know, Brother Zack, how long Brother Rea has been in this country and how long he has been a member of the Union?

Delegate Zack: I have known Brother Rea for the last two years.

Delegate Portnoy: We should once and for all abolish political punishment in our Union. In some countries when a man is put in jail for political reasons, as soon as he is elected to congress or parliament, the jail doors are opened for him and he is set free. This is the highest tribunal of our International and if a man is guilty of a certain political crime, if his members have chosen him to represent them, this convention should not have the right to unseat him, unless he has committed a crime for his personal profit, unless he has scabbled.

President Sigman: The unseating of a delegate does not mean expulsion from the Union.

Delegate Ninfo: I rise at this moment to answer the assertions made by some of the speakers who are opposing the recommendations of the committee on the ground that Brother Rea's crime was merely political. Hyman spoke of a political crime and Portnoy spoke of a political crime. Let me make the situation clear to you. It has been stated here that the objection brought against Rea was inspired by me. I still feel that there are some delegates here who know me well enough to know that I am the type of man who faces the enemy, that I never attack an enemy in the back, for I was born a Sicilian and I will die a Sicilian. I want to inform the delegate of Local 38, that the expulsion of those seven, or eight or twelve members of Local 48, did not occur after the paper was issued, but the slander in that paper went on for two and a half years previous to their expulsion. The expulsion occurred after they went to the district attorney, after the books of Local 48

were examined by the district attorney, after the administration of Local 48 was exonerated by the district attorney.

I believe in criticism. I want the right to criticize others and I want others to have the right to criticize me, but between criticism and slander, there is as much distance as between the sun and the dark moon that you represent. Brother Hyman brought in the recommendation that anybody representing a local, the majority of whose members are Ku Klux Klan or Fascisti, should be given the privilege of sitting at the convention. I'd like to tell you, Brother Hyman, that you may sit with the Ku Klux Klan, or with the Fascisti, but I won't. (Great applause). This slander that you call criticism, has been published by one of the most powerful papers in the City of New York, the Daily News. I went to court and, after two and a half years, the jury was not selected and after the newspapers had spent about seven thousand dollars to get Ninfo and his "reactionary" administration convicted of the crime of improperly using money, a representative of that paper had to apologize publicly, before the grand jury, and had to repudiate the statement that we had a dishonest administration. But I am glad of one thing, Brother Portnoy and Brother Hyman, I am glad that you admit that during my career as Labor leader, I have been a sport, and I will be a sport today. I will advise you, delegates, not to expel Rea but to seat him as a delegate. That shows the difference between us. Brother Hyman would not like to have anybody expelled from this convention, but he voted to expel Dolnick from the convention this morning. (Great applause). So let us be sports, Brother Hyman, don't let your hand contradict your mouth. Be consistent.

Rea does not deserve to be expelled at this convention. According to our previous proceedings in this assembly, Brother Hyman, and you know it, there are many delegates who should be expelled as well as Rea for committing greater crimes than he did. But, nevertheless, I am a sport about it. If Brother Rea has any opinion different from mine in this convention I want to hear it. If

he is right, I will concede it and comply with his idea, and if I can convince him and he has a scintilla of conscience, he will come over to my policy. If he has anything to say about my character or my standing in the organization let him say it. And I will answer him, for I have just as much ammunition, Brother Hyman, as you have and your colleagues. (Great applause).

Delegate Wishnevsky: I have been a member of Local 38 since I came to America thirteen years ago. Since that day I know Brother Rea as one of the most active members of Local 38. In all our battles against the employers he has been one of our most active and militant fighters. As an illustration, we had a shop consisting of forty-five people whom we could not succeed in taking out, but when we had our general strike, with the assistance of Brother Rea we were successful. Why? Because Brother Rea has influence among the Italian workers and he has their confidence. Last year our executive board decided to have a temporary paid official to do work among the Italian brothers. Brother Rea was appointed with the approval of the membership. Why didn't those who oppose Brother Rea now bring in objections at that time? Brother Ninfo mentioned the fact that Brother Hyman voted against the seating of Brother Dolnick. But can these two cases be compared? No. We should seat Brother Rea not as a favor but because he is entitled to it.

Delegate Nagler: If I were the only delegate voting against Rea, I would satisfy my convictions. Some individuals have a habit of beclouding the issue. Brother Rea is not charged for his political opinions; there are various shades of political opinion at this convention. We received three objections against Rea. He is charged with an act unbecoming a union man. In 1922 in the strike of the cloak and suit industry, after some of the workers had returned to work and others remained outside, the Joint Board decided to levy a three per cent tax upon the workers in the shops. Brother Rea instigated the workers in the shops not to pay the three per cent and he has not denied it. When he was asked why he

did it, he said: "I wanted to have special receipts printed for me." He was found guilty of this crime by the Joint Board. He appealed the case and lost. He appealed again to the Appeal Committee of the International and again lost. I asked Brother Rea: "If you consider that you were unjustly fined, why did you not take advantage as a good union man and appeal your case to the highest court of the convention?" And Brother Rea replied sarcastically, "I did not come here because I thought I could get justice. I did not come here to appeal to the convention because I can get justice. And I did not want to go to the International convention because I know that I would not get any justice, because they are all like Ninfo there." That is the answer of a man who considers himself a trade unionist, an honest progressive.

Furthermore, he was charged with having been the chief editor of a newspaper called "La Frusta." I have never read that paper, but our best witness was Brother Rea himself. When I read the charges he said: "I plead guilty to all of these charges," sarcastically. Furthermore, when he was charged with appearing before the district attorney he heard many cases reported upon unanimously by the committee. But in this case even Brother Farblash and Brother Shalley joined in with the unanimous report of the committee, asking that Brother Rea be unseated. I say to you, brother delegates, that a man who will appear before the district attorney with grievances against officials, instead of appearing before the highest authority in the Labor movement, has no right to be seated as a delegate in this convention.

Delegate Rea: Did Brother Ninfo ever see me in the district attorney's office?

Brother Ninfo: I never saw Brother Rea there, but can he deny that he wrote the article in this paper with the title: "Why We Went To The District Attorney"? Did you write that article?

Delegate Rea: No.

Delegate Ninfo: Your name is signed to it.

Delegate Rea. Which one do you mean, the second one?

Delegate Ninfo: Yes.

Delegate Rea: The second one I did sign.

The first thing I want to say is that I deny flatly that I went to the district attorney. I was in court as a witness and I was called to court by subpoena. In the court I spoke the truth because all my life I have spoken the truth, even when my life and my liberty were in danger.

Brother Ninfo spoke about being a sport. I don't want to be a sport the way you are. It seems to me you want to be a sport like a snake or an alligator. First they kill the victim and afterwards they cry over him. I don't want to be a sport that way. If you want to settle the matter for all time, let us submit our questions before an impartial council.

It is true that I was punished by the Joint Board in 1922, and expelled from the Executive Board of Local 3, because of certain propaganda, but I consider the work of the organization to be something different from that of the Salvation Army. In 1923, Brother Ninfo brought in a charge to the Joint Board accusing me of slandering him and his administration. Although Local 38 did not belong to the Joint Board at that time, I nevertheless went there and after three meetings they were unable to punish me because I was ready to prove everything that I said in my paper.

I don't want to go any further. I don't want to appeal to you for anything. If you seat me you don't do me a favor, and if you do not seat me, you don't hurt me at all.

President Sigman: Brother Rea says that he does not believe in Salvation Army methods. I suppose he had in mind the three per cent tax for the unemployed. There are a number of visitors and delegates in this convention hall and I believe that most of them, if not

all, are members of trade unions. I am perfectly satisfied that many of them have at times paid out of their wages more than three per cent in order to help those workers who were out of employment either because of a strike or because of industrial depression.

In the Labor movement this spirit of helping the hungry and the suffering workers is recognized as an essential principle in the struggle of the workers to control and maintain labor conditions which they accomplish through strife and sacrifice, and if you call this a Salvation Army method, I don't care how long you are in the Labor movement, you are still wearing knee pants and you have need to go to the trade union school to learn how trade unionists should act when they see their fellow-workers starving in the streets. I emphatically resent your remark. I don't consider it fair and it certainly is not in accordance with the principles and ideals of unionism. We will now come to a vote.

The vote was taken by a show of hands, 71 voting for the recommendation of the Committee and 111 against, so that Delegate Rea was seated.

President Sigman: I have been informed by the Credentials Committee that since yesterday several objections have come in against delegates who have already been seated. I have made some consultation as to the proper procedure in connection with such cases and I find that at previous conventions such matters have been taken up by the Appeals and Grievance Committee. At the 1916 convention, you will remember, such a thing occurred in the case of Brother Fink. Therefore, all these cases will be turned over to the Appeals Committee as soon as it is organized.

At 5:10 p. m., the session adjourned, to reconvene Friday, December 4th, at 9:30 a. m.

The following resolutions were introduced by individual delegates and by local delegations and referred by President Sigman to the proper committee:

Resolution No. 1

Submitted by Cleveland delegates:

WHEREAS, at the conventions in Chicago, Cleveland and Boston, it was decided to establish a forty-hour week in our industry; and

WHEREAS, the forty-hour week is very essential in our industry due to the short seasons and long slack our members are going through; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. goes on record and instructs the Incoming General Executive Board to enforce the forty-hour week in all the centers where ladies' garments are made.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 2

Introduced by Local 10 delegation:

WHEREAS, the workers employed in union shops in the making of dresses have for the past few years been working on the basis of a forty-hour week; and

WHEREAS, production has not diminished and the industry has been enabled to prosper in New York City as an important market for the manufacture of dresses; and

WHEREAS, the reduction of the hours of work per week to forty has afforded the dressmakers increased rest and opportunity for personal recreation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Eighteenth Convention of the International, assembled in the City of Philadelphia go on record as instructing the Incoming General Executive Board to use every effort in aiding the various joint boards and district councils to establish the only genuine eight-hour day and five-day work week, the forty-hour week, in all of the cities in which workers are engaged in the making of ladies' garments.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 3

Submitted by Local 25, J. Goretaky:

WHEREAS, the introduction of the pressing machine in the cloak industry does away with many workers in the pressing department; and

WHEREAS, we are not opposed to the introduction of improved machinery in the industry because 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, we are, as yet, living under a capitalist system of society, where improved machinery is used for the purpose of getting higher profits for the employers and eliminating a great number of workers from the shops, thereby increasing the army of unemployed; and

WHEREAS, the further unchecked introduction of pressing machines would greatly increase the number of unemployed in our trade and would make more difficult the problem of providing them with employment; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Convention of the International instructs the Incoming General Executive Board not to permit any manufacturer to take in a pressing machine unless he employs a minimum of six pressers in one shop.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 4

Introduced by V. Miletsky, Chairman of Local 41 delegation:

WHEREAS, the agreement in our branch of the industry concluded for the period of two years ending on March, 1927, has been abrogated by the employers by lock-out declared by the President of the Association; and

WHEREAS, in order to safeguard the prestige of our union and protect the interests of the members of our local, we have taken up the challenge of the employers and have conducted a number of strikes in some of the most important shops connected with the Association, as well as in a number of others which are also connected with the Association; and

WHEREAS, it appears that the employers have entered into a conspiracy to destroy our local union, which would be a great loss to the workers engaged in our industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. endorses a general strike of the Tuckers, Hemstitchers, Pleaters and Novelty Workers' Union, Local 41.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 5

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Grivello, R. Feranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, the workers in the dress and waist industry are working under the piece-work system, a system which makes it impossible for the union to standardize the wages of the workers; and

WHEREAS, the piece-work system creates sub-manufacturers, causing the sub-division of the large shops; and

WHEREAS, the piece-work system creates conflicts and antagonism among the workers, and in many cases divides them and puts them in a hostile situation towards each other; and

WHEREAS, the piece-work system makes the workers slaves of bundles, styles and difference in prices; and drives the workers to self-intensified slavery and exploitation, thus creating jealousy caused by late styles and big bundles for which prices are often reduced; and

WHEREAS, the only solution to preserve the earnings and the life of the workers in the establishment of the week work system in this industry; and

WHEREAS, practically all of the workers in the cloak and skirt industry of our country are working under the system of week work; and

WHEREAS, this system of week work proved to be a success wherever it was introduced in preserving the health of the workers, by standardizing their earnings and by the abolition of all shop antagonism among these workers, which prevailed under the system of piece work; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union assembled in the City of Philadelphia, Pa., go on record for the establishment of a general system of week-work in all branches of the ladies' garment industry in the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board should use all powers at its command in order to bring about the realization of this decision.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 6

Submitted by Local 22:

WHEREAS, the piece-work system fosters keen competition among the workers in our industry and has proved to be highly injurious both to the health and the spirit of solidarity amongst the workers; and

WHEREAS, the piece-work system has also proved to be a great obstacle in the way of standardizing conditions in our industry and interferes with proper union control in the shops; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International goes on record in favor of establishing the week-work system in our industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the incoming G. E. B. through its official organ and otherwise, undertakes an intensive campaign of agitation amongst the dressmakers in favor of week-work so as to prepare the ground for putting the week-work system into effect at the expiration of our agreement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 7

Submitted by A. Steinzor, of Local No. 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; B. Helfand, of Local 62; L. Vishnevsky, of Local 38; J. Krooglick, of Local 62; S. Kniznick, of Local 91; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; Jack Krokop, of Local 45; Barnett Soll, of Local 5; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; M. Shur, of Local 14; Philip Hauser, of Local 100; Miletsky, of Local 41, and A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, our industry is becoming centralized into the hands of an ever smaller number of jobbers, who in order to evade union control, operate different branches in various centers throughout the country, thus using one group of workers to compete with another; and

WHEREAS, the agreements in the different centers of our industry expire at different periods of the year, thereby bringing about a situation where members of our International Union in one city are forced to scab on other members of our Union who happen to be on strike in another city; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to make every possible effort to see that all agreements in each branch of our industry, irrespective of the locality, shall expire at the same time.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Resolution No. 8

Introduced by Local 3; D. Rubin, secretary:

WHEREAS, the wages earned by most of our members cannot meet the perpetual in-

creases in the cost of food, shelter and most necessary commodities; and

WHEREAS, our seasonal industry yields sufficient profits for the employers and provides them with a comfortable living during the entire year; and

WHEREAS, it should be the responsibility of the industry to provide all those employed in it with a living wage, and to insure them and their families with their upkeep; and

WHEREAS, the workers employed in the making of samples and the most exquisite and expensive tailoring work where one must be a full-fledged mechanic and capable of fine workmanship, are the most underpaid in our industry considering their capacity for production and the responsibility that this work demands of them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this convention decides to devise and employ all means to help bring about the assurance of a decent living wage for the members of our local union; and be it further

RESOLVED, that in order to assure each member of our local union with a comfortable living wage and also safeguard him during his trying period of unemployment, his minimum wage shall be for both sample makers and piece tailors \$55.00 per week.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Resolution No. 9

Submitted by J. Goretsky, of Local 36; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; I. Steinzor, of Local 2, and A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Conventions of the I. L. G. W. U. adopted resolutions to introduce a uniform scale of wages for finishers, operators, pressers and cutters, which is a wise and justified decision; and

WHEREAS, the General Executive Board has thus far done nothing to carry this decision into effect; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International instructs the incoming G. E. B. to do every thing possible that a uniform scale of wages be introduced in our industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Resolution No. 10

Submitted by G. Halperin, George Triestman, S. Halpern, Nathan Riesel and Rose Auerbach, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, it is essential in order to secure the payment of wages of members of Local 66 producing garments for jobbers and manufacturers in contractual relations with the Joint Board of the Dress and Cloakmakers' Union and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, that the jobbers be responsible for the wages of members of Local 66 employed in embroidery shops; be it

RESOLVED, that this convention requests that the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union shall include in the next agreement to be presented by it to the employers' association and also to the independent manufacturers, a clause to the effect that the manufacturers guarantee the payment of wages to the union embroidery workers in the event that the embroidery manufacturers fail to pay.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 11

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Feranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radostli, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, the first of May has been dedicated by the workers of the whole world as their holiday and the symbol of their emancipation from the capitalist yoke; be it

RESOLVED that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at its Eighteenth Biennial Convention assembled in the City of Philadelphia Pa., recommend to the incoming G. E. B. that in the future in collective and individual agreements with the manufacturers, May 1st should be included as an obligatory holiday and that the workers be paid as well as other legal holidays.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 12

Introduced by Leon Rosenblatt, Morris Greifer and Morris Molen, delegates of Local 82:

WHEREAS, the Examiners' Union, Local 82, was chartered by the International on May 15, 1917, under the name of Examiners, Squarers and Bushlers Union; and

WHEREAS, in our experience we found that at a trial board in 1923 an impartial chairman rendered a decision contending that a firm may hire a non-union man to do the pinning and marking because of the fact that pinning and marking are not mentioned in our charter; and

WHEREAS, due to this fact we find it hard to organize a number of non-union workers doing this work; and

WHEREAS, the state of affairs in the cloak industry is such that in practically 90 per cent of the shops the pinning and marking on garments are being done by non-union men under non-union conditions; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the charter of the Examiners' Union be amended to read Examiners, Pinners, Markers and Bushlers Union, Local No. 82.

Referred to Committee on Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Resolution No. 13

Introduced by Leon Rosenblatt, Morris Greifer and Morris Molen, delegation of Local 82:

WHEREAS, the Examiners Squarers (Re-graders) and Bushlers Union has been affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union as Local No. 82 since May 15, 1917; and

WHEREAS, we have not up to this date, succeeded in obtaining full recognition in all agreements, which condition hinders to a great extent the organizing of a number of workers, and practically interferes with the possibilities of protecting our members in other shops; and

WHEREAS, the Sixteenth Convention already approved our resolution, that the General Executive Board and the officers shall

use all efforts in securing full recognition for our Local Union in all new agreements made in the cloak industry in the City of New York; and

WHEREAS, the said resolution was not carried into life during the last four years for various reasons, particularly because no new agreements were made, and the old agreement was continued for another four years; and

WHEREAS, the General Executive Board and the officers of the International participate in conferences with various groups of manufacturers to work out agreements for the Cloakmakers' Union of New York; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board and officers to see to it that full recognition is secured for our Local Union in all future agreements made in the cloak industry of the City of New York.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 14

Introduced by A. Kravitz, S. Rosenthal, S. Domblatt and Aaron Freier, of Local 3; and by J. Zack, D. Wishevsky, Rose Landy, L. Rea and H. Fomin, of Local 38:

WHEREAS, the Ladies' Tailors' and Custom Dressmaking trades are a vital and organic part of the cloak industry because most of these shops produce samples for cloak shops and cloak sample shops for ladies' tailoring and custom dressmaking shops, and because the short seasons prevailing in these trades force the workers in them to travel from cloak shops to ladies' tailoring shops and vice versa; and

WHEREAS, the Boston and the Chicago conventions of the International found it necessary because of the above reasons to instruct the G. E. B. to merge Locals 3 and 80; and

WHEREAS the G. E. B., upon the request of a small group of sample makers, severed these two locals in the month of April, 1923, notwithstanding the gigantic protest on the part of the ladies' tailors and the great number of sample makers against that act, notwithstanding the detriment that it could have brought about to both locals, and even without the sanction of our supreme body, the International convention; and

WHEREAS, our local at the last Boston convention introduced a resolution demanding reunion of these two locals, which resolution, thanks to the composition of the body of delegates at that convention and thanks to the attitude in general towards the policy of amalgamation, was defeated, thus leaving a state of friction between these locals and causing unnecessary trouble to their respective members; and

WHEREAS, it has been stated that the severance of these two locals was due to the fact that the members were in reality against amalgamation; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that Locals 3 and 38 carry through a referendum of their membership to ascertain whether they favor amalgamation and, if the decision is favorable, the G. E. B. be instructed to amalgamate these two locals

Referred to Committee on Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Resolution No. 15

Submitted by Local 20, New York.

WHEREAS, the working class in Europe today finds itself in a terrible plight as a result of the recent imperialistic war; and

WHEREAS we recognize the fact that the workers of all countries are of one class and that they must help one another in the struggle against their oppressors; and

WHEREAS, the immigration restriction law passed in the United States is the work of the capitalists, who are against the workers; and

WHEREAS, the representatives of our International to the A. F. of L. have ignored the decision of the last convention, in which they are instructed to oppose any restriction of immigration; be it

RESOLVED, that in the future our delegates to the A. F. of L. convention shall work for the lifting of the ban on immigration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 16

Submitted by Local 91, I. L. G. W. U.:

WHEREAS, this country of ours has always been an aspiration for those people of Europe who suffered oppression and persecution; and

WHEREAS, by historical tradition all those for whom it was impossible to maintain themselves decently in their homelands have emigrated to America; and

WHEREAS, at this time conditions in Europe are almost impossible, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct its delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention to introduce a resolution urging that the doors of America, the land of hope for those who have suffered privation and misery in other countries, shall be open.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 17

Submitted by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; V. Milotsky of Local 41; A. Kravitz, of Local 3, and Rebecca Schwartz, of Local 46:

WHEREAS, laws have been passed making it very difficult for workers to enter the country; and

WHEREAS, these laws are especially directed against those workers loyal to the cause of labor; and

WHEREAS, these laws are part and parcel of the hostile legislation being enacted against the working class irrespective of creed nationality or color; and

WHEREAS, the delegates representing our International at the last convention of the A. F. of L. have not carried out the instructions of the last convention of the International against restriction of immigration; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this convention goes on record as disapproving the actions of our delegates to the A. F. of L. convention, and again reiterates its position against any restriction of immigration; and be it further

RESOLVED, that a resolution to that effect be introduced and voted for by our delegates to the coming convention of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 18

Submitted by Local 5, Chicago; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, as a result of interference of the government, in labor activities, labor organizers, speakers and writers have been and are being arrested for their activities and opinions, under various criminal syndicalist and criminal anarchy laws, for their activity during strikes and against injunctions, throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, a general defense organization composed of leading progressives and representing labor and political organizations of various shades of opinion has been formed in Chicago called the International Labor Defense; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we endorse the Labor Defense Council, (Eugene V. Debs, Upton Sinclair and Roger Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, are on the Council).

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 19

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS as a result of interference of the government in labor activities, labor organizers, speakers and writers have been and are being arrested for their activities and opinions, under various criminal syndicalist and criminal anarchy laws, for their activity during strikes and against injunctions throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, a general defense organization, composed of leading progressives and representing labor and political organizations of various shades of opinions, has been formed in Chicago, called the International Labor Defense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that we endorse the Labor Defense Council, (E. V. Debs, Upton Sinclair and Roger Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, are on the Council).

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 20

Introduced by Sarah Hurwitz, of Local 46; I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Kravitz, of Local 3; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; Bessie Helfand and J. Kronzlick, of Local 62; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; R. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; Sam Saraff, of Local 20; J. Prokop, of Local 45; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; J. Melsack, of Local 13; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Wolsman, of Local 104; P. Hauser, of Local 100; D. Wishnovsky, of Local 38; B. Soll, of Local 5, and V. Milotsky, of Local 41:

WHEREAS the prosecution of labor leaders, organizers, speakers writers and other "active spirits" in the labor movement through imprisonment, deportation, injunctions and through all other proceedings under the various criminal syndicalist and criminal anarchy laws, is nothing but a very important part of the open-shop campaign of the capitalist;

and WHEREAS, such prosecutions are not limited to one single organization but to the contrary are international in their character; and

WHEREAS, the capitalist class in all countries such as Italy, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, England and America have gone to the point of brutal murder, assassination and imprisonment of thousands of workers; be it

RESOLVED, that we declare ourselves in favor of one solidified general International Labor Defense organization composed of leading representatives of progressive labor and political organizations of various shades of opinion; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we endorse the International Labor Defense Committee, composed of different economic and political organizations, and which also includes Eugene V. Debs, Upton Sinclair and Roger Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 21

Introduced by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; G. Halperin, of Local 66; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; Bessie Helfand, of Local 62; Jennie Krooglick, of Local 62; J. Melsack, of Local 13; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; Philip Hauser, of Local 100; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; V. Miletsky, of Local 41; S. Domblatt, of Local 3, and Sarah Hurvitz, of Local 46:

WHEREAS, the conviction of Benjamin Gitlow, under the criminal anarchy law, has been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, the decision also declaring the law constitutional and thereby forging a powerful weapon of the capitalist class against the militant labor movement and the revolutionary political movement of the working class of this country; and

WHEREAS, this is a denial to the labor movement of the right of freedom of speech; and

WHEREAS, it is part of the general policy of using the courts and machinery of government against the workers in the form of injunctions against picketing and striking and of persecution of the militant leadership that is found at the forefront of our political and industrial struggles; and

WHEREAS, the sustaining of Gitlow's conviction by the United States Supreme Court supplies a precedent which will mean the railroad to long terms of imprisonment of many other well-known fighters in the ranks of the labor movement and will make easier the suppression by the capitalist controlled government of all and any working class organization which dares oppose their open-shop rule; and

WHEREAS, the solidarity of the entire working class is essential to its welfare and requires that those in the forefront of the struggle must especially have the support of all workers; and

WHEREAS, in freeing James Larkin and the others charged jointly with Gitlow for the same offense and under the same act, the Governor of the State of New York, Alfred E. Smith, stated that "they are not criminals and I can see no useful purpose that will be served by holding them in prison any longer," be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we protest against the action of the United States Supreme Court; demand the repeal of the criminal-anarchy law, and will work to that end; record ourselves as in support of the International Labor Defense in fighting this case and call upon all other labor bodies and working class organizations of any sort to take the same stand; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that we demand of the Governor of the State of New York that he immediately free the defendant; and be it further

RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to the Governor of the State of New York and to the Labor press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 22

Introduced by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; B. Helfand and J. Krooglick, of Local 62; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; Sam Saraff, of Local 20; J. Prokop, of Local 45; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; P. Hauser, of Local 100; D. Domblatt, of Local 3; S. Hurvitz, of Local 46:

WHEREAS, the expulsion policy initiated by the General Executive Board in 1923, directed against the most active and militant elements in our union, has proved to be destructive of the best interests of the workers and has been the cause of the most bitter civil war in our union, bringing with it chaos and demoralization into our ranks, thus weakening our power or resistance against the employers of our industry; and

WHEREAS, this expulsion policy, which aims to discriminate against members for holding different views on matters of union policy or general working-class problems is a gross violation of the most fundamental principle of trade unionism, because of the fact that a union is composed of workers representing various shades of opinion and can best fulfill its functions by giving free expression to all tendencies; and

WHEREAS, the recent internal conflict with the Joint Board of New York has proved most conclusively that the rank and file of our union is emphatically opposed and will not tolerate any policy which discriminates against members for holding certain political views or affiliations; and

WHEREAS, the General Executive Board was compelled to recognize the failure of this expulsion policy by reinstating the executive boards of Locals 2, 9 and 22; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention repudiates the destructive expulsion policy and grants unconditional reinstatement to all members who have either been expelled, suspended or otherwise deprived of their rights of membership.

Referred to Committee on Appeals.

Resolution No. 23

Submitted by J. Goretsky, of Local 35; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; D. Wishnevsky,

of Local 38; I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Kravits, of Local 3; Sarah Hurwitz, of Local 46:

WHEREAS, our Union is on the eve of a great struggle with the employers to wipe out the present evils existing in our industry, and to secure better conditions for the workers; and

WHEREAS, to carry through this struggle successfully the union must make every effort to secure the active support and cooperation of the great mass of workers engaged in our industry; and

WHEREAS there are many members in our Union who have been convicted for offenses committed in their shops and are therefore barred from any participation in the work of the Union; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that in view of the present emergency in our Union this convention grants general amnesty to all offenders, except scabs, so as to rally and prepare the entire membership for the impending struggle.

Referred to Committee on Appeals.

Resolution No. 24

Submitted by Local 5, Chicago; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, the employers, through their control of government, federal, state and local, are interfering more and more in the functions of the labor movement, through injunctions, arrest of organizers, speakers and pickets; and

WHEREAS, it is imperative that we protect our rights against the interference of government on the political field; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the Convention stand instructed to favor the formation of an all-inclusive Labor Party, capable of embracing all the forces of labor, political and economic.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 25

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, the employers, through their control of government federal state and local, are interfering more and more in the functions of the labor movement, through injunctions, arrest of organizers, speakers and pickets; and

WHEREAS, it is imperative that we protect our rights against the interference of government on the political field; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the convention stand instructed to favor the formation of an all-inclusive Labor Party, capable of embracing all the forces of labor, political and economic.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 26

Introduced by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; Bessie Helfand and J. Krooglick, of Local 62; J. Prokop, of Local 45; M. Shur, of Local 14; B. Soll, of Local 5; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; B. Stein, of Local

100; A. Weisman, of Local 104; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; P. Hauser, of Local 100; V. Miletsky, of Local 41:

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 workers directly, but also the government through all its agencies, anti-labor legislation, Danbury injunctions, Railroad Labor Boards use of troops and police in strikes; and

WHEREAS, the entire history of the struggles of the working class shows that as long as the powers of the government are allowed to remain in the hands of the capitalist class as at present in the United States, just so long will these powers of government be used against the workers; and

WHEREAS, it is necessary, in order for the workers to develop the political power of their class, to build up a political organization of their own, a labor party which will draw the millions of workers into political struggles against the capitalists; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International herewith favors the formation of a labor party based upon the trade unions and including as affiliated sections all other political organizations of a working class nature, upon a local, state and national basis; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International stands instructed to support actively the formation of such a party.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 27

Submitted by Local 5; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is an economic organization whose main purpose is to elevate the conditions of its members in their every-day struggle for existence; and

WHEREAS, our membership is composed of men and women who have differences of opinion as to how the organization should be governed; and

WHEREAS, the recent trouble within the Union was due to lack of tolerance and respect of other members' opinions and also due to the interference of outside influence; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention in framing the policies of our International for the future should embody in the constitution that our members shall be free to express their opinions, and those opinions shall be tolerated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 28

Introduced by I. Steinzor, for Local 2; Lupin, for Local 22; A. Goldberg, for Local 9; Jack Prokop, for Local 45; B. Helfand, for Local 62; J. Krooglick, for Local 62; S. Kniznick, of Local 91; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; J. Melsack, of Local 13; M. Shur, of Local 14; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; A. Weisman, of Local 104; Barnett Soll, of Local 5;

Philip Hanson, of Local 100; V. Miletsky, of Local 41; S. Domblatt, of Local 2, and Sarah Hurwitz, of Local 48:

WHEREAS, at the present time there are more than three million children of the working class toiling in industries and on farms, enduring some of the most brutal conditions, such as the 12-hour day, low wages, intense exploitation, undernourishment and lack of education; and

WHEREAS, child labor in America ranks higher than in any other country except China, despite the fact that America is the wealthiest country in the world; and

WHEREAS, we find child labor chiefly prevalent in those industries which are unorganized, such as textiles, agriculture, small manufactures and fisheries, and is increasing rapidly each year; and

WHEREAS, the prevailing conditions of society which force three and a half million children of the working class to enter industry and slave for a living, deny the worker's child its inherent social rights to health, strength and adequate education; and

WHEREAS, the attempts of "sentimental" organizations to have laws adopted and enforced are impractical because no provision is made for the maintenance of the worker's child, only beclouding the issue and not diminishing the extent of child labor; and

WHEREAS, the National Child Labor Law, after being passed twice, has each time been declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we urge and work for the passage of national legislation which prohibits all child labor up to the age of 16 years and provides for their maintenance by the State, the money for same to be appropriated through taxation of the owners of industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we express ourselves in favor of free education of all workers' children up to the age of 16, the school to be administered by a joint council of the trade unions, teachers' union and parents' council; and be it further

RESOLVED, that until the above measure goes into effect we work for more energetic measures to be taken by the A. F. of L. than those adopted at its last convention (state legislation and boycott of child labor manufacturers), namely, that we work for the removal of all discriminatory clauses in the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and urge the lowering of initiation fees, as well as dues, for all child workers, simultaneously conducting an energetic campaign for the unionization of all the working-class children in industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the convention of the International expresses its willingness to cooperate with all other working-class political and economic organizations in a united effort to eradicate child labor from American industry on the basis of the above line of policy; and be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent for publication and information to all the trade unions and the press; and be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the A. F. of L. and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 28

Submitted by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; S. Domblatt, of Local 3, and D. Wishnovsky, of Local 38:

WHEREAS, the Citizens' Military Training Camps are an instrument run jointly by the bosses through the Military Training Camps Association and War Department for the purpose of bringing military training to those young workers in the shops, mills and mines who will be expected to make up 90 per cent of the army in the next war; and

WHEREAS, the Military Training Camps Association is composed of large "open-shop" employers including such infamous labor haters on its advisory board as Richard Crane, Cyrus McCormack, Frank O. Lowden, and through the Pullman Corporation is connected with the war-breeding House of Morgan; and

WHEREAS, these open-shop employers are contributing large donations so as to bribe these young workers with a free vacation and attract an even greater number of workers each year, so as to give them a military training and prepare them as cannon fodder for another imperialistic slaughter; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention goes on record in favor of joining all other working-class organizations in a campaign against the efforts of the Citizens' Military Training Camps, which are attracting the young workers by the slogan of "One month's vacation with pay," and that a campaign be undertaken under the slogan, "Down with all imperialistic war"; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the A. F. of L. convention be instructed to raise the question at the next convention of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 30

Submitted by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; J. Goratsky, of Local 35; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; P. Starkopf, of Local 26; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; Bessie Helfand, of Local 62; J. Krooglick, of Local 62; J. Prokop, of Local 45; S. Kniznick, of Local 91; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weissman, of Local 104; Barnett Soll, of Local 5; Philip Hauser, of Local 100; V. Miletsky, for Local 41; S. Domblatt, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, the National Civic Federation is an organization tending to perpetuate the slavery of the working class and its spirit is therefore contrary to that of our International Union and of all progressive Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, some of the worst enemies of labor in the United States are members of said National Civic Federation and have great influence in its deliberations; and

WHEREAS, we consider it inconsistent for labor men to belong to said organization and to give, thereby, prestige to our enemies; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we instruct our delegates to all future annual conventions of the A. F. of L. to introduce and vote for a resolution that all officers of the American Federation of Labor who are at present connected with the National Civic Federation should sever all affiliations with that body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 31

Submitted by Local 5; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, the present form of organization does not give the workers in the shops an adequate voice in the management of the Union and breeds hatred and distrust against the officials of the Union, thus paralyzing the Union's effectiveness; and

WHEREAS growth and changes in the industry have made it necessary to base the foundation of the Union more and more upon the will of the workers in the shop rather than the craft local; and

WHEREAS, in order to draw the greatest number of workers into union activity, it is necessary to thoroughly democratize the Union, which is impossible under the present form of union machinery; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention favor the democratization and reorganization of our Union on the basis of the Shop Delegate Shop Committee System of Union management.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 32

Introduced by J. Goretsky, of Local 35; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; B. Helfand and J. Krooglick, of Local 62; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; Sam Saroff, of Local 20; S. Kniznick, of Local 91; Barnett Soll, of Local 5; A. Weiman, of Local 104; J. Prokop, of Local 45; M. Shur, of Local 14; P. Hauser, of Local 100; V. Miletaky, of Local 41; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; I. Steinzor, of Local 2, and A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, the present structure of our organization based on narrow craft divisions gives rise to petty craft interests, misunderstanding and much unnecessary friction, and has proved detrimental to the growth and development of our Union; and

WHEREAS, this form of organization tends to centralize the power and control of the Union into the hands of a few, leaving the bulk of our membership uninformed and indifferent to union matters, leaving no avenue for their active participation in shaping the policies and tactics of the organization; and

WHEREAS, the shop delegate system based on shop representation will wipe out the narrow craft division and draw into the fold of union activity the rank and file of our membership and develop in our workers the knowledge and ability requisite to successfully cope with the great problems of our industry, and will train and prepare the rank and file for the eventual control of the industry, which is the ultimate aim of the working class; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Convention of our International goes on record as legalizing the shop delegates system of organization, and that our constitution be so amended as to permit any joint board if it so decides by a majority vote, to reorganize

itself on the basis of the shop delegate system

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 33

Introduced by J. Goretsky, of Local 35; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, in the bitter struggle going on in all industries between workers and employers over the division of products of labor we have learned that in order to defend their interests the workers must have powerful trade unions following a militant policy and animated by a clear conception of the fundamental antagonism of interests between the workers and capitalists; and

WHEREAS, the present leadership of our Union, contrary to this fundamental conception of the aims of the labor movement, has followed the class collaboration policies of the leadership of the A. F. of L. by submitting the demands of the cloakmakers to the Governor's Commission of capitalists, which Commission has failed to make a single important decision in the interests of the workers and in all probability will issue decisions which will even tend to reduce the present deplorable conditions of the cloakmakers, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention repudiates the policy of submitting our demands to a commission composed of individuals who, according to their social position and interests, belong to the ruling class, and therefore cannot make decisions in favor of the workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we instruct the incoming G. E. B. to again place the following demands before the employers of our industry, and prepare for a struggle to obtain them:

1. 36-week guarantee of work.
2. 40-hour and five-day week.
3. Abolition of overtime.
4. Establishment of a labor bureau under the control of the Joint Board.
5. Limitation of contractors.
6. Jobbers to be made responsible for their contractors on the question of time guarantee on work and wages.
7. Right to investigate books of an employer.
8. A trial period of one week.
9. An unemployment insurance fund to which the employers shall be the sole contributors, and to be administered by the Union.
10. Legal holidays to be paid for, regardless whether there is work in the shop or not.
11. No provision in the agreement depriving the worker of the right to strike.

Referred to Committee on Officers' Report.

Resolution No. 34

Submitted by A. Kravitz, of Local 13; I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; B. Helfand, of Local 62; J. Krooglick, of Local 62; J. Prokop, of Local 45; J. Melsack, of Local 13; M. Shur, of Local 14; Barnett Soll, of Local 5; B. Stein, of Local 100; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; A. Weiss-

man, of Local 104; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; Philip Hauser, of Local 100; V. Miletsky, of Local 41:

WHEREAS, the organized labor movement in its struggle against the employing class has found the labor press one of its most powerful and effective mediums of bringing the message of unionism to the great mass of workers; and

WHEREAS, the Daily Worker and the Freiheit have at all times given their fullest support to the workers of our industry in their struggles to secure better conditions, and represent a tendency in the labor movement which is widely supported by the membership of our Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Convention of the International goes on record in favor of endorsing the Daily Worker and the Freiheit and do all in its power to strengthen these papers as effective weapons in our struggle against capitalism.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 35

Submitted by Local 5, Chicago; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, improved machinery and efficiency methods of production have made it possible for the bosses to produce garments in great quantity in small open-shop centers; and

WHEREAS, through the growth of the jobber the sweatshop system is returning to our industry through the contractor and corporation shop; and

WHEREAS, all needle workers, women's wear, men's wear, headgear, furs, and faced with the same great problems; and

WHEREAS, experience has proved that the organization of the growing open-shop markets out of town is impossible by each of the various internationals acting separately; and

WHEREAS, united action on the part of the various internationals in the needle industry would strengthen us in dealing with the jobbers and all other problems, and since the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Cap and Millinery workers, have already gone on record for amalgamation; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention stand instructed to vote favorably on the question of AMALGAMATION of all the needle trades internationals.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 36

Introduced by Delegates I. Steinzor, of Local 2; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; B. Helfand, of Local 62; J. Krooglick, of Local 62; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; A. Volkowitz, of Local 45; S. Kniznick, of Local 91; Sam Saraff, of Local 20; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; Philip Hauser, of Local 100; B. Soll, of Local 5; V. Miletsky, of Local 41:

WHEREAS, the lack of solidarity amongst the workers of the different countries of the

world is a constant source of weakness to the Labor Movement creating a condition in which the capitalists use the workers of one country to defeat the workers of another, and take advantage of the resulting weakness to launch a world-wide open-shop movement to destroy the trade unions; and

WHEREAS, the international divisions of the labor movement have been especially emphasized by the failure of the labor movement of the United States to affiliate with any international center while the rest of the unions of the world are divided between the Amsterdam International and the Red International of Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, the trade union movement of Great Britain, responding to the initiative of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, has inaugurated a world-unity movement, designed to bring together the unions of the entire world for a common struggle against capitalism; and

WHEREAS, the movement for world unity has resulted in the formation of an Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, established during the recent negotiations in London, and officially endorsed by the General Council of the British Trade Unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International goes on record in favor of actively participating in the movement for world trade-union unity, and pledges its support to the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee in its efforts to convoke a world conference of trade unions of every country for the purpose of establishing unity of the international trade union movement.

Referred to Committee on National and International Relations.

Resolution No. 37

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, improved machinery and efficiency methods of production have made it possible for the bosses to produce garments in great quantities in small open-shop centers; and

WHEREAS, through the growth of the jobber the sweatshop system is returning to our industry through the contractor and corporation shop; and

WHEREAS, all needle workers, women's, men's, headgear furs, are faced with the same problems; and

WHEREAS, experience has proved that the organization of the growing open-shop markets out of town is impossible by each of the various internationals acting separately; and

WHEREAS, united action on the part of the various internationals in the needle industry would strengthen us in dealing with the jobbers and all other problems, since the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Cap and Millinery Workers, have already gone on record; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the convention stand instructed to vote favorably on the question of AMALGAMATION of all the needle trades internationals.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 38

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89;

WHEREAS, the workers, due to the prevailing lack of solidarity of organizations, mainly caused by the narrow trade lines of these organizations, which divide their forces against themselves, have suffered severe defeats in the struggle to maintain the standard of wages and working conditions once gained; and

WHEREAS, the manufacturers of our industry, in their efforts to reduce wages, lengthen hours and establish the open shop, are concerting their combined forces in violent attacks upon the different branches of the needle trades industry at different times in an attempt to force them into submission one by one, thereby preventing any effective resistance on the part of the unions; and

WHEREAS, the only remedy for this deplorable condition is for the needle trades to present a united front to the employers by the complete amalgamation of all needle trades unions into one organization covering the whole industry; and

WHEREAS, our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at the Chicago Convention and in the following Convention of Cleveland, gave this matter due consideration and decided to take steps for the formation of the Needle Trades Alliance as the first step towards amalgamation; and

WHEREAS, the experiment of the Needle Trade Alliance ended in a complete failure for obvious reasons; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we, the delegates of the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, assembled in Philadelphia, go on record in favor of complete amalgamation of all unions in the needle trades industry into one centralized organization; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that a committee be elected by this convention to negotiate with the other organizations within the needle trades for the calling of a convention of all unions of the needle trades based on local representation for the purpose of establishing one organization covering the whole of the needle industry, and that this committee, in conjunction with the other organizations of the needle industry or with any committees elected by them, be empowered to set the date for such convention; and, be it finally

RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the executive boards of all the organizations in the needle trades, and published in the Labor Press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 39

Submitted by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; P. Starkopf, of Local 38; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; J. Prokop, of Local 45; J. Goretzky, of Local 35; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; B. Soll, of Local 5; P. Hauser, of Local 100; V. Miletsky, of Local 41; D. Wishevsky, of Local 38; A. Kravitz, of Local 3; Sarah Hurvitz, of Local 46;

WHEREAS, in order to carry through their nefarious schemes, they are transferring their factories to the small towns and suburbs which are not easily accessible to the unions; and

WHEREAS, the needle trades unions, be-

cause they are divided amongst themselves into separate internationals, are unable to offer effective resistance against the combined forces of the manufacturers, and cannot through their individual efforts and resources cope effectively with the great problem of bringing the thousands of workers who are still unorganized into the union fold; and

WHEREAS, the Cap and Millinery Workers' International, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Fur Workers' International, have already gone on record in favor of amalgamation, our International remaining the only obstacle to putting it into effect; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of our International goes on record in favor of amalgamation of all the needle trades unions into one powerful international of needle trades workers, and the incoming G. E. U. be instructed immediately after the adjournment of the convention to join the Fur Workers in a call for a conference of representatives from all the needle trades unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the A. F. of L. urge the A. F. of L. to call a series of conferences of representatives of various unions in the respective industries for the purpose of launching a movement to amalgamate all the craft unions in the particular industry into one single organization, each of which shall cover an industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 40

Submitted by Local 5; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, the workers of Russia have overthrown Czarist autocracy and established a government of their own class; and

WHEREAS, despite all the attacks from outside and counter-revolutionaries supported and fostered by the exploiters from the inside, the workers have their power; and

WHEREAS, Soviet Russia has become a vital factor in world economy; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we favor the recognition of the government of Soviet Russia by the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, that our International at its convention elect a delegation representing all shades of opinion to study conditions under the Workers' Government and report their findings to us upon their return.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 41

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, the workers of Russia have overthrown Czarist autocracy and have established a government of their own class; and

WHEREAS, despite all the attacks from outside and counter-revolutionaries, supported and fostered by the exploiters from the inside, the workers have maintained their power; and

WHEREAS, Soviet Russia has become a vital factor in world economy; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we favor the recognition of the Government of Soviet Russia by the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, that our International at its convention elect a delegation representing all shades of opinion to study conditions under

the workers' government and report their findings to us upon their return.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 42

Submitted by Local 56; M. Shapiro, Chairman; Wolf Viner, Secretary:

WHEREAS, the workers and peasants of Russia succeeded in getting control of the government of that vast country, and are trying for the first time in history to establish a new order under which the toiling masses will get the full product of their labor; and

WHEREAS, we the workers of America are vitally interested in the success or failure of this colossal experiment; and

WHEREAS, the capitalist press of America keeps the workers misinformed about real conditions in Russia, and even our own press has to rely on capitalist news agencies for information about Russia; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to take the initiative in calling a conference of the needle trades unions for the purpose of sending a delegation to Russia, to find out about the real conditions of the workers in that country and report its findings to the large membership; and be it further

RESOLVED that the majority of this delegation shall consist of workers from the shops; and be it also

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct its delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to introduce this resolution and try to see that it is carried through.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Resolution No. 43

Introduced by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; P. Starkopf, of Local 26; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; G. Hadpern, of Local 66; B. Helfand and J. Krooglick, of Local 62; Sam Saraff, of Local 20; J. Goretaky, of Local 35; J. Melsack, of Local 13; A. Weisman, of Local 104; P. Hauser, of Local 100; D. Wishevsky, of Local 38; V. Miletsky, of Local 41; S. Domblatt, of Local 3; Sarah Hurvits, of Local 46:

WHEREAS, the Russian Soviet Government has withstood for almost eight years, all the attacks launched against it from the enemies within its own boundaries, as well as from the organized capitalist governments of the world, hostile to it and constantly carrying on fresh forms of struggle against it, and has demonstrated by its successful resistance that it has the support of the masses of Russia workers and farmers; and

WHEREAS, the delegation of the British trade unions to Russia has just published an extensive report pointing out the tremendous strides forward being made by the workers and peasants of Russia with their newly established society, and giving definite proof that while the workers of the rest of the world are suffering from a declining standard of living, those in Russia are constantly improving their standards of life and living; and

WHEREAS, the government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is a government of workers and peasants which is fighting the battles of the workers and peasants against the system of exploitation; and

WHEREAS, many European governments, in spite of their bitter opposition to the Soviet system of society, have been compelled to open diplomatic and commercial relations with the Russian government; and

WHEREAS, the present administration at Washington, D. C., has thus far failed to recognize Soviet Russia, thereby greatly injuring that country as well as the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED that the Eighteenth Convention of the International declare its sympathy and support of the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and in favor of its full recognition, and for the establishment of full diplomatic and commercial relations between the United States and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; and, be it further

RESOLVED that we participate in the movement to send a trade union delegation to Soviet Russia.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 44

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Mirenda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, the previous conventions of our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have gone on record demanding a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, convicted of murder in the first degree by a biased jury under instructions of a prejudiced judge in the State of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, its locals and joint boards have repeatedly raised a voice of protest and have helped to their utmost the defense of these two innocent victims of class struggle; and

WHEREAS, with our International, practically the entire labor movement of this country joined in the demand for a new trial; and

WHEREAS, five and a half years have passed since the men were first arrested, four and a half years since their original trial and more than a year since the trial judge tardily denied their application for a new trial, during all of which time they have languished in prison and the wife and two children of one have suffered outside; while the appeal for a new trial which will cut short their sufferings by freedom or death, is dreadfully pending before the State Supreme Court; and

WHEREAS, their indefinite imprisonment pending the outcome of their case and the danger of undeserved death at the hands of the executioner constitutes a ghastly miscarriage of justice; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at its Eighteenth Biennial Convention, assembled in the City of Philadelphia hereby reiterates its demand for a new trial for these defenseless victims of race and national prejudice in order that they may have an opportunity to present the incontrovertible evidence of their innocence, and that the honor and fairness of the American people may be preserved untarnished before the eyes of the civilized world; and, be it further

RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to the Governor of Massachusetts and the President of the United States and the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 45

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radostl, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, the Italian workers in the industries of America number nearly 4,000,000, with more than 500,000 of this number in New York City; and

WHEREAS, this great mass of workers are in a great number outside of the ranks of organized labor because the message of organization has not been brought to them; and

WHEREAS, to enlighten the Italian workers as to the aims of the organized workers in all industries it is necessary to establish an Italian labor press to clear their minds of the poison that is fed to them daily by the capitalist press; and

WHEREAS, it has been necessary to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in organization campaigns, yet in many cases it has been impossible to succeed in making the Italian element respond to the call of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, there can be little progress of the organized masses as long as millions of Italians remain poisoned with the falsehoods of a press that is controlled by the master class; and

WHEREAS, our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at the convention of Chicago of 1920 fully endorsed the publication of the Italian daily labor newspaper and contributed \$5,000 by buying shares; and

WHEREAS, finally after many efforts and great sacrifices this labor daily, "Il Nuovo Mondo," was first published on November 10th, 1921, and should receive the moral and financial support of the labor organizations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in convention assembled in Philadelphia, Pa., endorse the publication of said daily labor newspaper, "Il Nuovo Mondo," and instructs the General Executive Board to extend all the financial support our International can give, and calls upon all local unions and joint boards to ask our membership to contribute a voluntary subscription, and also give all the help that this newspaper deserves

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 46

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, A. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radostl, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, the Fascist reaction in Italy has ruthlessly murdered thousands of men, women and children of the working class, burned hundreds of labor temples, destroyed scores 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 Fascists 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, 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 Eighteenth Biennial Convention assembled in the City of Philadelphia, Pa., abhors and condemns every manifestation of Fascism, and calls upon the Labor Movement to combat its importation into the United States under any guise or form whatsoever; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union endorse and grant its fullest moral support to the anti-Fascist forces in their unremitting drive against Fascism and all its nefarious connotations of strikebreaking, thuggery and ruffianism, and assert its readiness to co-operate with these forces to protect especially the Italian-speaking members of American Union Labor from the poisonous taint of this international plague.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 47

Introduced by Max Stoller, of Local 10; G. Rubin, of the Philadelphia Joint Board; H. Davidoff, of Local 53; A. Rosenberg, of the Jersey District Council; Louis Pinkofsky, of Local 23, and Nathan Reisel, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, the Deborah Jewish Consumptive Relief Society has demonstrated during the three years of its existence its great success and service in saving hundreds of tubercular patients from this dread disease; and

WHEREAS, this sanatorium is so located, at Browns Mills, N. J., that its service is of particular value to tubercular patients in Philadelphia, New York and Boston, and nearby cities; and

WHEREAS, this institution in 1923 alone admitted eight members of the I. L. G. W. U., on the recommendation of the Union Health Center and treated them free of charge; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Convention of the International assist the Deborah Jewish Consumptive Relief Society to successfully complete its present campaign for the installation of 100 new beds for advanced cases, in a new building to be erected this year.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 48

Submitted by Victor Miletsky, Chairman of the delegation of Local 41:

WHEREAS, the tuckers, hemstitchers, pleaters and novelty workers are closely bound and are a part of the dress and cloak industry; and

WHEREAS, our existence outside of the

Joint Board brings about a situation where the workers of locals connected with the Joint Board in many instances work on garments which have been produced in striking shops and vice versa; and

WHEREAS, the workers engaged in our branch of the trade would be greatly aided by affiliating with the Joint Board; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this convention goes on record in favor of affiliating Local 41 with the Joint Board of Cloak and Dressmakers.

Referred to Committee on Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Fifth Day—Morning Session

Friday, December 4, 1923

President Sigman called the session to order at 1.00 a. m.

Secretary Baroff read the following communications and telegrams which were received with applause:

Philadelphia, Pa.

The United Mine Workers of America greatly appreciate the action of the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in pledging full support to the striking miners in the anthracite field and in West Virginia. Our people will be greatly encouraged by the action of your delegates and heartily reciprocate the fraternal greetings and good wishes which you extend.

JOHN L. LEWIS.

New York, N. Y.

At a shop chairmen meeting held on Thursday December 3, 1923, it was unanimously decided to send the following telegram:

May your deliberations lead our gigantic organization to bigger success and splendor. It is our heartiest hope that our resolution for a general strike and that we become part of the joint board be endorsed at this convention.

SHOP CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL 41.

New York, N. Y.

Accept our heartiest greetings at the eighteenth convention of our International. In the recent struggle within the ranks of our organization we abolished the spirit of intolerance and prejudice. We sincerely hope and wish this convention will solve the problems confronting our industry in a manner agreeable to the large membership of our union. We further hope this convention will sanction the first steps of the peace conference will bring about permanent unity in our ranks based on mutual tolerance so that our forces will march united against our common enemy in the struggles now facing our union. Long live a united International, long live the solidarity of the workers!

THE STAFF OF THE DRESS DIVISION
OF THE JOINT BOARD CLOAK, SUIT
AND DRESSMAKERS' UNION

I. L. G. W. U.

New York, N. Y.

Greetings to you delegates of the International Convention. I send my heartiest congratulations. May a sense of harmony guide your deliberations. May your decisions add to the prestige of our International and

thereby help regain the strength, increase the influence of our union for the benefit of all of us. Long live the International!

B. FENSTER.

Chairman of Sample Makers' Local Three.

New York, N. Y.

Greetings. Accept our heartfelt congratulations to the Eighteenth Convention. May unity and harmony prevail in our ranks and may all the plans you will undertake to promote the welfare of the workers engaged in our industry be crowned with success.

WORKERS OF JOHN BONWITH SHOP

New York, N. Y.

May this convention bring peace and harmony in the ranks of the workers of our International. We hope that our resolutions for a general strike in our industry and that we become part of the Joint Board be endorsed at this convention.

WORKERS OF THE SUNNY NOVELTY CO.

Chicago, Ill.

Chicago members of International Ladies' Garment Workers' greet special convention of our union with enthusiasm as expression of long-sought progressive demands of rank and file. We adopt all the demands put forward by the New York Joint Action Committee. We support these demands and in any case will continue to fight until they are made a reality. We confidently believe this convention will take great steps forward in building the power of our union. Signed by three hundred members of Chicago locals with ledger numbers.

LEVIN, STEIN, MARCUS & COHEN.
Committee.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Please accept our heartiest greetings and best wishes for a victorious convention.

MAX STEIN, Chairman.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Greetings. May your deliberations lead us to victory and improve the lot of the laboring class.

Workers of Bellmold Costume Company,

ROCCO PORTOGHISE, Chairman.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Greetings. Wishing you success in your work for the benefit of the entire needle trade.

Workers of Jacob Scheinbarb Cloak Co.

MICHAEL CARUSO, Chairman.

Miami Fla.

My heartiest and sincerest wishes are that the purpose of this convention will be crowned with success.

SYD ROMAN.

Yonkers, N. Y.

Best wishes and sincerest greetings. May your deliberations be crowned with success.

WORKERS OF I. FOX.

Yonkers, N. Y.

Greetings. Heartiest congratulations. We wish you success in all your undertakings.

WORKERS OF BENJAMIN TRAGER.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Greetings and congratulations to the Eighteenth Convention. May all your deliberations be crown with success and the spirit of

brotherhood prevail against the onslaught of those that are trying to demoralize the ranks of the International.

JOHN PORUS, Member of Local 29.

New York, N. Y.

We, the workers of I. and D. Gucking, wish successful deliberations for our international. It is our hope that our resolution for a general strike in our industry and to become part of the Joint Board be endorsed at the convention.

WORKERS OF I. & D. GUCKING.

Cleveland, Ohio.

I wish to convey to this convention hopes that effective measures will be adopted to carry on a successful struggle against the open-shop employers for the benefit of the membership.

M. TEITEL, Chairman, Local 42.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Greetings to the Eighteenth Convention. Congratulations on your splendid achievements and best wishes for your continued efforts for the economic and spiritual welfare of our membership.

MAX RUBINBERG, Member of Local 30

Yonkers, N. Y.

Greetings. The workers of David Fraetag cloak shop extend their heartfelt congratulations and best wishes. May this convention be the means of establishing peace in our union.

VICK BATISTE, Chairman.

Milwaukee, Wis.

May the deliberations of the convention lead to the vision of tomorrow for a more prosperous working class and a successful labor movement.

ALEXIA M. SMITH.

Organizer Women's Trade Union League.

The following resolutions were introduced by individual delegates and by local delegations and referred by President Sigman to the proper committees:

Resolution No. 49

Introduced by Local 10 delegation:

WHEREAS, The present minimum scale of wages for cutters in the cloak and suit industry in the New York market is lower than those in some of the other crafts, although the work of cutting is as complicated and requires as much skill, if not more than in the other crafts; and

WHEREAS, The cutters even before the existence of a powerful union were considered the most skillful workers, receiving accordingly the highest wages, as is proven by the history of the International, the "Women's Garment Workers," on page 80; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth Convention of the International go on record as instructing the incoming General Executive Board and all Joint Boards and district councils affiliated, that when making or renewing agreements in all the trades in all the markets, the minimum scale of cutters shall not be lower than that of any other craft.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 50

Introduced by delegates of Locals 37 and 42:

WHEREAS, The minimum scales of wages for cutters and pressers are different in every locality; and

WHEREAS, A situation of this kind is detrimental to the workers in these trades; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board stands instructed that in the next agreements with the employers one uniform scale of wages be fixed for cutters and pressers in every place where ladies' garments are made in the United States and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 51

Introduced by Israel Feinberg and Ben Gilbert, Local 78, St. Louis:

WHEREAS, The workers engaged in the manufacture of dresses and waists in the city of St. Louis are totally unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The conditions in these trades are unbearable, long hours of labor, impossibly low wages and the worst kind of oppression prevailing in these trades; 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.

Resolution No. 52

Introduced by Local 132:

WHEREAS, The Button Makers' Union Local 132, in the past year has undergone serious troubles in its organization through lack of work and through the peril of the non-union shops whose miserable conditions have added to our sufferings that caused us in the last season to lose the largest part of our membership, namely, the celluloid workers; and

WHEREAS, The covered button makers, work is exclusively for the cloak and dress industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. assembled in the City of Philadelphia instruct the incoming General Executive Board that Local 132 is desirous of starting a campaign to organize the industry for the purpose of regaining conditions befitting human beings, and strengthen the local as we were up to the time of the last convention held in Boston; and

RESOLVED, That the convention authorize the incoming General Executive Board to appropriate the necessary funds to make such a campaign a success.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 53

Submitted by J. Melsack, Chairman; S. Liberman, Secretary, Local 13:

WHEREAS, The dressmaking industry in the City of Montreal is largely developed and is employing a great number of dressmakers under very poor conditions, and the mem-

nity of organizing them is urgent; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention of the International instructs the General Executive Board to give us financial and moral support to carry through a campaign for this purpose

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 54

Submitted by J. Melsack, Chairman; S. Liberman, Secretary, Local 13:

WHEREAS, The working conditions in the Montreal cloakmaking trade are very poor, and in order to win union control in the shops an organization campaign must be carried through; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we request the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. to instruct the General Executive Board to support us financially and morally in the above-mentioned campaign.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 55

Introduced by Cleveland delegates:

WHEREAS, There are hundreds of unorganized workers, working on ladies' garments in the City of Cleveland; and

WHEREAS, The unorganized state of these workers is a cause of constant irritation creating a cut-throat competition and reacting unfavorably on the welfare of the organized workers of this industry; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention of the International instructs the incoming General Executive Board to station a permanent organizer in the City of Cleveland to help the Joint Board of that city organize all the unorganized workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 56

Submitted by Cleveland delegates:

WHEREAS, The workers engaged in the ladies' garment industry in the City of Toledo are totally unorganized; and

WHEREAS, Conditions prevailing in unorganized centers are inferior to those existing in the organized centers and thereby threaten to undermine the union standards, which were acquired through many years of bitter struggle; and

WHEREAS, Several attempts were made in the past by our International to organize these workers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board to start a new movement towards organizing the garment workers in Toledo and bringing about permanent organization in that city.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 57

Submitted by Boston Joint Board, Benjamin Kurland, Chairman; Wolf Viner, Secretary:

WHEREAS, After the General Strike in 1924 in the waist and dress industry of Boston and vicinity, which was only partially successful, there remained a great portion of shops unorganized; and

WHEREAS, These unorganized shops are controlled by the largest manufacturers of dresses in the City of Boston, who are doing all in their power to undermine union conditions in the shops, which situation is becoming a menace to the welfare of our industry as a whole; and

WHEREAS, The agreement which we have with the Dress and Cloak Manufacturers of Boston, expires February 1, 1925; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorses a general strike for the cloak and dress industry of Boston, and empowers the General Executive Board to call such a strike at the opportune time.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 58

Submitted by Boston Joint Board, Benjamin Kurland, Chairman; Wolf Viner, Secretary:

WHEREAS, There are a number of shops in Boston and vicinity engaged in the manufacture of cloaks, suits, skirts, waists and dresses, employing a large number of men and women who are still outside of the ranks of our union; and

WHEREAS, There are a number of shops engaged in the manufacture of wrappers, kimono and children's dresses in Boston and vicinity, which are not yet 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, The General Executive Board at its session held in Chicago last spring decided to appoint an Italian organizer for the City of Boston; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. assembled in Philadelphia, Pa., instruct the incoming General Executive Board to appoint such an organizer for Boston and vicinity immediately, and to start an immediate campaign to organize all the ladies' garment workers in Boston and vicinity.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 59

Submitted by Local 51, of Passaic, N. J., Mrs. E. Bramberger, Helen Bramberger:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been conducting an organization drive among the dress workers in Passaic, N. J.; and

WHEREAS, These drives have brought considerable results; and

WHEREAS, There are still a large number of unorganized workers and new shops are continuously moving in from New York; and

WHEREAS, It is for the benefit of the Passaic workers as well as the New York workers to have the Passaic shops organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention assembled in Philadelphia instruct the incoming General Executive Board to continue this organization work; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the General Executive Board be instructed to call a strike of all the dress shops in Passaic at the opportune time.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 60

Submitted by Local 50, of Philadelphia, Elias Reisberg, Minnie Rubinstein, Aaron Einbinder, Clara Weiss, Philip Silver, Abraham Bloomfield:

WHEREAS, Many attempts have been made to organize the unorganized portion of the Philadelphia waist, dress and children's dress industry, resulting in only meager success; and

WHEREAS, The conditions of work in the open shops have a demoralizing influence upon the conditions of the workers in the union shops, thus making it harder and harder for our Philadelphia union to further exercise the proper influence in maintaining union standards; and

WHEREAS, The Boston convention in May, 1924, instructed the incoming General Executive Board to lend its assistance to an organization drive which was carried on in a rather small scale; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorses a general strike in the mentioned industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board give its undivided attention in the progress of the campaign.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 61

Submitted by Local 76, of Philadelphia:

WHEREAS, The Custom Dressmakers' Union of Philadelphia controls but a very small fraction of the industry; and

WHEREAS, The little membership of the local has stuck together improving their conditions in the few union shops in their trade, but cannot make any further demands of their employers since organization work did not extend to the numerous open shops; and

WHEREAS, The field for an organization drive is more ripe at this time than ever due to the low wages and the long hours of work imposed upon the workers in the industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board to look into the matter and see what can be done to organize the entire custom dress-making industry of Philadelphia.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 62

Submitted by Local 91:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of workers employed in the making of children's dresses, bathrobes and housedresses in the

City of New York who are not yet under the control of the union, in spite of the many efforts made by Local 91 to organize these workers; and

WHEREAS, Conditions under which these workers are laboring in the non-union shops are inferior to the working conditions now established by the union, making the task of maintaining our union conditions more and more difficult; and

WHEREAS, Our experience of the past has definitely proved that, in order to organize these unorganized workers the campaign must be launched on a very large scale; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board that immediately after this convention a conference shall be called of the executive boards of Local 10 and Local 91 to work out plans through which the industry can be organized; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the General Executive Board give all its financial and moral support to such a campaign.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 63

Submitted by Local 91:

WHEREAS, The workers employed in the making of bathrobes in the City of New York have been partly organized through a general strike in that industry in the year of 1923 that was conducted by Local 91; and

WHEREAS, There are still hundreds of workers employed in the making of bathrobes in the City of New York working under the most impossible and inhuman conditions, and by working so compete with the union shops; and

WHEREAS, The organized workers of the bathrobe trade in Local 91 have decided to call a general strike in the year of 1925 for the purpose of organizing the industry completely; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board that in the event of a general strike in the bathrobe industry, Local 91 give all financial and moral support in this strike.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 64

Submitted by Local 91:

WHEREAS, The convention in May, 1920, and in May, 1922, instructed the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. to organize an Eastern Organizational Department under the supervision of the General Executive Board for the purpose of organizing workers employed in the making of children's dresses, white goods, raincoats, and all other garments and such an Eastern Organization Department has been arranged by the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U.; and

WHEREAS, The activity of this 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 Philadelphia, December, 1923, 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 Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 65

Submitted by Local 18:

WHEREAS, There are at present a great many cloak shops in the small towns and cities surrounding Chicago which operate under non-union conditions; and

WHEREAS, The employers of these shops determine their own conditions of labor and make living impossible for their workers; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions create wrongful competition in the industry and demoralize our union members; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union go on record to render the City of Chicago every possible assistance in organizing the outlying districts surrounding this city.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 66

Submitted by Local 75, Samuel Spiegel, president:

WHEREAS, There is in Worcester a great field for organizing work in the needle industry; and

WHEREAS, The cloakmakers of Worcester appreciate the necessity for such work; and

WHEREAS, Previously we had to depend on a New England organizer; and

WHEREAS, Although money and time were spent for organization work the results were not successful because of the fact that the Boston organizer could not spend much time on the Worcester organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International be asked to send a man to Worcester immediately and help us financially to keep the workers steady, to do the organizing work and to manage our business properly at the same time.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 67

Submitted by Local 80, Joseph A. Morabito, Chairman, Salvatore Miceli, Sec-

WHEREAS, A general strike in the dress industry has demoralized the workers of the City of Boston disorganized and discouraged; and

WHEREAS, The present deplorable conditions in some of the unorganized shops tend to break down, destroy conditions and the prestige of our organization; and

WHEREAS, The dominant number working in the unorganized shops are ex-members of our organization, and of Italian extraction; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we ask the Eighteenth

Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union assembled in Philadelphia, Pa., that for the welfare of our organization and to stimulate the morale of our present membership, this convention instruct the incoming administration to appoint an Italian organizer for the City of Boston and vicinity.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 68

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, The Western Districts are practically disorganized in the dress industry; and

WHEREAS, Following the loss of the strike in Chicago, a few organizers were directed to do the work; and

WHEREAS, The I. L. G. W. U. organizers failed to draw the rank and file actively into the organization work, thus preventing the effectiveness of the organization campaign; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to establish a Western Organization Department with headquarters in the City of Chicago; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the organizer placed in that office be instructed to organize a large rank and file organization committee with as much executive power as permitted under the constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. and the right of control in financial expenditures.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 69

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, The present system of doing organization work among the unorganized through professional organizers and gangs has proved ineffective; and

WHEREAS, The menace of the growing number of unorganized shops is endangering our conditions and control over the organized shops; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our delegates favor the abolition of the old system and the establishment of rank and file organization committees based upon the organized shops with sufficient authority and means to compensate and select the largest number of rank and file organizers to go into unorganized shops and organize them with the assistance of the organized workers in the trade.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 70

Submitted by Local 5, Chicago, B. Soll.

WHEREAS, The Western Districts are practically unorganized in the dress industry and we have lost the strike in Chicago, after which a few organizers were directed to do the work; and

WHEREAS, The I. L. G. W. U. organizers failed to draw the rank and file actively into the organization work, thus preventing the effectiveness of the organization campaign; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to establish a Western Organization Department with headquarters in the city of Chicago; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the organizer placed in that office be instructed to organize a large rank-and-file organization committee with as much executive power as permitted under the constitution of the International, and with the right of control in financial expenditures.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 71

Submitted by Jersey District Council, A. Rosenberg, delegate:

WHEREAS, The Out-of-Town Department started an organizing campaign in New Jersey towns, and we have made such progress that now we have a Jersey District Council composed of twelve (12) local unions with a membership of about fifteen hundred (1500); and

WHEREAS, In the midst of organizing campaigns we were forced to discontinue operations due to the lack of funds supplied by the International Office; and

WHEREAS, Due to geographical conditions of the shops in the Jersey towns no mass organization work can be done, as is often done in large cities, thereby necessitating ample funds to carry on the organization campaigns; and

WHEREAS, Numerous ladies' garment shops are operating under non-union conditions, thereby jeopardizing not only the interests of the New York workers but even the existence of the union shops in Jersey districts; and

WHEREAS, The State of New Jersey is full of empty shops waiting for New York manufacturers to come there to manufacture coats, dresses and other ladies' wear; and

WHEREAS, as soon as the New York workers plan to better their conditions, the non-union shops in New Jersey begin to get busy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, At this Eighteenth Convention of the International held in the city of Philadelphia to instruct the incoming General Executive Board to take special care of the organization work in the Jersey district; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That sufficient funds be provided to carry on this campaign successfully.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 72

Submitted by Local 60, of Chicago, Benjamin Dolnick, delegate:

WHEREAS, Considering the large number of Polish workers in the ladies' garment industry who are unorganized, and the majority of whom cannot speak or understand the English language; and

WHEREAS, Better results could be obtained if our organizers would converse with the unorganized Polish workers in their own language; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia, instruct the incoming General Executive Board that the future organizers for the city of Chicago shall possess a knowledge of the Polish language.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 73

Submitted by delegates of Chicago Locals:

WHEREAS, Since the 1924 dressmakers' strike in the city of Chicago the International has conducted a systematic campaign for the rebuilding of the dressmakers' organization in that city; and

WHEREAS, In spite of the difficulties in the way of re-organization, because of the demoralizing effect that the lost strike has had on the members of the Union in particular and the industry in general, the work was crowned with partial success, for numerically as well as morally the dressmaker locals are in very good condition at this time; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board shall continue with the organization work among the dressmakers in the city of Chicago and that the organizers who will be assigned to conduct this work shall prepare the field for the complete organization of all the dressmakers employed in the shops in this city; be it further

RESOLVED That if necessary a general strike shall be called at the best opportune time for the purpose of effecting an agreement with the manufacturers in the dress industry.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 74

Submitted by delegates of Chicago Locals:

WHEREAS, The cloak and dress industry of the Middle West which was previously situated in the larger cities is at present locating in smaller towns for the purpose of taking advantage of the cheaper market of labor in those communities; and

WHEREAS, The majority of workers employed in those small town factories are women who are working for very meager wages and very long hours; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions are creating a very keen competition between the organized workers of the city and the unorganized in the small towns; be it therefore

RESOLVED, By this Eighteenth Biennial Convention that organizers be permanently assigned in the Middle West for the purpose of unionizing all the workers in the smaller towns, with headquarters established in Chicago.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 75

Submitted by delegates of Local 20:

WHEREAS, The raincoat industry for the last few years has passed through a depressed period, a few locals having been given up and those now in existence being in most cases weak; and

WHEREAS, One of the reasons for this condition is that the raincoat industry in late years has changed to the making of gabardines, which fact has brought it into jurisdictional conflict; and another reason is that there have been few organization campaigns in this industry and these have been on a very small scale; and

WHEREAS, The raincoat industry, though one of the crafts over which our International

has jurisdiction, has not received sufficient help to do organization work in the country; and

WHEREAS, The case of Local 7 of Boston illustrates how little attention has been given by the International to the raincoat industry, inasmuch as Boston is a city of raincoats and at this time we practically have no union there; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Local 7 of Boston be revived and that a lively organization campaign be undertaken in the Boston raincoat industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED That similar organization campaigns be undertaken in all centers where raincoats are made to bring about a strong organization in this trade.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 76

Introduced by the District Council:

WHEREAS, The District Council of the Miscellaneous Trades of Greater New York was organized for the purpose among other things, "to jointly carry on organization work for the trades affiliated with this Council"; and

WHEREAS, The General Executive Board of the International Union in 1925 assisted the District Council financially and otherwise to carry on a joint organization drive for the Children's Dressmakers and Bathrobe Workers, Local 91, and the White Goods Workers, Local 92, as well as the Private Dressmakers' Union, Local 90; and

WHEREAS, A general strike has been called in the children's dressmaking trade and the white goods trade which, although culminating in renewing the agreement in these two trades, was not as much of a success as was expected; and

WHEREAS, In order that the trades affiliated with the District Council shall prosper, organizing activities will have to be undertaken in the future; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention held in the city of Philadelphia instruct the incoming General Executive Board to give financial assistance to the District Council whenever necessary to carry on the organization work for the affiliated locals in the District Council.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 77

Introduced by Sol Polakoff, Max Am-
dur, Julius Hochman, A. Cooper, Alex
Freeman, N. Shur, Albert Eaton, Max
Kaiser, J. Goldman, delegates of Mont-
real and Toronto:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is launching a strong and wide campaign among the unorganized workers in the different industries in the Dominion of Canada, to begin January 3 1926, for a period of three months; and

WHEREAS, this campaign will be conducted through the channels of the labor movement of Canada and under the auspices of the Trade and Labor Council of the various cities; and

WHEREAS, All efforts previously made by our International Union to organize the Canadian workers employed in the ladies' garment industry and especially the women workers, did not bring the best results; and

WHEREAS, These unorganized Canadian ladies' garment workers are working under the most miserable conditions, thus having a demoralising effect on the industry, there being great competition to the organized workers of Toronto and Montreal; and

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of this campaign for all workers in Canada it might be possible to reach the attention of the unorganized Gentile workers in the ladies' garment industry; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia instructs the incoming General Executive Board to assist morally and financially in the campaign of organization being launched by the A. F. of L. in the Dominion of Canada; be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board shall be authorized if necessary to send one or more organizers to the cities of Toronto and Montreal during the campaign to help in this organization work.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 78

Submitted by Sol Polakoff, Max Am-
dur, Julius Hochman, A. Cooper, Alex
Freeman, N. Shur, Albert Eaton, Max
Kaiser, J. Goldman, S. Kraisman, Mont-
real and Toronto Delegates:

WHEREAS, There has developed a large industry of dress manufacturing in the cities of Toronto and Montreal; and

WHEREAS, That industry is completely unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The great majority of the workers engaged in the dress trade are French-Canadian women who are working under the old sweatshop conditions, low wages, long hours, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The non-union conditions prevailing in the dress industry must affect the cloak trade because the existing work conditions in the cloak trade are far superior to those in the dress industry; and

WHEREAS, With the recent trade developments by which both industries overlap each other in the making of ladies' garments the working conditions of one industry must affect the other; and

WHEREAS, There is a tendency in the cloak and suit trade of introducing the making of dresses in the same establishment which will ultimately bring together both trades under one management; and

WHEREAS The difference in working conditions in the dress industry must eventually affect the cloak trade and drag it down to a lower level if the dress industry is not organized; and

WHEREAS, The cloak makers' unions in Toronto and Montreal are financially unable to undertake this great organization work, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention assembled in the City of Philadelphia instruct the incoming General Executive Board immediately after the adjournment of the convention to take proper steps to start a campaign of organization among the men and women engaged in the dress industry in Toronto and Montreal; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention authorizes the incoming General Executive Board to ap-

propriate the necessary funds for making such campaign a success.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 79

Introduced by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; B. Helfand and J. Krooglick, of Local 62; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; J. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; J. Prokop, of Local 45; S. Kniznick, of Local 9; Sam Saroff, of Local 20; M. Shur, of Local 14; P. Hauser, of Local 100; S. Domblatt, of Local 3; Sarah Hurwitz, of Local 46:

WHEREAS, The great part of the workers in our industry, in the large as well as in the small industrial centers, still remain unorganized; and

WHEREAS, Such an army of unorganized workers not only renders helpless the unorganized workers, but also degrades the conditions of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The work of organizing the unorganized must become not only the work of a few professional organizers, but must involve the greatest part of the membership of our union; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International; instructs the incoming General Executive Board to begin an energetic campaign to organize the unorganized workers through the rank and file organization committees; and, be it further

RESOLVED That the Eighteenth Convention instruct its delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention to call upon all other unions in the A. F. of L. to unite in a campaign to organize the unorganized workers of the United States.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 80

Introduced by delegation of Local 6:

WHEREAS, The New York Swiss embroidery makers, organized in Local 6 are practically controlling work conditions in their shops of that city, and

WHEREAS, The bulk of the embroidery industry is located in New Jersey, where, despite many attempts by the International Union and by the local itself, the workers still remain unorganized, and are therefore competing with the New York workers and preventing them from gaining better conditions, and

WHEREAS, A fresh and aggressive campaign among these workers in New Jersey would probably at this time prove successful; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board give utmost and full consideration to this field, and be it further

RESOLVED, That an organizing campaign be started in New Jersey as soon as conditions appear to warrant it.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 81

Introduced by delegates of Locals 33 and 34:

WHEREAS, The corset workers are one of the most exploited industries in the ladies' garment industry due to lack of organization; and

WHEREAS, Due to much effort, we succeeded in retaining our organizations in the face of considerable difficulty; and

WHEREAS, Because our two locals of operators and cutters in Bridgeport are the only two locals organized in the corset industry; and we feel the responsibility for the tens and thousands of the corset workers who work under the most exploited conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED That the Eighteenth Convention held in Philadelphia requests the incoming General Executive Board as soon as possible to start an organization campaign among the corset workers.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 82

Submitted by David Gingold, Meyer Polinsky, Sam Saroff, A. Weingart, of Local 20:

WHEREAS, The largest number of workers in the most important centers of production of waterproof garment still remain unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The raincoat makers' Local No. 7 of Boston and vicinity, which is one of the most important centers in this industry, was given up because of financial reasons; and

WHEREAS, The understanding with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, to whom the membership of Local 7 was transferred, was that in case the waterproof industry picks up again the I. L. G. W. U. will consider it its duty to organize the workers in this city, and

WHEREAS, Massachusetts is at present producing a great part of waterproof garments with non-union help; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the incoming General Executive Board to revive Local 7 of the Raincoat Makers of Boston, and that an intensive campaign be started to organize the workers of Massachusetts, as well as of all other centers where waterproof garments are being produced.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 83

Submitted by S. Zaslawsky, Chairman of Local 55:

WHEREAS, The knitted garment industry produces cloaks, suits and dresses, and therefore constitutes a part of the cloak and dress industry; and number of which are not organized, and

WHEREAS, The workers employed in that industry number between thirteen and fifteen thousand, an overwhelming are therefore a menace to the organized branches of the ladies' garment industry; and

WHEREAS, The long period of unemployment has weakened the knitted garment workers' Local 55 considerably and it is therefore not in a position to start a serious organization campaign; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the incoming General Executive Board to take all the necessary means to organize the knitted garment industry.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 84

Submitted by G. Halperin, George Triestman, Rose Auerbach, S. Halperin, Nathan Riesel, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, It appears that embroidery departments are operated on a non-union basis in the dress and cloak shops in the City of New York, while other departments in such shops maintain union standards and conditions; and

WHEREAS, It is in the best interest of the workers of such shops that there be no distinction between one department and another with respect to union standards and conditions; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. shall take the necessary steps in co-operation with Local 66 to effect the unionization of all non-union embroidery departments in their respective shops.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 85

Submitted by G. Halperin, George Triestman, Rose Auerbach, S. Halperin, Nathan Riesel, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, It is in the interest of all workers in the embroidery industry that the other branches allied to theirs be organized as union workers; and

WHEREAS, A condition exists that because of such lack of organization, those working on hand embroidery are in competition with those working at machine embroidery to the detriment of both; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. take the necessary steps in organizing the hand embroiderers.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 86

Submitted by G. Halperin, George Triestman, Rose Auerbach, S. Halperin, Nathan Riesel, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, This convention deems it advisable for the best interest of labor that embroidery workers in out-of-town localities should be organized as union workers; and

WHEREAS, The out-of-town department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has heretofore confined its work to the dress and cloak industry; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board see to it that the out-of-town department of the International Ladies' Workers' Union shall make every effort to organize embroidery workers in localities outside of the City of New York.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 87

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, The money lords of the United States have become the leaders of the exploiters the world over; and

WHEREAS, The employers are organized internationally into trusts and financial combines and use their governmental power to force us to war for their profits; therefore, be it

RESOLVED That we endorse the efforts the General Council of the British and Russian Unions to establish world-wide trade union unity and instruct the General Executive Board of the International to fully participate and encourage all such efforts.

Referred to Committee on National and International Relations.

Resolution No. 88

Submitted by Local 5, B. Soli:

WHEREAS, The money lords of the United States have become the leaders of the exploiters the world over; and

WHEREAS, The employers are organized internationally into trusts and financial combines and use their governmental power to force us to war for their profits; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse the efforts of the General Council of the British and Russian Unions to establish world-wide trade union unity, and instruct the General Executive Board of the International to fully participate and encourage all such efforts.

Referred to Committee on National and International Relations.

Resolution No. 89

Introduced by Delegates G. Halperin, George Triestman, Rose Auerbach, S. Halperin and Nathan Riesel, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, The last convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union held in Boston in May, 1924, adopted a resolution establishing a union label in all the accessory trades, to be attached to all union-made garments; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary in order to give effect to such resolution that proper machinery be established to deal with this matter; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board of the International establish a label department to be devoted to the carrying out and enforcing of the purpose of the resolution.

Referred to Committee on Union and Proximate Label.

Resolution No. 90

Introduced by Julius Hochman, Local 53; Sol Polakoff, Joint Board, Toronto; A. Cooper, Local 14; S. Kreisman, Local 92; S. Shur, Local 14; Alex Freeman, Local 92:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union carried on an extensive campaign and conducted general strikes in the City of Toronto and Montreal in January 1925; and

WHEREAS, It has been found that in the City of Toronto, cloaks have been made under sweatshop conditions that were a danger to the health of the workers, threatening to spread disease to the consumer, and

WHEREAS, This general strike resulted in a collective agreement between the union and the Toronto Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association in the City of Toronto; and

WHEREAS, Due to this agreement a Joint Board of Sanitary Control representing the union, the employers and the public, was organized in the City of Toronto the object of which is to introduce and maintain sanitary and health conditions in the shops where ladies' garments are made and also introduce a sanitary label for the purpose of guaranteeing to the consumer that the garment he is wearing has been made under sanitary conditions and in a shop in contractual relations with the union, where conditions of labor that provide for the workers a living wage, give to the workers fundamental rights in the factory; and

WHEREAS, Through the influence of this Joint Board a number of unsanitary shops have already been eliminated by this time and the Joint Board of Sanitary Control of the City of Toronto is anxious to introduce a union sanitary label; and

WHEREAS, The introduction of such a union sanitary label requires a campaign involving a great deal of effort and expense; and

WHEREAS, The local organization does not have the necessary financial means to make the necessary contribution for such a campaign; and

WHEREAS, The Toronto Joint Board believes that the introduction of such a label would not only be of help to the Joint Board but would also be an inducement to the employer and would help in the future organization campaigns in the other ladies' garment industries as well; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board stand instructed to take up this campaign and appropriate the necessary means for the immediate introduction of the union sanitary label in the centers in Canada

Referred to Union and Prosanis Label Committee.

Resolution No. 91

Introduced by delegates of Local 132:

WHEREAS, The button workers' union, Local 132, though in control of a large percentage of shops in that industry, has still to contend against non-union shops in Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, The buttons made in the shops controlled by Local 132 are exclusively for the cloak, suit and dress industry; and

WHEREAS, If only union-made buttons were used in the shops of the women's apparel trade it would greatly eliminate the evils mentioned above, facilitate the exercise of greater control of the industry, and safeguard the interest and welfare of the button workers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to introduce right after the adjournment of this convention a demand for union-made buttons in the shops controlled by locals of the I. L. G. W. U.; and be it further

RESOLVED That a clause demanding union-made buttons shall be incorporated in

the agreements with all the manufacturers of the women's garment industries.

Referred to Union and Prosanis Label Committee.

Resolution No. 92

Submitted by M. Weiss, of Embroidery Workers, Local 8:

WHEREAS, The General Executive Board, due to a mandate given to it by the Boston convention, introduced the union label in the embroidery industry last September, which was incorporated in agreements signed with the Association of Manufacturers in that industry; and

WHEREAS, Most of the embroidery is being used in the cloak and dress shops controlled by the cloak and dress locals of New York; and

WHEREAS, The union label on embroidery if demanded by the chairman in the cloak and dress shops, would place the non-union shops in our trades under strict union control; and

WHEREAS, The co-operation of the Joint Board to enforce the union label on embroidery in the cloak and dress shops up to this moment was very meager and hence the label did not bring forth the desired results; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth Convention make it obligatory on the part of the Joint Board to see to it that the clause dealing with union label on embroidery in the agreements with their manufacturers is fully enforced; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the business agents and managers of the Joint Board be instructed to act accordingly.

Referred to Union and Prosanis Label Committee.

Resolution No. 93

Submitted by Local 39, J. Shnyder, Chairman; D. Godes, Secretary:

WHEREAS, Local 39 has jurisdiction over all the finishers in the cloak and suit trade in the city of Boston; and

WHEREAS, There are two locals in Boston—namely, Locals 46 and 80—that have members, and are continuing to take in members, who are finishers by trade; and

WHEREAS, Such a condition does not permit us to have complete control of standards and wages of our craft; be it therefore

RESOLVED That the convention of the International assembled in Philadelphia decides that all the members who are working as finishers in the cloak suit and dress trade of Boston, and especially those belonging at present to Local 46, be transferred to Local 39.

Referred to Committee on Trade and Local Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Resolution No. 94

Submitted by Local 18:

WHEREAS, At the Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, held in Boston, Resolution No. 57, which dealt with the manufacture of ladies' garments by members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in their shops in the City of Chicago, was submitted; and

WHEREAS, The resolution was accepted and approved, such resolution embodying the provision that immediately after the adjournment of the convention, the General Executive Board shall hold a conference with the officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America with a view to establishing the standards of the I. L. G. W. U. in their factories where ladies' garments are manufactured; and

WHEREAS, In Chicago the workers in the cloak industry have never experienced such privations and sufferings as they are now enduring because for the last two years the number of regular cloak shops has been decreasing and the number of men's clothing factories making ladies' cloaks has been increasing; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union instruct the incoming General Executive Board to put into practice the decision of the last convention, and strive to abolish this evil in our organization in the City of Chicago.

Referred to Committee on Trade and Local Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Resolution No. 95

Submitted by delegates of Chicago Locals:

WHEREAS, The 1924 strike of the dressmakers in Chicago was a very costly one not only as for the great sacrifice which those involved in the strike were called upon to make, but also the great financial burden which every member of the organization had to bear; and

WHEREAS, After the strike was lost, in addition to the moral collapse of the organization its treasury was completely exhausted, with a large deficit awaiting payment; and

WHEREAS, Since that time Local 100 has struggled upward in rebuilding its ranks, as a result of which they have succeeded in putting their organization on a solid basis, but are still unable to pay off the deficit of \$4,000 which they incurred during the strike; and

WHEREAS, This deficit cannot be paid by the local no matter how high the prices the members shall pay for either dues or assessments; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention goes on record in favor of clearing the deficit which Local 100 owes to the Joint Board. This deficit was incurred during the strike. By so doing, the convention will encourage the members of the said local to do everything in their power in order to bring up their organization to the summit where it belongs, among the family of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Trade and Local Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Resolution No. 96

Submitted by Local 75, Boston, Benjamin Kurland, Chairman; Manuel Frank, Secretary:

WHEREAS, The Cutters' Union, Local 73, in the City of Boston, consists of a very small membership, namely, between 50 and 60 members; and

WHEREAS, All the cutters in our trade speak and understand the English language, and all our business is conducted in English; and

WHEREAS, The members of Local 73 are better controlled and more faithful to the

constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. than members of other locals in Boston; and

WHEREAS, In other cities all cutters of the I. L. G. W. U. belong to one local; and

WHEREAS, In Boston there is a newly chartered Italian Local 80, consisting of members working in different branches of the cloak and dress industry, and Local 80 claims that Italian cutters must also belong to their Italian local; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That for further progress of the Boston Cutters' Union, Local 73, and to keep up the old firm standards achieved by our membership, all the cutters in Boston shall belong to one local regardless of nationality.

Referred to Committee on Trade and Local Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Resolution No. 97

Introduced by Local 22:

WHEREAS, The Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the International approved the report of the General Executive Board in amalgamating the Waist and Dress Joint Board with the Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit, Shirt and Reefer Makers, so as to eliminate the friction arising out of the existence of two separate locals of the same branch of the industry; and

WHEREAS, In defiance of this decision Local 23 has refused to transfer many workers engaged in the dress industry and continues the dual system of control which is highly detrimental to the workers because of the different standard and hours of labor; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of our International, assembled in Philadelphia, goes on record in favor of revoking the charter of Local 23 which is in reality a dressmakers' local and whose further existence is a violation of the constitutional provision which states that not more than one local shall exist in any one trade in a particular locality; and be it further

RESOLVED, That immediately after the adjournment of this convention the incoming General Executive Board transfers all the members of Local 23 to the Dressmakers' Union, Local 22.

Referred to Committee on Local and Trade Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Resolution No. 98

Submitted by Anita Levitt, Local 76; Beckie Stein, Local 69:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' has conducted educational activities for eight years without permitting them to be interrupted by the various struggles and hardships that confronted it; and

WHEREAS, These activities organized by the Educational Department have been very successful in reaching thousands of our members who did not have the opportunities to gain the knowledge and training which they desired, imbuing them with devotion to their union and greater confidence in the ability of our organization to carry on various activities for the welfare of its membership; and

WHEREAS, We realize that such educational activities are of tremendous importance because they serve to strengthen the power of organized labor by enabling organized workers to use their economic strength with greater

skill and intelligence, and because they enable our members to be of service to our organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we express our deep appreciation of the splendid achievements of the Educational Department of the International for the past eight years; and be it

RESOLVED, That we instruct the incoming General Executive Board to continue this admirable educational work on a larger scale, extending its activities in other directions, so that they may reach and satisfy greater numbers of our members.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 39

Submitted by Local 80, Joseph A. Morabito, Chairman; Salvatore Miceli, Secretary:

WHEREAS, Our International has grown in the economic field second to none in the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, We must struggle and present a solid front to obtain a foothold in the political field in order to protect and ameliorate our present position in the economic field; and

WHEREAS, At present the majority of the membership of our International are not citizens of this country, and are not equipped with the ballot, and cannot exercise their rights of citizenship; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention of our International, assembled in Philadelphia Pa. request the incoming General Executive Board to render all assistance possible to its affiliated locals, and request that the membership of our organization become Americanized; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention be instructed to introduce a resolution at the annual meeting that every worker must be in a position to fully exercise his political rights.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 100

Submitted by Local 56, M. Shapiro, Chairman; Wolf Viner, Secretary:

WHEREAS, A union is composed of members who have different political viewpoints, different opinions about forms of organization that they deem best for the welfare of the membership; and

WHEREAS, The policy of expulsion practiced by the General Executive Board of our International against members for having different opinions about tactics of our union has brought about chaos and disruption in our ranks; and

WHEREAS, In order to be able to fight our real enemies, the bosses, successfully we must all be united and peace and harmony must prevail; and

WHEREAS, Permanent peace can be established only after we all recognize that the errors and beliefs of every member must be tolerated; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention declares a general amnesty to all members who were expelled or otherwise punished for their political views or opinions.

Referred to Appeal Committee.

Resolution No. 101

Submitted by Local 18:

WHEREAS, Our International has just concluded a bitter struggle, due to the expulsion policy against some of its members for their activities in organizations which disapprove of the constitution of our International; and

WHEREAS, In the strike which was recently achieved in New York, it was clearly understood that the members will not tolerate the expulsion policy under any circumstances; and

WHEREAS, Our International during the past term, has not been in accord with the wishes of the members at large due to its indirect cooperation with the manufacturers by combining with and upholding the Governor's Commission of New York and not with the principles of our union workers for the betterment of their conditions; and

WHEREAS, Through the peace terms just concluded in our union it is shown that the majority of our members believe in class struggle and have laid down a basis for organization reforms in order to give the control of our union to the rank and file so that they will have the privilege of placing the union on a basis which will strengthen their conditions; be it therefore

RESOLVED That the delegates of our local to this convention be instructed to ask and vote for the following measures:

1. To grant amnesty to the members who were punished for their political offenses and to demand that no expulsion policies be practiced in our International in the future.
2. The right of the members to determine by their own vote questions of dues, taxes, etc.
3. The right of all expelled members to be eligible to run for any office.
4. That the constitution be amended to this effect.

Referred to Appeal Committee.

Resolution No. 102

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is just emerging from a bitter struggle brought about by the expulsion policy launched against some of the most active and loyal members of the union; and

WHEREAS, this expulsion policy was a struggle between the reactionary officials and the left wing over basic policies and tactics, class-collaboration or the class struggle; and

WHEREAS, The expulsion policy and that of class collaboration has resulted in demoralizing the union in Chicago as well as in other centers, resulting in the loss of job control in shops that prior to the expulsion were 100 per cent union shops; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Local 59 of the I. L. G. W. U. demand general amnesty for all members who have been disciplined because of left-wing activities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the general amnesty shall include the restoring of those disciplined members to full and complete membership in the union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct our delegates to the National Convention to fight for the endorsement of general amnesty as explained in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Appeals.

Resolution No. 103

Submitted by Local 5, of Chicago, B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, For the last few years the I. L. G. W. U. General Executive Board carried on an expulsion policy against some of our active militant, loyal members of the union, and

WHEREAS, In carrying out this policy the organization in all centers where it was carried out on a large scale was either destroyed or largely weakened: be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention reinstates all members who were expelled or disfranchised during this expulsion campaign to full rights, and that they be restored to their old standing.

Referred to Committee on Appeals.

Resolution No. 104

Submitted by delegates of Local 100:

RESOLVED, That this convention grants amnesty to all expelled members who were involved in the last controversy, and that they be reinstated as old members; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the future policy of the International shall not permit outside groups or parties to dictate or interfere with the carrying out of its policy which shall be determined at this convention.

Referred to Committee on Appeals.

Resolution No. 105

Introduced by J. Goretsky, of Local 35; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; I. Steinzor, for Local 2, and A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, The ladies' garment industry is a seasonal industry, and as a result a large number of our members are at all times subject to unemployment, which tends to undermine the standards gained through bitter struggles; and

WHEREAS, This seasonal industry yields sufficient profits to the employers and provides them with abundant luxuries for the entire year; and

WHEREAS, The present form of the unemployment insurance fund to which the workers have to contribute one per cent of their meagre earnings is contrary to the principle that an industry shall be responsible for the maintenance of the workers during periods of unemployment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of our International instructs the incoming General Executive Board to make every effort toward so modifying the insurance plan, so that the employers shall be the sole contributors and that the fund shall be administered by the Union.

Referred to Committee on Unemployment Insurance.

Resolution No. 106

Introduced by Local 10 delegation:

WHEREAS, from experience we have realized that holding the International conventions for two weeks is a burden upon the locals, financially, involving a tremendous expense, and

WHEREAS, by an effort to economize in the matter of time the business of the conven-

tions could be transacted within one week's time, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the constitution of the International be so amended that in the future, conventions shall be able to complete their work within the week's time.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 107

Submitted by Local 10 delegation:

RESOLVED, that this Eighteenth Convention, assembled in the City of Philadelphia, hereby go on record as amending Article 5, titled "Election of Officers" (of local unions), Section 15, 15th line, of the constitution of the International, by the addition after the words "election and objection committee of not less than three (3) good-standing members" of the following: "but none of whom shall be a candidate for election or re-election to office."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 108

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth International Convention, assembled in the City of Philadelphia, hereby go on record as amending Article 14, titled "Amendments," of the constitution and by-laws of the International, by the substitution for the word "majority" contained in the said article in the first paragraph on the fifth line, of the words "two-thirds vote of the delegates present."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 109

Submitted by delegation of Local 10:

RESOLVED, That Article 8, titled "Joint Boards and District Councils," of the constitution and by-laws of the International, Section 3, be amended by the addition of a new sub-section to follow sub-section B, to read: "To fix the minimum dues and assessments to be paid by the members in the locals upon the approval of the same by a majority of the membership in a referendum vote."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 110

Introduced by the Local 10 delegation:

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth International Convention assembled in the City of Philadelphia go on record as amending Article XI, titled "Trials and Appeals," of the constitution and by-laws of the International, by the addition of a new section to follow Section 19, which is to read as follows: "A local union shall have the right to appeal to the General Executive Board against a decision of a Joint Board or District Council either in the case of an appeal by a member or upon a trial in the first instance."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 111

Introduced by the delegation of Local 10:

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth Convention, assembled in the City of Philadelphia, go on record as amending Article XI of the constitution and by-laws of the International, titled "Trials and Appeals," Section 17, by the addition of the following at the end of the

paragraph: "No member shall have his appeal considered by his Joint Board or District Council unless he has first made his appeal to his local union; provided, however, he has first complied with the decision of his local union."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 112

Submitted by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; G. Halpern, of Local 66, and A. Lupin, of Local 22:

WHEREAS, The calling of strikes, stoppages and settlement of same, also levying of dues, raising of dues, affect the entire membership and require the co-operation of each and every member involved; therefore be it

RESOLVED That if any of these questions arise before any local union, Joint Board or International, they shall not be acted upon until approved by a referendum vote of the entire membership.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 113

Submitted by Local 3; D. Rubin, Secretary:

WHEREAS, The last convention adopted an amendment to the Constitution of the International in Article VI, Section 3 (b) which reads:

"By majority vote of their delegates, representing a majority of affiliated locals, to fix the amount of per capita tax to be paid by the locals affiliated with it to defray the expenses of the Board, and the minimum dues and assessments to be paid by the members to the locals"; and

WHEREAS, This clause in the constitution of the International has caused friction and disturbance among our members to the extent that our Union has suffered a great deal due to it, giving an opportunity to some of the members of our Union to slander and besmirch the name of our Joint Board and International Union, as bodies that hold and believe in undemocratic principles; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this clause in the constitution of the International be amended to provide that, in order to fix the amount of per capita tax to defray the expenses of the Joint Board, the minimum dues and assessments to be paid by the members to the locals be subjected for approval to a referendum vote of the members of all affiliated locals before going into effect.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 114

Submitted by D. Rubin, Secretary, Local 3:

WHEREAS, Article XII, Section 5 of the Constitution of the International states:

"The General Executive Board shall have the power to levy an assessment of 25 cents per week per member on all affiliated unions for a period of not more than 20 weeks in any one year for the purpose of assisting subordinate organizations engaged in a strike or lockout. Such assessments shall be collected by each local union from its members and be evidenced by a special assessment stamp issued by the I. L. G. W. U. Assessments shall be levied on the basis of the

membership shown in the Record Department of the I. L. G. W. U. at the time of the decision to levy the assessment, but subject to correction based on the average sale of dues stamps between the date of such decision and the next convention"; be it therefore

RESOLVED That this clause of the Constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. be amended to provide that all such periodic assessments after they have been levied by the General Executive Board be subjected for approval to a referendum vote of all the affiliated local unions of the I. L. G. W. U. before they go into effect.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 115

Introduced by G. Halperin, George Triestman, Rose Auerbach, Nathan Riesel, S. Halperin, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, The District Council of Miscellaneous Trades, organized within the City of New York by virtue of a decision at the last biennial convention, did not serve the purpose for which it was organized, namely, to organize the various trades and bring closer relationship amongst the various locals; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the Bonham Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, request the Eighteenth Biennial Convention to dissolve the District Council of Miscellaneous Trades of the City of New York.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 116

Introduced by the Cleveland delegates:

Section 1, Article 3, shall read:

The general officers of the I. L. G. W. U. shall consist of a president, a general secretary and treasurer and fifteen vice presidents, eight of whom shall be elected from the membership in the City of New York.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 117

Submitted by delegates of Local 42:

WHEREAS, The General Executive Board is conducting, supervising and controlling the general work of our International; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That no member of the General Executive Board be engaged in the capacity of a general organizer to be paid by the general office of our International.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 118

Submitted by Cleveland delegates:

WHEREAS, Article III, Section 1 recognizes that the majority of the vice presidents shall be elected from the membership in the City of New York; and

WHEREAS, The same article does not specify from where the remaining vice presidents shall be elected; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this section be amended to read that the remaining vice presidents shall hold membership at least one year prior to the convention in the localities outside the City of New York.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 118

Submitted by Cleveland delegates:

WHEREAS, It has always been the policy of our union to elect and re-elect members on the General Executive Board for numerous terms; and

WHEREAS, It is more important now than ever before for our International to develop leadership to be able to conduct and supervise the work of our International; and

WHEREAS, Such leadership can only be developed by the opportunity of coming in contact with the general work of our International; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That at each convention one-half of the representatives of the General Executive Board shall be changed, that is that no member of the International shall serve on the General Executive Board more than two consecutive terms.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 120

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, The increase of the per capita decided at the Boston Convention and the consequent increase of weekly dues decided by the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union of New York was the main reason which brought about the last internal fight in our organization; and

WHEREAS, Lately, the membership of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union of New York took a referendum in which the vast majority voted for the 35 cent weekly dues; and

WHEREAS, It is therefore impossible for the locals to meet their obligations in maintaining themselves and the Joint Board in case the 35 cent per capita is continued; be it

RESOLVED, That the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in the Eighteenth Biennial Convention assembled in the City of Philadelphia, decide to restore the 10 cent per capita and instruct the incoming General Executive Board to study a budget system so that with the revenue of the 10 cent per capita the General Office may meet all the necessary expenditures.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 121

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

RESOLVED, That in any event when necessary to increase dues or levy a special assessment, such decision in order to become a definite law must be put to a referendum vote of the membership. If such action is taken by the General Executive Board it must go to a referendum of the entire membership of the International and if it is the action of one Joint Board or District Council it must go to a referendum vote of all the members of said Joint Board or District Council, and if it is a decision of an Executive Board of one particular local, it must be approved by the membership of this same local.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 122

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, C. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

RESOLVED, To add the following in Article VIII, Section 19: "All members of our Union who are also agents of insurance companies, and all those who are involved in commercial speculations and in exploitation of the workers, such as real estate agents, landlords and stock brokers shall be ineligible for any office within the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for a period of five years from the date in which such activities cease."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 123

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

RESOLVED, That any paid officers who are in permanent service in our Union cannot be delegates to the Joint Board or Executive Boards. Those union members who are engaged temporarily during an organization drive or a general strike are not considered permanent paid officers.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 124

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, The Local Unions affiliated with the Joint Board are not giving up their autonomy, and the right of self-government; and

WHEREAS, The business agents and paid officers to which each local is entitled for the transaction of the business of the Joint Board, must first of all have the confidence and trust of the local to which they belong and by which they are sent and paid; be it

RESOLVED, That this International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, assembled in the City of Philadelphia in its Eighteenth Biennial Convention decide that in the future each local affiliated with any Joint Board has the undisputed right to send the proper quota of Business Agents chosen by a local election or local appointment.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 125

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS Section 2, of Article 6 of our Constitution reads: "The Joint Boards shall be representative bodies consisting of an equal number of delegates from each Local Union affiliated with them"; and

WHEREAS, Such representation is undemocratic and unjust, and practically puts large locals at the mercy of small locals; and

WHEREAS, On the other hand a strict proportional representation would put in the future all the small locals at the mercy of one large local not repairing the evil which we have experimented until now, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 11, of Article 7, be amended to read: "The Joint Board shall be a representative body in which the delegates shall be in a graduated proportion and not in numerical proportion to the membership of each local."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 126

Submitted by Local 18:

WHEREAS, A Business Agent who serves a long term of office becomes estranged from the views and psychology of the workers in the shop; and

WHEREAS, In Chicago it has been demonstrated that whenever a Business Agent serves in this office for a number of years, groups are somehow created which, during elections, place every obstacle in the way of prospective candidates for this office; and

WHEREAS, Our International has always given every member the right to run for office regardless of groups; and

WHEREAS, This evil has also been the means used by certain members who seek to besmirch the reputation of our union because complaints they made were not attended to their complete satisfaction all of which reflects on our Executive Board and Joint Board; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED That a Local Union or Joint Board be empowered to adopt bylaws regulating the period one may hold such an office consecutively.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 127

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, Local 59 is now handicapped in so far as deciding the dues payment question by existing methods is concerned; be it

RESOLVED, That Local 59 go on record as favoring the policy of self-determination in connection with dues payments for all locals of the International.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 128

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, The Cloak, Suit and Dress Finishers' Local 60, I. L. G. W. U., came to the conclusion that some of our larger locals are discriminated, and carry all the expenses of the International on their shoulders; and

WHEREAS, They are still deprived of their just demands to be represented fully, as they are entitled to be; and

WHEREAS, Only now we are represented equally by certain bodies, especially by the Joint Board; and

WHEREAS, We are paying more per capita, and all the pro rata to our union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth Biennial Convention assembled in Philadelphia adopt this resolution to have proportional delegates according to the membership of our larger locals in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 129

Submitted by Local 5; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, In the past we have had the experience of officers of our Union being in office for so long that they have in the long run forgotten the torture and hardship of the workers in the shop; and

WHEREAS, This stage of conditions has developed a set of bureaucrats in our Union, working against the interest of the rank and file; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth Biennial Convention decide that no local or general officer of the I. L. G. W. U. hold office any longer than two consecutive terms for all paid offices.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 130

Submitted by delegates of Locals 21, 134, 136, 140, 139, 143, 85, in Jersey District Council; A. Rosenberg, president:

RESOLVED, That Article VI, Section 2, be amended to read as follows:

"Representation to the Joint Board shall be on the following basis: Local unions with a membership of 500 or less to be entitled to two delegates to the Joint Board; those above 500, to five delegates.

"In cities where the strength of the locals is about equal or where the majority of the locals have less than one thousand members, the representation to the Joint Board shall be on an equal basis."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 131

Submitted by Benjamin Dolnick, delegate of Local 60:

WHEREAS, The official publication of our International Union is written in three different languages, namely, English, Jewish, and Italian; and

WHEREAS, There are a large number of Polish members in our International who cannot read any of these languages; be it therefore

RESOLVED That this Eighteenth Biennial Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board that they shall have articles on the problems of the General Labor movement, as well as news pertaining to our organization in particular, published in the Polish language such articles to be made a part of the English edition of the Justice.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 132

Submitted by Benjamin Dolnick, delegate from Local 60:

WHEREAS, There are a large number of Polish-speaking workers employed in the various branches of the ladies' garment industry; and

WHEREAS, It is difficult for those workers to read any other language than Polish, be it therefore

RESOLVED, By this Eighteenth Convention to instruct the incoming General Executive Board to have the constitution of our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

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printed in the Polish language so that our members may read it and get acquainted with the by-laws of the organization.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 133

Submitted by Jersey District Council;
A. Rosenberg, delegate:

RESOLVED, That Section 18, paragraph (b) of Article VIII be amended to read as follows: "After six (6) months and within two (2) years after the withdrawal, the member shall be admitted as a new member by paying an initiation fee equivalent to the amount of his dues and assessments (current) since the withdrawal of the member from his local union."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 134

Submitted by Local 100, Chicago:

RESOLVED, That Section II, Article 7, of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

"The Joint Board shall be a representative body consisting of a number of delegates in proportion to the membership of each local union affiliated with it, the basis of proportion to be determined by each Joint Board respectively, in conformity with the census of the International."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 135

Submitted by Local 20:

WHEREAS, Conditions in the needle industry in the last few years have been demoralized and standards and wages have been lowered, many shops having been lost to union control; and

WHEREAS, More than anything else it is the smaller locals who are suffering; and

WHEREAS, It was decided at the last convention to unite all the smaller locals under a district council in the City of New York; and

WHEREAS, So far the District Council has proved to be a failure as it was not able in time of strikes to give financial support to the industries which were involved in the strikes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the District Council shall be dissolved.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 136

Submitted by A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; B. Helfand, Local 62; J. Krooglick, of Local 62; P. Starkopf, of Local 26; R. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; Sam Saroff, of Local 20; J. Goretaky, of Local 35; J. Melsack, of Local 13; A. Weisman, of Local 104; Philip J. Hauser, of Local 100; D. Wishevsky, of Local 38; S. Domblatt, of Local 3; Sarah Hurvitz, of Local 46:

WHEREAS, As a result of the internal political situation in our union, there exist

several central bodies in a single city, such as the Joint Board of the Waist and Dressmakers and the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers in Philadelphia; and the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers and the Joint Council of the Miscellaneous Trades in New York; and

WHEREAS, In most instances, the locals comprising the separate central bodies are closely related, and the further continuance of the present artificial divisions is a great hindrance to the Union, and destroys its effectiveness; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in favor of amalgamating all the related craft locals and central bodies for the purpose of bringing about a more centralized and one unified organization in each center.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 137

Submitted by G. Halpern, George Triestman, Rose Auerbach, S. Halperin, Nathan Riesel, of Local 66:

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record believing that it is in the interest of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and its membership, that the Joint Boards of the I. L. G. W. U. and other central bodies within the I. L. G. W. U. be so organized as to give proportional representation to the local unions affiliated with such Joint Board or central bodies on a basis fair to the smaller unions and without discrimination against any large local represented in such bodies.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 138

Submitted by D. Wishevsky, H. Formin, R. Landy, J. Zack, L. Ren, of Local 38:

WHEREAS, An officer who serves for too long a term becomes estranged from the views and psychology of the workers in the shop; and

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated repeatedly that whenever officers have been serving for a number of years in succession, the bringing of new ideas and new blood into the union has proved a very difficult and arduous task because of the natural opposition of the long-term officers; and

WHEREAS, It has been shown that such officers when released from their position try their utmost not to return to their respective jobs thus decreasing the number of active and intelligent members and thus consciously or unconsciously weakening our union as was proven in the case of the recently resigned officers of the New York Joint Board, who went into any line but that of their trade; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the constitution of our International shall be amended to read: "All paid officers of our International Union shall have a specified term of office not exceeding two years. After a lapse of a year they may run for office once again."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 139

Introduced by I. Stojnizor, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; A.

Wolkowitz, of Local 123; B. Helfand and J. Krooglick, of Local 62; S. Saroff, of Local 20; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; J. Melsack, of Local 13; A. Weisman, of Local 104; P. Hauser, of Local 100; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; V. Filetsky, of Local 41, and A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, The present salaries of officers of the various locals of the Joint Board and the International are unlimited and reach a proportion not in keeping with the standards of a proletarian organization, and tend to create a barrier between the officers and the rank and file; and

WHEREAS, A maximum standard wage for paid officers would not only serve the purpose of economy, but would also restore the faith of the membership in these officers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U goes on record in favor of limiting the wages of any paid officer of the International so as not to exceed \$75 per week.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 140

Introduced by I. Steinsor, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; J. Prokop, of Local 45; B. Soll, of Local 5; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; A. Weisman, of Local 104; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; M. Shur, of Local 14; P. Hauser, of Local 100; V. Miletsky, of Local 41; A. Kravitz of Local 3:

WHEREAS, The General Officers of our International are vested with the authority of supervising and controlling all the affairs of our union between conventions; and

WHEREAS, To fulfill these most important duties successfully, the General Executive Board must have the fullest co-operation and confidence of the entire membership; be it

RESOLVED, That the President, General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board be elected by a referendum vote of the entire membership.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 141

Introduced by Delegates Wishnevsky, Fomin, Landy, Zack and Rea, of Local 38:

WHEREAS, our conventions, in order to be effective in carrying out their decisions in life must express the wishes and sentiments of the membership at large; and

WHEREAS, All our conventions heretofore were composed mostly of paid officers who by the nature of things are on the one hand estranged from the membership and on the other are interested in building up machines to retain their control; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth Convention amends the constitution to read: No paid officers of the I. L. G. W. U. have the President and General Secretary shall have

the right to be a delegate at our convention. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 142

Introduced by I. Steinsor, of Local 2; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; Bessie Helfand and J. Krooglick, of Local 62; R. Starkopf, of Local 36; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; J. Prokop, of Local 45; S. Kniznick, of Local 91; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; B. Soll, of Local 5; P. Hauser, of Local 100; V. Miletsky, of Local 41, and A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS Under the present by-laws of our constitution, the members of our union are given no opportunity to remove any officer who fails to represent the sentiments of the membership until his term of office expires; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the constitution of our International be amended to include the principle of recall of officers by a decision of a majority of the membership of the particular local, Joint Board or International.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 143

Introduced by I. Steinsor, of Local 2; S. Domblatt, of Local 3; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; G. Halperin, of Local 66; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; S. Saroff, of Local 20; J. Prokop, of Local 45; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; J. Melsack, of Local 13; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; P. Hauser, of Local 100; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; V. Miletsky, of Local 41:

WHEREAS, The First of May is recognized by the workers of the world as an international labor holiday; and

WHEREAS, The workers of the entire world who are organized into labor unions celebrate the First of May by stopping from work and staging demonstrations; and

WHEREAS, Our union is known as a progressive labor organization; be it therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. makes it obligatory on the part of every member of our union to cease work on the First of May.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 144

Introduced by I. Steinsor, of Local 2; D. Kravitz, of Local 3; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; J. Melsack, of Local 13; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; P. Hauser, of Local 100; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; Barnett Soll, of Local 5, and V. Miletsky, of Local 41:

WHEREAS, A paid officer who serves in an office for many successive terms becomes estranged from the views and psychology of the workers of the shop; and

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated that whenever an officer had served for many consecutive years, he has become an obstacle to the introduction of new ideas and policies in the union; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That each local union or Joint Board shall have the right to adopt by-laws limiting the time of holding a paid office consecutively.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 145

Introduced by Sarah Hurvitz, of Local 46; I. Steinzor, of Local 2; S. Domblatt, of Local 3; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; A. Lupin, A. Goldberg, G. Halpern, Bessie Helfand, J. Krooglick, P. Starkopf, A. Wolkowitz, J. Saraff, J. Prokop, J. Goretaky, M. Shur, J. Melsack, A. Weisman, B. Soll, Philip Hauser, V. Miletsky:

WHEREAS The present system of representation at our Joint Board and conventions is such that the decisive power on all matters of union policy rests with locals representing but small minority of the membership; and

WHEREAS, The small locals of our International are being used not for the purpose of organizing the unorganized workers, but as an instrument for internal politics in our Joint Board and conventions; and

WHEREAS This arbitrary system of representation has given rise to the development of a leadership that is not responsible to the needs of the workers, and has for years been the cause of the most bitter internal conflict in our union, which has greatly weakened and demoralized our ranks; and

WHEREAS, The recent conflict in the Joint Board of New York has been the direct result of this unjust form of representation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the constitution of our International be so amended that all delegates to the Joint Board and conventions shall vote in proportion to the membership they represent

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 146

Introduced by I. Steinzor, A. Lupin, A. Goldberg, J. Krooglick, B. Helfand, S. Kniznick, P. Starkopf, A. Wolkowitz, G. Halpern, D. Wishnevsky, S. Saraff, J. Prokop, J. Goretaky, J. Melsack, M. Shur, P. Hauser, V. Miletsky, A. Kravitz:

WHEREAS, The General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. has levied a tax of \$2.50 per member for the purpose of organization work; and

WHEREAS, The tax has been challenged by Dressmakers' Local 22 on the ground of Section 6, Article III, of our Constitution, which reads:

"The G. E. B. shall have the power to levy an assessment of 25 cents per week per

member on all affiliated unions for a period of not more than 20 weeks in any one year for the purpose of assisting subordinate organizations engaged in a strike or lockout."

WHEREAS, At the time this assessment was levied there was no strike or lockout which required such assistance; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. approves the stand taken by Local 22 and declares the tax of \$2.50 illegal.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 147

Submitted by I. Steinzor, of Local 12; Sam Saraff, of Local 20; Jack Prokop, of Local 46, J. Melsack, of Local 18; M. Shur, of Local 14; P. Starkopf, of Local 126; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; A. Lupin, of Local 22; S. Kniznick, of Local 31; B. Helfand, of Local 62; J. Goretaky, of Local 35; S. Zaslowsky, of Local 55; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; J. Krooglick, of Local 62; G. Halperin, of Local 66; F. Ashkenazy, of Local 59; A. Weisman, of Local 104; V. Maletsky, of Local 41; Bertha Pinkosik, of Local 59; Phillip G. Hauser, of Local 100; Barnett Soll, of Local 5; Bessie Stein, of Local 100; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, The history of the world and of the labor movement has shown that progress is best accomplished by organization; and

WHEREAS Industry has become organized and concentrated to such an extent that the individual worker is powerless against the oppression of the profit-seeking employer; therefore, we the workers engaged in the production of ladies' garments, have

RESOLVED, That the only way to secure our rights as producers and to bring about a system of society wherein the workers shall receive the full value of their product, is to organize industrially into a class-conscious labor union and politically into a Labor Party, whose aim is the abolition of the capitalist system so that we may be able to defend our common interests; and, we have further

RESOLVED, That to accomplish this purpose, the workers in this industry should be organized locally into local unions and that these local unions should be effectively bonded together so as to mutually strengthen each other

With this object in view, and to obtain and preserve for all workers engaged in the ladies' garment industry just and reasonable conditions of work with respect to wages, working hours and other terms of employment; to secure sanitary surroundings in their places of work and humane treatment on the part of the employers; to aid needy workers in the industry, to cultivate friendly relations between them and generally to improve their material and intellectual standards, we have established the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union through which we hope to organize all workers engaged in every branch of the ladies' garment making industry and to amalgamate all the needle workers into one powerful organization and co-operate with

organizations of workers in other industries, either by affiliation with the American Federation.

For the purpose of carrying on our work systematically we have at our convention adopted the following set of laws in the form of a constitution:

Article I, Section 6, to read as follows:

Subdivision A B and C to be eliminated

Article II, Section 2, Subdivision (b) to read:

By a referendum vote of the membership initiated upon the written request of at least five local unions situated in different cities.

Article II, Section 2, Subdivision (b) (Continued):

The local shall, upon notification by the Secretary-Treasurer, proceed to elect delegates to the special convention in a manner similar to that for a regular convention.

Article II, Section 3, to read:

Representation at the convention shall be upon the following basis:

Local unions with a membership not more than 500 shall be entitled to two delegates. Local unions with a membership of more than 500, but not more than 1,000, shall be entitled to three delegates. Local unions with more than 1,000 shall be entitled to three delegates for the first 1,000 and one delegate for each additional 1,000 or major fraction thereof. The voting strength of each local delegation at the convention on any question shall equal the number of members it represents, apportioned equally between the delegates of the respective delegation.

Remainder of Section to follow.

Article II Section 4, to read:

The same number of alternates to be elected at the same time when delegates to the convention are elected.

Article II, Section 5 Subdivision C, to read:

Officers of the local union who assumed such office at least six months prior to the date of nominations are exempt from provisions of Subdivisions B and C of this paragraph.

Article II, Section 5, Subdivision F and to be eliminated.

Article II, Section 11, Item 9:

Word "election" to be replaced by "nomination."

Article II, Section 11, Item 10 to be eliminated.

Article II, All Section:

Any decision of the convention shall be subject to a referendum vote of the membership; if 1-3 of the delegates present at the convention demand same, and shall not be binding or effective unless approved by a majority of the votes cast in such a referendum.

Article II, New Section:

Thirty days before the convention the General Secretary-Treasurer shall forward to each local union a copy of the report of the officers of the General Executive Board covering the period since the preceding convention. This report shall also include a complete financial report for the same period.

Article II, New Section: Delegates to the A. F. of L. Conventions:

The President of the I. L. G. W. U. shall, by virtue of his office, be a delegate to the A. F. of L. Conventions. The other delegates

shall be so chosen that nearly all large centers of our industry shall be represented by a member of their district. The central bodies of these districts, such as J. D.'s, shall, at the conclusion of the A. F. of L. Convention call meetings of the membership in their districts to hear a report from the district delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention.

Article III, Section 2 to read as follows:

The President and General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board shall be nominated at the convention and elected by a referendum of all the members of the I. L. G. W. U. The names of all those nominees who receive a minimum of 1-4 of the votes cast shall appear on the ballot as candidates for President or General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board.

Article III, Section 3, to read as follows:

The nominations shall be by ballot.

Article III, New Section to follow Section 4:

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. The referendum for President and General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board shall take place not later than two months after the adjournment of the convention. The referendum to be carried out by an election committee elected at the convention for that purpose.

Article III, Section 5 to be eliminated.

Article III, Section 7:

Eliminate "and preside over them in person or delegate a representative to preside over such meetings."

Article III, Section 10 to be eliminated.

Article III, Section 11:

Change words "Vice President" to "General Executive Board."

Article III, Section 13:

To end with words, "not to exceed salary of \$75.00 per week."

Article III, Section 14, to read as follows:

Should a vacancy occur in the General Executive Board for various reasons, the General Executive Board shall then fill the vacancy with the candidate who received the next highest number of votes at the referendum. Should a vacancy occur in the offices of the President or General Secretary-Treasurer, the General Executive Board shall, within seven days, call upon the local unions for nominations of candidates for the respective offices. Candidates receiving the nominations of local unions representing 10 per cent of the entire membership shall be placed on the ballot and sent out for a referendum vote not before 20 and not later than 30 days from the date of the call for said nominations. The special election shall be conducted in the same manner as provided for the regular election.

Article IV, Section 1 to read as follows:

Fifteen members of the General Executive Board instead of Vice Presidents.

Article IV, Section 2, to read as follows:

The General Executive Board shall have general supervision over all the affairs of the I. L. G. W. U., and shall have power to authorize strikes and boycotts and issue and revoke charters of locals in accordance with this Constitution. It shall have power to adopt regulations not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the government of the I. L. G. W. U., and alter, amend or repeal same:

establish, print and supply all charters, constitutions, official receipts, books of account for the local unions, withdrawal cards, transfer cards and travel cards for the I. L. G. W. U., levy assessments with the consent of the membership for necessary revenue, as provided in this constitution, and do all things necessary to promote the welfare of the I. L. G. W. U.

The General Executive Board shall have the power to adjust disputes between employers and employees, and together with the Joint Boards of Local Unions involved in the dispute, make contracts with employers. All such contracts shall be subject to a vote of the membership constituting the Joint Boards of Local Unions. (To be continued from "It shall decide all questions.")

Article IV, Section 7, Subdivision 1, 4, 5 to be eliminated.

Article IV, Section 7, Add Subdivisions:

The General Executive Board shall have the right to revoke the charter of any local union for the following reasons:

1. For incorporating under the laws of any state, territory or country without the consent of the General Executive Board.
2. For contracting trade agreements counter to the decisions or without the consent of the Joint Board with which it is affiliated.

Article IV, Section 10, to read as follows:

If a member of the General Executive Board leaves the trade or accepts an office in another labor union not a part of our International, his or her office shall automatically become vacant and the General Executive Board at its next quarterly meeting shall in accordance with the provision of Article III, Section xx, of this Constitution, fill the vacancy.

Article IV, Section 12 to be eliminated.

Article IV, Section 13:

Insert after "compensation" their salaries not to exceed \$75.00 per week. To end with words, "That no member of the General Executive Board shall be eligible to serve as a paid General Organizer."

Article IV, Add Section: The General Executive Board shall, in its publications, publish monthly financial report.

Article V, Section 5, change the word "bona-fide" to "other labor."

Article V, Section 9:

1. I. L. G. W. U. to be eliminated in both instances.

Article V, Section 10:

Cross out "bona-fide" ... to the I. L. G. W. U." and replace by "Labor organizations and other organizations friendly to the labor movement."

Article V, Section 12 and 13 to be eliminated, as they are covered by Article IV, Section 7.

Article V, Section 20: Eliminate "No electioneering shall be allowed in the election."

Article VI, Section 1: After the words "Organize a Joint Board" the rest of section to be eliminated.

Article VI, Section 2, to read as follows:

To end with the words "The Joint Board shall be a representative body consisting of five delegates from each local union affiliated with the Joint Board. The vote cast by each delegate shall be in proportion with the membership he represents."

Article VI, Section 3, Subdivision 11, to read as follows:

To decide by a majority vote the sum of per capita tax to be paid by the locals. Also, decide on a uniform weekly dues and assessment for each local union. Increase of dues and levying of taxes to go to a referendum vote of the membership.

Article VI, Section 5, to read as follows:

The main object of the Joint Board shall be to attend to complaints of members against their employers, to supervise and control union shops, to organize non-union shops and to establish a labor bureau for the affiliated locals. All decisions of the Joint Board pertaining to general agreements with the employers shall be subject to approval by the membership. It shall be the duty of the Joint Board to see that harmony prevails among the local unions affiliated with it.

Article VI, Sections 8 and 9, to be eliminated.

Article VI add Section:

Joint Boards shall call periodical district chairmen and general membership meetings. At all such meetings, the membership shall elect its own chairman.

Article VII, Section 3:

Eliminate "and has sanctioned the calling of same."

Article VIII, Section 10:

Where it reads, such as salesmen, add insurance and real estate agents. Section to follow.

Article IX, Section 6:

Eliminate the words "affiliated with the International Clothing Workers' Federation."

Article X, Section 5:

Eliminate "and for slandering the organization or its officers."

Article X, Sections 8 and 13 to be eliminated.

Article X, Section 11, to be amended as follows:

Shall deposit his or her membership book in his or her local union. If such members fail to deposit their books within 10 days after the mailing of a request to that effect, they shall stand suspended from membership.

Article XI, Section 9, to read as follows:

Cross out and replace by: Charges against an officer of the I. L. G. W. U. shall be in writing, and filed with the General Secretary-Treasurer of the International, the trial to be conducted by the Appeal Committee of the International in the same manner as that of any other member of the I. L. G. W. U.

Article XI, Section 10:

Beginning with "may prefer" shall read: May prefer charges against such member by delivering a copy of same in writing to the secretary of the I. U. of which the accused is a member. The trial shall be conducted in the usual way. Rest of section to be eliminated.

Article XI, Section 17 to read as follows:

Instead of words "any member" to read "and disciplined member." Rest of Section to follow.

Article XI, add Section:

No term of punishment, suspension or deprivation of any member shall exceed the period of three years. Any punished, suspended or expelled member may apply for the commutation of said period to the Executive Board of the I. U., Joint Board of

G. E. B., if it is proven that they worked for the best interest of the union.

Article XI, add Section:

By request of one-fourth of the membership of a local union, Joint Board or the International, the question of qualification, further retention or removing from office any officer of the G. E. B., Joint Board or Local Union, shall be submitted to and decided by a referendum vote of their respective memberships.

If it is decided by a majority vote that such officer or officers be removed, the decision to be put into effect within two weeks from date of the referendum vote.

Article XII, Section 1 to be amended:

Ten cents per capita instead of 15 cents.

Article XII Section 3, to be eliminated.

Article XII, Section 5, to read as follows:

Any assessment levied by the G. E. B. shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership. Head of section to begin with word "for the purpose of assisting subordinate organizations." Head of section to follow.

Article XIII, Section 1, to read:

"Paid for the ultimate uses and benefit of the membership of the I. L. G. W. U. and the L. U.'s trustees for the membership of the I. L. G. W. U."

Article XIII, Section 2, to read:

All such stock, whether issued to the organization or individual directors, shall be endorsed by the holders in blank and delivered to the Secretary-Treasurer of the L. U. to be held in the same manner as other property of the L. U. The Board of Directors, Section to follow.

Article XIV, to read:

Upon the request of one-fourth of the delegates present at the convention, any question shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership. The call for the referendum shall be sent out not later than 30 days from date of adjournment of the convention, and shall close 30 days from date of sending out the call for the referendum.

Referred to Law Committee.

Resolution No. 148

Introduced by Delegate Schub, of Connecticut District Council:

WHEREAS, The Young People's Socialist League has undertaken the task of educating the youth of this country in the principles of Socialism and teaching them the necessity of working-class solidarity; and

WHEREAS, Without solidarity on the part of youth now growing up much of the work that our union has done will have to be done over again in another generation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in convention assembled recommends to its locals and Joint Boards that they co-operate with the Young People's Socialist League in their campaign to enlist membership; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the I. L. G. W. U. appropriate a fixed sum for the Y. P. S. L.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Before proceeding with the business of the convention, President Sigman introduced Brother H. Yellis, manager of the

Dorothy Consumptive Sanatorium, of New York, who addressed the delegates in Yiddish. He stated that his institution was the only one in the Eastern States taking care of tubercular patients, and that because of the pine trees in its vicinity it was of particular benefit to patients. He also mentioned the fact that Dr. Price, the director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control of New York City, had sent several of our members to this institution, and concluded by making an earnest appeal for moral and financial support.

Delegate Wolkowitz: Yesterday I stated that in the case of Ida Rothstein in the 1922 convention, President Sigman opposed her seating on the ground that she disturbed a meeting, and although he did not prove that she was the only one who demanded the election of a chairman at that meeting, she was unseated, although no charges had ever been made against her; whereas in the case of Brother Dolnick, even according to his own defense, he had engaged in a fist fight with other members in his local and he had been placed under charges, and therefore he should be unseated.

Delegate Hyman: When I asked the question yesterday, "How can a Jew represent the Polish workers?" I did not ask it in the sense in which it is represented in the minutes. I meant that if a Polish local can be represented by a Jewish delegate to the convention, how can you explain the remark of Sister Friedman that she would not have anything to do with them because whenever you do anything that they dislike they immediately call you "Zhidi?" And so I said it was improper to put an entire local in the light of being anti-Semitic especially when they send a Jewish delegate to the convention.

Delegate Jacobs: In Dolnick's case when a certain delegate from Chicago spoke, I made a point of order which you overruled. There is no mention of it in the minutes.

Delegate Di Nola: I did not state that Rem in his paper is agitating for the Fascist movement, but that his paper by slandering several labor leaders is plac-

ing a whip into the hands of the Fascist element, which they have used against our organization.

Delegate Mollie Friedman: I stated yesterday that I was present at an executive meeting of Local 60 where the members suggested that Dolnick be their delegate and they asked me what I thought of it. I told them that if they want Dolnick they will have to take it up with him, that I would have nothing to do with that part of the local's work. The secretary asked me to send out letters for the next meeting calling every member of Local 60 to a meeting where the question of elections would be taken up. Such a letter was sent out, and I was not present at the meeting when election took place and I knew nothing about the results of the meeting until the following day when the chairman of the local submitted resolutions to me to be translated from Polish into English. In discussing the question of elections, I also told them that I did not want the opinion to prevail or someone to say that the Jewish representatives were trying to rule their organization, that they would have to elect their own delegate, and whoever they would elect would be all right.

President Sigman: We don't want to kill any time. In accordance with the by-laws of our International the G. E. R. prepares a report. It has been the custom to read these reports before our convention, and I know the effect it has upon the delegates. Every convention these reports are getting larger and larger, as we grow in years. This time we have a report of nearly 200 pages. At the last convention we did away with the reading of the reports which I think was a wise move. I am certain that most of the delegates have made a study of this year's report, and I therefore suggest that we proceed in the same way at this convention. I will not read the report, but I will comment on what it contains.

The report starts with the New York cloak industry. In this chapter you find an account of negotiations held between the New York unions, the International and the various employers' associations.

It also tells the story of the industrial program adopted by the General Executive Board prior to such negotiations with the cloak and suit employers in the City of New York and how it came about that Governor Smith of New York appointed a commission to mediate the existing controversy between the Union and the employers' associations. This certainly will have to receive the most serious consideration of the delegates to this convention and they will have to pass judgment upon it.

Further on in this report we tell the story of what we call the internal trouble in the Union in the City of New York. It is very important that every delegate should read this story carefully, because at this convention I hope this entire situation will be clarified; and if this convention finds it necessary and advisable the principal point of view dealing with this turmoil in our organization may have to be submitted to the judgment of the entire membership of our International.

The next very important portion of this report deals with the present industrial situation, with the conditions in the cloak and dress industry in the City of New York. We have done all we possibly could to present the situation in a very clear manner. In the discussion of the existing industrial evils with which our organization is confronted in New York and elsewhere, I suppose we will be in a position to touch upon and bring to the attention of the delegates such items as could not properly be placed in the report at the time it was prepared.

The next important part, which is also a part of the industrial situation, deals with organization work. This is a very big item, in my judgment. If the delegates are the selected representatives of our membership for the purpose of studying actual existing conditions in our industry and then find the remedies or solutions to meet these complicated and intricate industrial problems, it is my hope that this convention may be able to accomplish worthwhile measures for the future of our organization. On the other hand, if we came here just to ex-

change crossfire with each other, I don't think our efforts would amount to anything. Our industry, after this tremendous revolution that has taken place in it during the last two years, certainly presents to us entirely new problems, and we will have to seek entirely new remedies, methods and tactics to meet it.

The fourth important phase in this report, which goes back to the internal controversy that exists in New York, deals with the morale, the ethics and with the spirit of our organization. I suppose I will have my opportunity, with your permission at this convention, to elaborate on these matters when they come up in due time on the floor. There is one thought, however, that I want to express at this time. You cannot overcome evils that destroy the morale, the respect, the influence of the membership of the organization by the methods that have been applied up to this present day. If wrongs are committed in a labor union, slander, accusation, lynching or electrocution will not solve the problem. Such methods only destroy; they never build up. You have got to go down to the cause, the root of the trouble. It will always be so in a large organization. Our organization is a part of the entire human community in which we live, and it is not infallible. It represents all sorts of human beings, some idealists, others plain folks, some progressive, others reactionary, and still others dishonest and treacherous. No one can appreciate the existence of such a condition better than the trade union movement, as it is the only movement that lives every day, fights every day, accomplishes every day something for those that make it up. A discussion of the morale of our organization will bring up the thoughts that I suggest in these few remarks. This part dealing with the morale, ethics and principles of our organization may seem to be an innovation and reform, but to me they are not, because I have advocated them and spoken about them many, many years ago. I am surprised that no resolutions were introduced to that effect.

Now, on this matter of personal reconstruction, we are making some sug-

gestions in this report, not very many, but the few that we do make I think are worth some consideration, even the one that was ridiculed by a certain individual. And if that individual had gone through the school of unionism or had some measure of sincerity in his heart and soul, if there were an element of decency in him or in his so-called paper, he would not have ridiculed that proposition the way he did, and certainly wouldn't have omitted some of the other proposals that were there. I know what that means because I met this reactionary back in 1917 and 1918, when I was called back by this great cloakmakers' union from a farm in Connecticut—and quite a large farm at that, worth perhaps \$75,000—to become the general manager of the New York Joint Board after the elimination of its previous manager whom the cloakmakers very much disliked and therefore got rid of.

During those days I have been confronted with situations in elections in our union where a certain minority would constantly be making statements which tended to reflect on our organization. I adopted then, among others, a measure that business agents should not be elected, but appointed. I introduced at that time a system in my local union, Local 35, that was intended to meet this problem of elections and to encourage newcomers to take a greater interest in the affairs of the union. Local 35 was the only local that set a limited tenure of service for executive board members. In my local every year one-half of the executive board retired to make room for newcomers in order to interest a larger portion of the members and give them an opportunity to get a schooling. I wasn't with Local 35 long after that, as it was about then that I was placed in the Tombs for six months, which you know about. While we do not discuss this in the report, the intention is that we look into all these affairs in our local unions because in the long run they accumulate and become a destructive factor.

So, please, delegates to this convention, read this report and read it from the first page down to the last, even though you have to sacrifice a little

caucus or some enjoyment. I hope you will do it.

President Sigman: I am informed that the Credentials Committee is ready to proceed with its report.

Brother Snyder, chairman of the Credentials Committee, continued the reading of the Credentials Committee report as follows:

"Your committee received an objection from Brothers F. Goldman, Ledger No. 597; J. Melnick, Ledger No. 508, and A. Abramson, Ledger No. 1728, all of Local 13, against Brother Max Amdur, Vice-President of the International Union, and delegate to this convention from the Montreal Joint Board, on the ground that the election of Brother Amdur by the Joint Board was not approved by all the locals and therefore they feel that he is not entitled to sit as a delegate from the Joint Board of Montreal. Your committee is of the opinion that the Joint Board has a right, by a majority vote, to elect its delegate to the convention. We therefore recommend that Delegate Amdur remain seated at this convention."

A motion duly made and seconded to accept this recommendation of the Credentials Committee was unanimously carried.

Your committee received the following communication from Local 35, New York City:

"Eighteenth Biennial Convention, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Philadelphia, Pa.:

"Dear Sirs and Brothers:

"This credential is issued to Brother Max Goldstein, Ledger No. 297, of Local 35, first substitute delegate who will represent Local 35 at the Eighteenth Biennial Convention in the place of Hyman Davidson, who cannot attend on account of illness.

Fraternally yours,

J. Goretsky, Manager.

J. Gorchikoff, Chairman."

We therefore declare Brother Goldstein a delegate from Local 35, New

York, in place of Brother Hyman Davidson.

On motion duly made, seconded and carried this recommendation of the Credentials Committee was accepted.

President Sigman at this point asked First Vice President Ninfo to assume the chair, which he did.

Your committee has received an objection from Brother Samuel Rothman, Ledger No. 8014, of Local 2, against Elias Marks, Ledger No. 8435 of the same local. Brother Rothman bases his objection against Brother Marks on the following grounds:

Some time in 1920 or 1921, Brother Elias Marks filed an application as business agent for the Joint Board and an objection was raised against Brother Elias Marks on the ground that in 1919, when Elias Marks was arrested in the raids on radical organizations, Brother Marks, when facing the authorities, proved to be a man of irresponsibility and lack of moral character. The objection was sustained and Marks was rejected as business agent.

Following this, on March 18, 1922, Brother Marks was elected as an executive board member in his local and was sent as a delegate to the Joint Board. And the same objections arose against him as a delegate to the Joint Board. A committee of five was then appointed by the Joint Board with an understanding that if this committee is unanimous in its decision, Brother Elias Marks would be unseated as a delegate to the Joint Board. The reason for this understanding was that the charge was of such nature that it could not be openly discussed on the floor of the Joint Board.

The members who served on this committee were Brother Louis Hyman, the present general manager of the Joint Board; Brother Bernard Shane, the then manager of Local 1; Brother Philip Kaplowitz, the then Treasurer of the Joint Board; Brother Louis Pinkofsky, the present manager of Local 23, and Brother J. Breslaw, the ex-manager of Local 35.

This committee rendered its report on April 8, 1922. The report, according

to the minutes of the Joint Board reads as follows:

"Joint Board, April 8, 1922.

"The special committee, consisting of the Brothers L. Plnkofsky, Chairman of the Joint Board; Philip Kaplowitz, Treasurer of the Joint Board; Bernard Shane, Manager of Local No. 1; Louis Hyman, Manager of Local No. 9, and J. Breslaw, Manager of Local No. 35, report that they have investigated the objection against Marks, and after reading the proceedings of the Supreme Court, Extraordinary Trial Term, Part 1, Criminal Term, of the case in which Marks was implicated, they came to the unanimous decision that he (Marks) should not be seated as delegate of the Joint Board."

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously concurred in.

Brother Marks then appealed his case to the International and his appeal was rejected. Then again, in March, 1925, Brother Marks was elected as an executive board manager and acting secretary of Local 2. Brother Samuel Rothman, the objector in question, appealed to the Appeal Committee of the Joint Board against the action of the local in electing Brother Marks as secretary, and on April 2, 1925, the Appeal Committee of the Joint Board took up the case. Brother Rothman, in his appeal to the Joint Board Appeal Committee, called its attention to the fact that there was a decision of April 8, 1922, of a special committee elected by the Joint Board to investigate the case of Brother Marks, who was then objected as delegate to the Joint Board, and the objection was sustained by this committee.

Brother Rothman stated that Brother Marks, when arrested on a certain charge, pledged his loyalty to the District Attorney and to the court, promising to try to persuade every radically inclined person to be loyal to the State.

Brother Rothman further suspects Brother Marks' character and fears that Marks will turn over the records of the office which are at present in his

possession to the Secret Service Department.

Brother Rothman is therefore of the opinion and sincerely believes that Brother Marks is not eligible as an officer of the union and believes that the local was not justified in electing him as their secretary, which is a responsible office.

The Appeal Committee of the Joint Board, after considering the evidence presented, decides that Brother Marks is ineligible to hold any office in the Union and that the local was not justified in appointing him to that office.

Brother Marks before the Credentials Committee stated that when he was arrested during the raids on radical organizations in 1919, all his statements that he is charged with making in court were made on the advice of his counsel, who was hired by the party of which he was a member, and also that the party permitted its members to use any methods they could in order to get out of the clutches of the capitalistic courts. He therefore believes that he has not violated any principle of responsibility.

Brother Hyman, the present general manager of the Joint Board, appeared as a witness on behalf of Brother Elias Marks, stating that while it is true that he was on a committee which deprived Brother Elias Marks of the privilege of being seated as a delegate to the Joint Board in the year of 1922, he believes, nevertheless, that Brother Elias Marks should not at present be objected as a delegate to this convention, as, in his opinion, Brother Marks is at present acting as a good union man.

Brother Boruchowitz, the present manager of Local 2, also appeared in behalf of Brother Marks, stating that he, being a member of the same party as Marks, knows that whatever Marks said in court when he was arrested, was upon the advice of the party of which he was a member. He therefore feels that Marks had a right in accordance with the instructions of the party, and in doing so, did not violate any principle.

Brother Rothman before the commit-

tee further brought out that the reason he suspects Marks of being untrustworthy is that Brother Marks has not been employed in the ladies' garment industry for the past two years, and was employed in the organization only two months during that time, and whenever there was an opportunity to run for any office in the organization, Brother Marks made it his business to run for that office. He further believes that any man who does not make a living in the ladies' garment trade should not at every opportunity seek to hold office in our organization.

Your Committee, after going into the case thoroughly, securing the court proceedings of the Supreme Court Extraordinary Trial Term, Part 1, Criminal Term, finds that the District Attorney recommended that clemency be extended to Brother Marks on the ground that Brother Marks has repudiated the doctrine and manifesto of the political party that he is a member of.

Your committee further finds that Brother Marks did not act as a man of principle when put to the test. Your committee believes that a man who considers himself an idealist in a political party or in any other field, especially in the labor movement, when placed to a test should not in any way try to evade the consequences of his honest convictions.

Nevertheless, your committee takes into consideration the fact that Brother Elias Marks had been elected recently as a paid officer of the Joint Board, which we consider a responsible position, and since we believe that the Examination and Objection Committee of the Joint Board which put Brother Marks on the ballot has taken into consideration the recent occurrences within our organization in the City of New York, and having in mind the unity of our organization, we therefore recommend that Brother Marks be seated as a delegate to this convention.

Chairman Ninfo: Brother Friend has the floor.

Delegate Friend: You have heard the

report of the Credentials Committee in the Marks case. The Credentials Committee in this case made quite a substantial report. I say, delegates to this convention, after listening to the evidence in this case, after listening to the charges and after hearing the proceedings before the Credentials Committee, Marks is not a suitable delegate to be seated in this convention.

I don't know Marks; I have never seen him until about six or seven days ago; I am not acquainted with his record; I am simply taking it from the records as it has been presented to the Credentials Committee. But, nevertheless, this record contains a reflection upon Marks' character. Marks is not only a delegate coming to this convention; Marks is also an officer of the union, and an officer of the union carries a lot of responsibility. Marks was put to the test and found wanting; he has not proven himself a conscientious worker. He was tried by a committee of the Joint Board of Local 2 and found guilty upon the charges preferred. Then Marks appealed the case to the Appeal Committee of the General Executive Board and they sustained the action of the Joint Board Committee which consisted of Hyman and the manager of Local 2 and others. Then Marks was also tried by the Executive Board of Local 2 and he was found guilty. Marks was recently tried again by a Joint Board Committee and he was also found guilty.

I therefore say to you delegates that the mere recommendation of the Credentials Committee to seat Marks at this convention does not mean anything to me. My conscience as a trade unionist would never be clear if I voted to have him seated. You may seat him, but I want my opinion and my conviction to be on the record of this convention that I disagree with the recommendation of the Credentials Committee. I am convinced that he is not innocent, and I therefore ask you delegates to vote against the recommendation of the Credentials Committee.

Delegate Antonini: I don't know whether to be with the minority or majority report, because it seems to me that instead of Marks being put on trial,

his party should be put on trial for keeping such a man in their fold. I am proud of the fact that I resigned from such a party some years ago, when it dared to censure me because I sent a few words of appreciation to the New York Call. It is within the morality of this party to keep such a man as Marks. I feel a pity for all the martyrs and exiles in Siberia, who suffered for their convictions under the Czar, but they never retracted their principles even at the penalty of their lives. In the report of the committee it was brought out that Hyman signed some time ago a unanimous decision to keep Marks out of office. I don't know if he will dare to defend him today, but since this is the morality of the convention of 1925, we may expect that he will raise his voice in behalf of Marks, since Marks is looked up to as a great leader and all efforts are being made to make him an outstanding figure, and probably some day he will not only be manager of the Joint Board, but even president of the International (laughter).

We had some other similar cases in our Italian community. We had a man, Caminita, who revealed to the Department of Justice all the activities of the radical movement, and he caused the death of Salsedo and the imprisonment of Sacco and Vanzetti, but this gentleman is through with radical activity. He cannot show his face any more amongst our people, but Marks is being made a hero. Yesterday, the committee unanimously recommended the unseating of Brother Rea, and yet today this same committee has a majority and a minority report on Marks, and Farblash and Shalley recommend that he be seated. Brother Rea is an angel compared to Marks. If this had happened at some other time my hair would have turned white, but everything is possible today, and that is why I am keeping the same humor as before.

In conclusion I will simply suggest that the responsibility of seating this man be placed upon the shoulders of his crowd and that we refrain from voting, and in this way we will be very good sports (applause).

Delegate Rubln spoke in Yiddish. He said in substance that the speech of Antonini was ridiculous. He further stated that although the majority report of the Credentials Committee recommended the seating of Marks, it was so worded as to mean actually that he be unseated. He also stated that Brother Rothman was an anarchist and that he was actuated in bringing these charges by purely personal motives and prejudice; that, as a matter of fact, nine years ago Rothman was following Marks about everywhere like a dog. He concluded by saying that when Marks appeared in court he faced the penalty of 10 years in jail, and to conform to the ideas of the party he lied to the judge, which he considered to be an honorable act.

Delegate Zimmerman: I want to say to Brother Antonini: Why don't you be a man and fight like a man and don't go about it in a wishy-washy manner? On every question you are for and against. You speak about the morality of the Communist party—you are the one to say that the Communist party should be judged when you were expelled from the party—not resigned.

Delegate Antonini: I challenge that statement. I resigned from the party. I sent back my card. The party only censured me. You are lying.

Delegate Zimmerman: I was a member of the committee of Local New York of the Workers' Party that acted on this.

The question of Marks is the question of the morality of the Communists. You object to Marks because he is not a good Communist. If he were a good Communist, you would expel him because he was a good Communist (applause).

Brother Antonini cited the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, stating that they were martyrs to their principles. Brother Antonini at one of the A. F. of L. conventions brought in a resolution in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti, but he did not have the guts to get up and defend that resolution.

Delegate Antonini: I want to say that

the American Federation of Labor convention acted in favor of that resolution.

Vice President Ninfo: No resolution pertaining to Sacco and Vanzetti was ever rejected.

Delegate Zimmerman: We can look up the minutes.

You know very well that it has always been the tactics of all revolutionists in all countries, that when the rank and file come before a judge, they should try to save themselves—especially in the days of 1919, when hundreds of Communists were arrested and there was no use in their going to jail. You will not find a Communist leader who denied his principles. You will find Gitlow and Ruthenberg and all the other leaders bravely defending their principles and going to jail for their principles. How many times were you faced with that test? The rank and file had a right and it was proper revolutionary morality to deny their principles before a capitalistic court, so that they could participate in the class struggle. Marks acted within the limits of revolutionary morality and of revolutionary principles and tactics. He was judged by the party and we found him not guilty. You cannot show an instance where Marks betrayed the principles of the rank and file or anywhere where he came in contact with the workers. All those people who keep on persecuting Marks are the ones who have always betrayed the principles for which they stood before the rank and file, and they were cast out of the party (applause).

The members are the ones to judge Marks and they elected him into office and they always will elect him into office. You are the ones who betrayed the members, not Marks.

You say that Marks always runs for office. Of course, he does, as he is a radical and he wants to fight for the cloak-makers. He wants to be active, and whenever he runs, he is elected, because he stands by his principles. He is not like you. He has never betrayed his principles.

Don't do us any favors, Brother Anto-

nini. We want unity, but we don't want any favors. By seating a delegate who punched somebody in the face at a meeting, that is the kind of unity you want; by seating delegates like Lefkowitz? Yes, we want unity of principles, unity in fighting for the workers, not to betray the rank and file, not to outmaneuver them by petty tricks, not to give them mere lip-service. We want unity of purpose and unity of organization to fight for the rank and file. You are not the ones who are fighting for them. You are constantly betraying them. I am proud to get up here and defend the attitude and the tactics of the Communist Party and also the attitude and tactics of Marks who lived up to the instructions of the Communist Party.

Delegate Feinberg: I agree with the statement made by the representative of the Communist Party that we are not here to judge the Communist Party. Whatever they do is their own affair. It is their underlying principle to lie, and the rank and file have not only the right, but they are obliged, to comply with the principles of the party, which means, if they want properly to interpret them, that they must constantly lie.

The question before us is Marks, and it seems to me that those who say that Rothman has a mania to run after Marks and to see to it that he does not get hold of any responsible position in the union, are very much mistaken. I consider it an honorable deed, that a member of the Union calls the attention of his Union to the fact that a man of questionable character should not be seated in higher councils (applause).

I want to call the attention of the delegates of this convention to an incident that happened in the American Labor movement, and that is the MacNamara trial, where, upon advice of counsel, and after pleading guilty, the MacNamaras were condemned by the entire labor movement of America. Those that tell you that it has always been the case in the revolutionary movement to lie about principles and affiliation, haven't the slightest knowledge of history in so far as the revolutionary movement is concerned. They cannot name one single

individual that has stood for a principle, whether it be in Russia or anywhere else, who was so low as to come before a court and say, "Your Honor, I plead guilty to becoming a member of this Party, but I only joined it at a dance hall and a pool-place," thereby repudiating his beliefs in the party's principles, whatever they were.

It is in my estimation, every member's duty that he call the attention of the union to the character of such a man. Zimmerman says he has got the approval of the members. Those who are familiar with the Labor and Socialist Movement know that on more than one occasion the reactionaries have got the popular vote, and it was only afterwards that it was discovered and they were cast out. And I say it is the duty of this organization to see to it that our members are of such a character that it will be impossible for an act of this kind to be committed. I want to be frank with you. I also believe that this question of unity has been rather overdone. I want to say with all the emphasis at my command that the administration would like to support the committee, if I were the only one on the committee to register a vote against the seating of this member, I would do it. Because I believe that such members come here to become delegates only to be able to protect the interests of the employers. (Applause).

Delegate Boruchowitz spoke in Yiddish against the report of the Credentials Committee. He laid particular stress on the point that the report is an attack upon the Communist party and that it intends to besmirch and insinuate against the leaders of that party and its policy. He warmly defended Brother Marks and upheld his record, claiming that he always has been a good class-conscious worker. He sharply replied to all the critics of Marks and asserted that they had no moral ground to make the charges they had made against Marks and that he should therefore be seated without the comment made about him by the Credentials Committee.

The previous question was called for and carried.

Chairman Ninfo: Brother Marks may now have the floor.

Brother Nagler: Mr. Chairman, before Brother Marks speaks, may I say a few words?

Chairman Ninfo: Yes.

Brother Nagler: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I merely want to correct Brother Rubin who spoke about the Marks case. Brother Rubin stated that Marks worked for a certain firm in the city of New York by the name of Charles Maisel, and that he was very active. I want to ask Brother Rubin whether Marks, in all the years he has worked for Charles Maisel was ever a chairman of that shop? Whenever a question came up, I always attended the meetings of that shop and acted as chairman, and if Marks were such a wonderful man, if he were a good union man, he should have accepted the chairmanship of that shop and done all he could in order to make the shop a better shop than it was.

Brother Zimmerman asks us to believe that our charge against Marks is that he is a bad Communist. As far as I am concerned and as far as the Credentials Committee is concerned I don't care what kind of a party the Communist party is, or whether Marks is a good or bad Communist. Marks was charged with irresponsibility and untruthfulness in the labor movement. And he was put to a test. Therefore the charge is very specific and his activities in the Communist party are not one of the charges against him.

Brother Zimmerman also stated that Brother Rothman has betrayed the union. Brother Rothman in his activities in the union has never run for a paid office in the union as did Marks and the rest of the so-called Communists.

Now, Brother Boruchowitz, when you said that it was not the intention of the Credentials Committee to put on trial Brother Marks but to besmirch the Communist party, I challenge you to show me anywhere in the report of the Credentials Committee that the name of the Communist Party mentioned. We didn't

see fit to put it into our report and I want to tell it to you now.

Let me tell you the reason why I voted to seat Marks. I have taken everything into consideration, and if any challenging is done of the court minutes, I have the court minutes here. I want to tell you that what I had in mind was that recently Brother Marks was placed on the ballot by an objection committee in the City of New York as a candidate for business agent in the New York Joint Board, and Brother Marks was elected and he is at present in that office, and I am sure that the objection and election committee must have taken into consideration all that when the objection arose, due to recent occurrences in our union. I didn't want Marks to become a martyr by being unseated and therefore I thought it advisable to recommend that Marks be seated at this convention.

Chairman Ninfo: Now Brother Marks, you may have the floor.

Brother Marks: I did not get up here to defend Marks, for Marks does not need to be defended. Marks never committed a crime for which he needs any defense. I got up here to defend the delegate of Local No. 2 of our International, the local that at all times was at the forefront of the labor movement, and as a duly elected delegate from that local I rise to defend that delegate.

What is the matter with that delegate about whom so much was spoken this morning? This delegate in 1921 made an application to run as business agent in the Joint Board of the Cloak Makers' Union and he did not go on the ballot, not because these court proceedings were read by the objection committee, but because of press clippings that I myself produced before that committee. It might be interesting for you delegates to this convention to know that there were two decisions of that committee. I will read them to you:

(Addressed to me) "I am instructed by the examination and objections committed to advise you that your name was not placed on the ballot for the reason that your qualifications did not warrant

your being entrusted with such an important office at the present time.

(Signed) Louis Langer."

Another letter was received by me and addressed to me, as follows:

"August 4, 1921.

"Please be informed that your application for business agent of the Joint Board was not considered, and for that reason your name was not placed on the ballot. (Signed) Louis Langer."

Now, delegates, I want to understand the difference between these two decisions. Just judge them for yourselves. In 1922, the year following, I was elected to the executive board of Local No. 1 and was sent as a delegate to the Joint Board to represent that Local No. 1 and I was not seated as a delegate. This question came up before a special general member meeting of my local, and by a great majority this decision of the Joint Board was thrown out. The members were in favor of my being the delegate to the Joint Board, and I remained in the executive board for the entire year of 1922.

I appealed that decision of the Joint Board to the Appeal Committee of our International, although knowing beforehand that I could not get justice there. It might also be interesting to the delegates for me to read two letters that were received by me, written by the present chairman of this convention. One was dated September 29, 1922, which was after the appeal that I made in April 24th. A few months later I received the following letter:

"Since there was an objection raised by the majority of the members of the Appeal Committee, the committee after consideration, came to the conclusion to refer this case directly to the General Executive Board. (Signed) Salvatore Ninfo."

When I came to that committee I saw the same faces and the same people sitting to judge me then that had already tried me once before, and I objected to the majority of the committee. That objection was sustained. They agreed

that this committee was not to try me. What happened after that? They agreed to refer this to the General Executive Board.

On May 4, 1923, exactly thirteen months after I sent in my appeal, I got the following letter:

"This is to inform you that the Appeal Committee, after carefully considering your case, came to the conclusion that no evidence was presented to alleviate your charge. Therefore, the decision of the Joint Board was sustained."

After the Appeal Committee had decided that this case should go to the entire General Executive Board, they took it upon themselves to judge, and this was the decision of the Appeal Committee.

In March 1925, I was elected as the acting secretary of my local. An objection was raised and an appeal was made to the Appeal Committee. The manager of my local and the executive board of my local found out accidentally that the Appeal Committee was going to take it up, and they requested the Appeal Committee that a representative of the local should be present at the Appeal Committee and that I should be present at the Appeal Committee, but the Appeal Committee refused to comply with that request. And they tried me when I wasn't present and after the request of the Executive Board that a representative of the local and I be present.

Then a few months later I was elected as a business agent of the Joint Board and the same objections came up there. And that was the first time after the years of prosecution that they put me on the ballot and I was elected to that office. And now the case comes up here before this convention.

Many statements were made that I did not work at the trade for two years. That's true; but it is also true that we have some officers of our International, of our Joint Board, and of many other locals that didn't work at the trade for the last fifteen years. (Applause). The president of our International was taken back from the farm to become the

president, the highest officer of our International. I want to tell you the reason why I am out of the trade for two years, why I did not work,—and the gentleman that represents St. Louis had the nerve and audacity to speak against my being seated as a delegate. I was working in the shop of Charles Maisel for twelve long years, and it was that manager with his officials of the Joint Board that made me lose my job. And I have tried to get a job many a time, but couldn't. There are hundreds of cloakmakers who didn't do a stitch of work this season. The records of the Unemployment Insurance Fund show that eight hundred members of my local did not do a stitch of work this season. I looked for work and couldn't get it. What did I do in those two years? Did I go out to sell insurance to the bosses?

During those two years that I have not been working at cloaks I have been doing a noble work. I was working for the only Jewish labor paper in America, the "Freiheit." (Loud applause). And during these two years I was also in office for about five months, which includes the few weeks that I was a paid official of the Joint Action Committee.

Now, I am being tried before this convention for not being a good Communist. And by whom? A man got up here and spoke against my being seated as a delegate who was the district attorney against Locals 2, 9 and 22, because those three locals arranged May First celebrations. I want to state here that I was the one who arranged the historic May First celebration in the Metropolitan House. (Applause). It was the first time in the history of the labor movement of New York City that a labor meeting got together to celebrate May First in that palatial Metropolitan Opera House.

Delegate Antonini, (interrupting): Who paid the rent?

Brother Marks: We paid the rent and we were proud to spend it. And that man wanted to throw out these executive board members of this union because they arranged a May First celebration, where, he claims, violence was preached.

Chairman Ninfo (interrupting): Brother Marks, I am sorry to interrupt you, but there is an officers' report that deals with that matter. And when that report comes up, you will have the opportunity to speak on that subject. The question now before the house is whether you are qualified as a delegate or not.

Brother Marks: And I am giving reasons why I should be seated. These people here are judging my radicalism.

While I was on the executive board in 1922, there were two party members who objected to my being a member of that executive board, and I went to my party and complained against these individuals. A committee was elected, which rendered the following report:

"May 16, 1922.

"The Industrial Department of Local Greater New York, Workers' Party of America, appointed a Committee of ten most active party trade union workers to go over the accusations against Comrade Marks.

"The Committee after thorough investigation of the matter, and having the stenographic copy of the court proceedings, adopted the following decision:

"Due to the wholesale raids of 1919 during which nearly 10,000 members of the C. P. were arrested, said Party adopted the policy that the rank and file members should deny the accusations of the state against them, due to the disorganization then prevalent.

"It appears, therefore, that Comrade Marks, having acted as a member of said organization, is not guilty and is therefore absolved of any fault. He must be supported by all Workers' Party members in his union, without any further reservations."

It is signed by 10 individuals, 5 of whom are delegates to this convention.

I am not pleading with you to seat me as a delegate. I am satisfied that those delegates who are good trade unionists and revolutionary workers will vote for me.

A statement was made that I run too

often for office. I have been in the labor movement since a boy. I have been in the political field for eight years without any remuneration.

(At this point the convention rose to cheer the arrival of Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the A. F. of L.)

To show you the character of this delegate of Local 2, during a political election I stopped work for 2 weeks for the political party of which I was a member and, when pay was offered to me, I thought it was an insult and refused to accept it. I have worked for the labor movement for over fifteen years and it is only recently that I am a paid official.

The question was asked so emphatically by the secretary of the Credentials Committee, "Was Marks ever a shop chairman?" Yes, Brother Secretary, I was a chairman in the shop of Charles Meisel, and I will prove it by my shop chairman's card.

I was asked, why it is that I had a different attorney. At the time I was on trial, there were thirteen defendants and five lawyers defending them. A statement was made to the Objection Committee that a member of our union sat one year in jail on account of me. Why? Because the judge freed me and when he came to the defendant after me, he had to go to jail.

This statement is not correct, and I will prove it not by a Communist paper but by the New York Call. After the judge had discharged me, he discharged—I am reading from the New York Call,—"Ball was discharged in the case of Abe Schaffer, Hyman Toffer, or Peffer, Nathan Schechter, Joseph Szewczuk, Abraham Weinberg, Nicholas B. Turkevich, Louis Shapiro and Mike Stechina,"—right after I was freed. The last twelve cases that were up in court, all of them were freed.

Delegate Nagler: Mr. Chairman, I would request since Brother Marks has mentioned certain names which the Credentials Committee has not in its report, that he read the full article in the Call.

Delegate Marks thereupon read the article in full as follows:

COURT RELEASES 9 COMMUNISTS

Judge Weeks Dismisses Cases on Grounds of Insufficient Evidence

Nine of 12 Communists who appeared yesterday before Judge Bartow S. Weeks in the criminal section of the Supreme Court were set free on motion of Assistant District Attorney Alexander I. Rorke.

The 12 Communists had been held in bail, under the Criminal Anarchy Statute, since the raids of November 7 and 8, 1919. They were indicted for holding Communist principles.

Two men were held for a closer investigation by Rorke at Judge Week's instruction. A third, Elias Marks, repudiated his opinions and received clemency.

Bail was discharged in the case of eight men. A discharge of bail is practically a withdrawal of the indictment, one of the lawyers acting for the Communists said. The indictment against the ninth man, Jay Lovestone, was dismissed for service rendered in testifying in the Harry Winitzky case.

Jonah J. Goldstein, counsel for Marks, the man who repudiated all Communist beliefs, represented to the court that he "had been educating" his client, and that Marks had "never before realized that he was advocating the use of force and violence in overthrowing the government" by belonging to the Communist party of America.

As Marks was now willing to repudiate Communism, Goldstein petitioned for a dismissal of the indictment.

Rorke supplemented Goldstein's plea, as follows:

"I think the State would be better off with this man out of prison repudiating these doctrines than in prison, presumably holding such opinions."

Judge Weeks dampened this enthusiastic indorsement of Marks by asking if Rorke had personally questioned him on his opinions. Rorke had not, but immediately repaired the omission.

"You don't believe in the use of force and violence in overthrowing this government, do you?" Rorke asked Marks in a tone that was barely audible a few feet away. Marks readily stated that he did not. Rorke thereupon reported a full investigation, which entirely satisfied him of Marks' convictions.

Judge Weeks expressed skepticism and undertook to satisfy himself of Marks' sincerity by subjecting him to a three-hour grilling. Marks told the court that he joined the Socialist party because it offered a meeting place. Later, he joined the Left Wing because his club in the Second Assembly district had gone to the Left Wing. He did not realize the significance of either Socialism or Communism, he protested until Goldstein took in hand a few weeks ago and explained to him that "opinions and thoughts should come only through the channels of organized government."

"I hardly know what to do in your case, Marks," said Judge Weeks. "You have too much intelligence to be quite so ignorant. It is hard to believe that you did not know what was going on at the time you joined the Left Wing of the Socialist party."

It is a matter of record that Marks has been one of the leaders among the younger men in his district. In the courtroom he professed to be indifferent to the Socialist party, which he joined in 1917, and to have considered it as only a sort of club.

Marks is now 26, and has been in the coun-

try since he was 15, coming here from Poland. Judge Weeks elaborated on his privileges as a naturalized citizen of a country where there are no pogroms and abundant opportunities of education.

"When you signed that card," said Judge Weeks, in reference to the membership card indorsing the Socialist party which Marks said he signed without knowing what it meant, "did you realize that you signed away your right to vote, because you agreed to support something that is opposed to the Constitution of the United States?"

Judge Weeks characterized the Socialist party as attempting to divide up the wealth of the country among the poor people, and enlarged on Marks' ingratitude in joining "some Socialist party" after he had received so many benefits at the hands of this government.

"How did you come to pick out the New York Call for your reading matter?" Judge Weeks continued. "Aren't there any other newspapers in this city?"

Marks said he read it because it was a Socialist paper, and promised in future to read a more orthodox organ of news.

Judge Weeks decided that Goldstein's teachings of the last few weeks have succeeded in convincing Marks that the government of this country is for the benefit of every law-abiding citizen.

"The sentence against you is suspended," he said, "so long as you keep out of bad company. If it comes to me that you are not behaving yourself, you will be brought before me and punished to the full extent of the law. I hope I shall never see you again in this capacity, but I shall be very glad to see you at any time as a law-abiding citizen striving to do your duty by convincing others of the error of their ways."

Rorke unofficially interpreted the term "bad company," used by the court, to refer to Communists and Left Wingers. He said that he did not think that affiliation with the Socialist party would be held against Marks.

Rorke entered a motion to discharge bail in the case of the remaining defendants on the ground that there was insufficient evidence for a conviction.

Jay Lovestone was released from the indictment against him on the ground that his testimony in the Harry Winitzky trial was a valuable service to the people. Lovestone was represented by Louis Spiegel as counsel.

Bail was discharged in the case of Abe Schaffer, Hyman Toffer, or Pfeffer, Nathan Schecher, Joseph Stewczuk, Abraham Weinberg, Nicholas B. Turkovics, Louis Shapiro and Mike Etchins.

Harry Israel and Isidore Cohen were held in bail, pending a closer investigation of their opinions and activities during the war. They have not yet taken out their second naturalization papers. Judge Weeks ordered that the Naturalization Board be notified and a copy of the indictment attached to their first papers. Israel testified that he spent over a year, from July, 1918, to November, 1919, in a munitions factory, although he was a tuberculosis patient at the time.

Walter Nellen Osmond K. Keanikel and Charles Recht acted as counsel for various of the defendants.

This was written by a reporter who was a Socialist, of which party I was no longer a member, which party I fought

and am fighting now, although it is not in existence any more in my opinion. This very paper, after I said in court that I did not know what socialism was, said that I was a leader in the Socialist Party, knowing that I was out. I want to say in conclusion that I am not apologizing for anything I have said or done. I am not asking for mercy. I am not asking you to seat me for unity's sake. This will not bring about unity, even if you were to vote for me unanimously.

If there is any delegate who thinks that I might at some time or other give out any records to the District Attorney, or who thinks that my actions were wrong, let him not vote for me. I am asking you delegates who have the workers at heart, who want to better conditions in our organization, to vote for me and I will be perfectly satisfied. (Applause).

Delegate Hyman: A statement was made that I was a member of a committee that convicted Marks. At the time that I tried Marks I did not have the information that Marks had acted in a court as he did by advice of his party and his attorney, and since I have learned that, I know I am not in a position to try a political party for its morality. That is a question that can be debated in a hall. It is not my business. I am not a Communist. But I want to tell you that when Marks was a candidate for business agent, and there was an election and objection committee of which Brother Antonini was a member, instead of saying dramatically to me, "Brother Hyman, take him off the ballot," Brother Antonini voted with the majority to place him on the ballot.

Delegate Amdur: Brother Hyman claims that at the trial committee he did not know that Marks had acted under the instructions of his lawyer and his party. Does that mean that, knowing the facts, as an individual, as a trade unionist you thought him guilty,—because the fact of the matter is you did find him guilty?

Vice-President Ninfo: That is what he said that he was a member of the committee and he found him guilty.

Delegate Pinkofsky: I was on the same committee with Brother Hyman at the time of the trial. Marks was present and he made the same statement that he made here. We agreed to look into the minutes of the court and after reading the minutes, decision was rendered. Marks made the same statement that he made today, therefore Brother Hyman is not telling the truth when he says that he did not know that Marks was acting under the advice of his party and his counsel.

Delegate Antonini: At the time Marks ran for business agent, I had not the entire case before me. There were several other candidates on the ballot who were objected to and, since the manager of that particular local insisted that they were all good union people I did not want to interfere and that is why I did not object at that time.

As regards myself, I will bring on Monday documents that I will hand to the press table to show my stand, but now I am interested particularly in the insinuation made on this floor that the A. F. of L. convention went on record against Sacco and Vanzetti. That is a terrible lie. It so happens that an A. F. of L. vice-president is here. He was the secretary of the Resolutions Committee. I hope when he addresses us, he will make clear the action of the A. F. of L. that they went in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Delegate Boruchowitz: Why did Brother Antonini endorse Brother Marks at the last election as a business agent?

Delegate Antonini: I said that that was the slate of the true progressives.

(Upon being put to a vote, the majority report of the Credentials Committee asking that Brother Marks be seated, was adopted, 115 voting for and 4 against.)

At 1:45 p. m. the session adjourned to reconvene at 3:00 p. m.

Fifth Day—Afternoon Session,

Friday, December 4, 1925.

President Sigman called the session to order at 3:00 p. m.

Delegate Snyder proceeded with the report of the Committee on Credentials as follows:

We have received the following communication from Brother Golombeck, elected delegate from Local 142, Staten Island, N. Y.:

Secretary of the Credentials Committee, Eighteenth Convention of I. L. G. W. U.

Dear Brother Nagler: I have been informed that additional charges have been brought against me by members of this Union. These same members have on different occasions approached me and asked me to vote their way and everything would be all right. I have flatly refused to do so, stating that I would vote the way my membership, Local 142, wants me to vote.

In order to prove my innocence I will be obliged to send to New York for witnesses. This would require considerable time. As the convention is in session now and I do not want to infringe on your time, I hereby respectfully withdraw as delegate.

However, I have one request to make: That the Credentials Committee refers my case to the next General Executive Board for investigation. This will give me time to gather my witnesses and enable me to prove those charges against me false and groundless.

Fraternally yours,

Murray Golombeck.

The committee recommends that the communication be accepted and that the secretary be instructed to inform that local to send a substitute delegate to this convention.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, this recommendation was unanimously carried.

Your committee has received an objection from Brother M. Schutz, Ledger No. 3 of Local 35, against Brother Adolph Schek, Ledger No. 538, of Local 45, on ground that Brother Schek was scabbing for Milgrim Brothers in New York and this fact was brought out in the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" of October 20, 1922.

Brother Schutz further charges that when Brother Schek came to America he was given a position by Brother Shatsburg, then the manager of the union, and that he did not become a union man because the union was not revolutionary enough for him; that he scabbed in Milgrim Brothers for some six months and then left the shop for reasons unknown to him. He therefore believes that Brother Schek is unfit to be a delegate to this convention.

Brother Schek, in answer to these charges, before the Credentials Committee, stated that he came to America in 1920, and that he went to work at a job given him by the then manager of the union and he was very enthusiastic over the fact that on the second day of his employment in that shop the shop chairman demanded of him a union card. He did not stay there long, but went to work for Milgrim Brothers in September, 1920. This was a couple of months after the strike was over. In Milgrim Brothers he was employed as a designer and he worked in a separate department with one man and one woman who made the samples for him. He remained in the employ of Milgrim Brothers until April of the following year. During this time he was ignorant of the fact that there was a strike on of the union against Milgrim Brothers. He further states that he was always mingling in radical circles, the members of which were his personal friends, and they never during this period mentioned to him the fact that there was a strike. It was only by chance that he learned that the firm was on strike and he immediately quit his job.

After going over this case, your committee believes that a man who claims to be an idealist, and who claims that he was active for a number of years in the trade movement in different coun

tries, should have made it his business, upon his arrival in this country, to immediately join the union, and further, at least to know whether a shop is a union shop or a scab shop. Nevertheless, your committee is of the opinion, since he claimed to have been ignorant of the conditions of that shop, and since he at that time was not a member of the union, that he be seated at the convention.

Upon motion duly made and seconded this recommendation was unanimously carried.

Delegate Snyder: This completes the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Fraternally submitted,

Abraham Snyder, Local 2, Chairman.
Isidore Nagler, Local 10, Secretary.

S. Shally, Local 2.
B. Stein, Local 69.
L. Friend, Local 26.
G. Di Nola, Local 89.
I. Chlarchlari, Local 48.
J. Schnelder, Local 39.
I. Farblash, Local 22.

Delegate Hochman: I move that this convention extend its thanks and appreciation to the committee for its splendid work.

(This motion was seconded and carried.)

President Sigman: We have with us today one of the most active men in the Mexican Federation of Labor, who arrived here as a fraternal delegate. I am sure that you will be interested to hear something about the Mexican labor movement. It gives me great pleasure to introduce Brother Roberto Haberman, the representative of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

Brother Haberman: It was really worth while for me to come from Mexico to be present here. I arrived at your session this morning and I was particularly interested to witness this great controversy that is going on amongst you, and also to bring you the greetings of the Mexican Federation of Labor, which has a membership of over one and a half million workers. The country has only 14,000,000 people, so it is evident

that more than 10 per cent of the population belong to some labor union or another.

Of course, the labor movement down in Mexico is very much like the labor movement in Russia. Over 80 per cent of the trade unionists are peasants. Among these 80 per cent 60 to 75 per cent are illiterate. The other 20 per cent are industrial workers, and as in Russia, they are the most intelligent and cultured class of workers. Amongst them the illiteracy is about 20 per cent. The only movement outside of the Federation is the Railway Workers' Union and they, as in the United States and all over the world, consider themselves to be the aristocrats of the labor movement. I am referring to the Brotherhoods. The crafts belong to the Federation. Outside of the Mexican trade union movement I don't think there are more than 40,000 or 50,000 workers who are unorganized.

The Mexican labor movement is a purely class-conscious movement. No union is extended a charter unless it subscribes to the principle of class consciousness. The movement stands for the socialization of all the means of production and distribution. Of course, we have not put those things into practice, but we are getting there somehow. We are a very young movement, having had only six annual conventions. In February we will have our seventh convention. We have made certain gains along political lines, and that is due to the fact that we have a political party, the Mexican Labor Party, which has the same program as the Mexican Federation of Labor.

There was a law in Mexico which said that as long as a man owed money to another person he could not leave the employ of that person and if he died his children had to pay the debt. This is how we developed a system of slavery, more outrageous than the one that prevailed in the South. A number of revolutions took place in Mexico, but the people would be fooled by politicians just as they are fooled in the United States by pretty phrases. Once in office, the politicians would turn traitors to the people. After all these years of treach-

ary and bloodshed, the Mexican workers finally formed the Mexican Labor Party! and at the last election, held a year ago, the first labor president on this continent was elected. Comrade Sigman was present and Brother Woll was present when he was inaugurated. He is a member of the Socialist Party and a member of a trade union. The Labor Party has not got enough people to appoint to high positions in Mexico. Every time we have an election we sit up all night trying to figure out to whom to give the job.

We have a constitution written in 1916, one year before the Russian revolution, which I think is the most radical ever written. We could put across Socialism in twenty-four hours in Mexico, if we had the people to do it with and do it intelligently, and if the United States would let us. Our constitution not only provides for a minimum wage, but it says that the workers are entitled to a part of the profits as established by certain boards. There is nothing in the constitution to stop the workers from saying that 99 per cent of all the products belong to the workers. But we are not doing it yet because we are young, we are in a period of reconstruction. The workers themselves don't know how to do it, we are frank enough to admit, and we have therefore declared an amistice meanwhile and are organizing and educating the workers.

There have been a lot of misstatements about Mexico, especially on the part of our so-called very radical friends, the "Daily Worker" especially, and with all due respect to the 107 delegates, I would ask them not to take the word of the Daily Worker about Mexico. I hope hereafter the news is more correct. Perhaps they mean well, but they send us people from Moscow and everywhere in the world who know everything about Karl Marx, how long his beard was and how many hairs he had and how gray they were; they know everything except Spanish and everything except what the Mexican labor movement has gone through and the difficulties it has to face.

As I said before, our movement is young, but it is probably the liveliest movement on this continent. The member-

ship is increasing faster than we can take care of it. We have the great task of disciplining this movement and of finding leaders for it. The leadership consists practically of about ten people. We have no paid officials. A man is elected president of a union and he keeps the job for one year and is never re-elected; that is why lots of the problems that you have we never have to face. The constitution gives the workers the right to strike, and the children and women are protected in industry.

We are making time, as we cannot afford to make any mistakes. We cannot afford to go any faster than you people. Some of your members were at our last annual convention and I hope that you will attend our convention this coming year. In the name of the Mexican labor movement and in the name of the Mexican Labor Party I extend to you an invitation to come down there, and please bring with you your union card paid up to date (applause).

President Sigman: I am certain that the delegates and visitors at this session appreciate fully the address delivered by our good Brother Haberman, and surely accept in the most brotherly spirit the greetings of the Mexican Federation of Labor. If conditions will permit, I suppose a good many of our local unions will take advantage of the invitation to visit the Mexican Federation of Labor convention.

A motion was made to have the address of Brother Haberman spread upon the record and a vote of thanks extended to him.

President Zimmerman: Mr. President, I want to ask a question before the motion is put to a vote.

President Sigman: Delegate Zimmerman, there is a motion before the house and you are out of order. You are requested to take your seat. Is this motion seconded?

The motion made was duly seconded and carried.

President Sigman: The motion is carried, and thanks are expressed to you, Brother Haberman, and greetings ex-

tended to the Mexican Federation of Labor (applause).

Now, delegates, we are fortunate to have with us here today one of the younger but best known Labor men in the American trade union movement. I can't tell you how long he has been in the movement because he looks very young, but from what I know about him, having had the pleasure of being at two conventions of the American Federation of Labor with him, I believe that he is a great student of our movement. His work always demonstrates it. I refer to Vice-President Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor (great applause). I am certain that his address to the delegates of our Convention and to the visitors that are present at this session will be of great value and interest.

Brother Woll: Mr. President, Friends and Trade Unionists: Words fail me in expressing fully and accurately the emotions that are stirring within me in response to the favorable manifestation by the delegates at the announcement of my pleasure in appearing and addressing you. May I say that I feel it an honor to have been accorded this opportunity of bringing to you not the greetings of the American Federation of Labor, because that message will be brought to you by the President of the American Federation of Labor himself (applause), but in my humble capacity as president of the International Photo Engravers' Union to convey to you their most heartfelt thanks and appreciation and greetings for all of the achievements realized by your grand trade union organization. (Applause).

Anyone who has given thought and study to the American trade union movement, who is familiar with the origin and the difficulties encountered in the growth and development of the many international unions making up this great Federation of American trade union organizations, and who is particularly familiar with the origin, the creation, the development, the strife and struggle of the ladies' garment workers, must, indeed, be enthused by the remarkable headway of your movement, the International Ladies' Garment Workers'

Union, an organization confronted with greater difficulties than perhaps any other, which has reached a point of organization, of stability, of accomplishment, and of achievement not excelled by any other trade organization (applause).

While here in this parliament of Labor considering your trade problems, be not unmindful of what your organization has accomplished for the men and the women engaged in your industry and the wonderful progress and achievement made by your trade union movement not by revolutionary but by evolutionary methods (applause); and if we need a lesson on the efficiency and on the value of trade unions as expressed on the American continent, then I ask you to refer to your own conditions of employment, to the development of your own economic organization as proof testifying to the validity of that truth without question, cavil or doubt of any kind. I am therefore happy to embrace the opportunity of appearing before you and voicing my great appreciation of that most valuable demonstration of American trade unionism, as a means and as an instrumentality for the constant uplift and uninterrupted progress of the wage-earners come into their full share and their full status of life (applause).

It is true that the struggle of the masses for a greater share in the abundance of God's creation, expressed by nature in the intellect, power and ability of man, is going on amongst all peoples, in all nations, in all countries. In that struggle we find, of course, the struggle of labor expressed in different forms in different countries, among different people. That's quite understandable if we take into consideration first of all the natural resources of man within the confined geographical limits which distinguish national lines. This difference is understandable as we take into consideration the radical elements that enter into the human family, the emotions governing one group more than the other, and the colder mind and logic controlling the activities of still other groups. Still more is it understandable, when we take into consideration the different social and economic conditions prevailing

among the different national groups of the world, supplemented by the different historic backgrounds. To understand this conflict between evolutionary and revolutionary methods in the various countries we must always consider them in connection with the historic background, racial temperament and the general organized state of society and other factors that imbue people and that move them onward and forward.

In the American trade union movement we have come to realize by years of experience, by knowledge of our social and political institutions, by the temperament of our people, by the fact that yet a great majority in our country are agriculturists as distinguished from industrialists, that the only safe and the only sound and the only obvious method by which Labor may improve its conditions of life and work is by evolutionary processes as expressed in our great trade union organizations (applause). We realize the power of political institutions; we realize the necessity of political action. But again, the question arises, which of these two powers, which of these two influences may Labor appeal to primarily as the stronger and the more efficient to accomplish real reform and to move forward in progressive strides? Again, as we consider all the factors we find that the greatest appeal to the wage earners of our land lies not in political power, but in economic strength and economic influence and power (applause). And so we seek to band into trades, into industries men and women in their respective occupations, not to seek mere political influence but to seek economic power in order that we may accomplish economic and industrial reforms now and tomorrow and every day thereafter.

I shall not philosophize upon these two powers, political and economic. I know men and women differ upon those problems, and the fact that there is that vast difference is the great danger of wage earners becoming confused, becoming involved in this vortex, and dissipating the power upon which all can agree, the power upon which all can rely. For economic power, if intelligently exer-

cised, is the greatest power God or nature has given any man (applause).

You hear of these expressions: "The State must own our instruments of production and of distribution, and thus all of the ills of the human family will disappear and this great brotherhood of man shall prevail the world over," and that is to be accomplished by miraculous political action. Speak of your tools of production, and we marvel at the wonderful achievement in the development of mechanical devices, of complex mechanical contrivances, of the remarkable expression of genius manifested in these machines whereby we now utilize the forces of nature before which we stood in fear and dread but a few years ago,—now applied to the uses of man and to the uses of the human family. Oh, yes, that manifestation of the human mind, the human genius is great and wonderful, and likewise do we marvel at these developments and at these mechanical instruments of production. And yet with it all, what does ownership of these machines mean as compared to the tools of production that man has not been able to duplicate, that man has not been able to excel, that man as constituted will never be able to excel, the tool of production that has been placed into the hands of the wage earners, the workers the world over, placed there with the specific design that whenever wrong may exist they may defend themselves, whenever right is correctly understood they may unite in order that that right may prevail! What is this tool, what is this wonderful implement given to each and everyone of us? Oh, look at these hands, your hands, the greatest tools of production, that man with all his wonderful genius cannot duplicate or reproduce, tools without which all these wonderful mechanical contrivances would be useless, without which all value and all property would mean nothing. These hands directed by the brain, the intelligence, are the greatest of all power, and we in the trade union movement, seek to unite these hands, and are quite willing to let the other fellow have all the capital, all the other tools he wants. Standing united with these tools and with this human intel-

ligence, no power can defeat you if you agree that right shall be maintained. (Applause).

To apply the truth of that: Here you are, men and women, representative of those in your industry who set in motion, who put into effect the productive processes in your particular calling. Unite the hands and the human mind in your work shop; unite them on the single issue of using these tools and your intellect for your own protection and advancement on the economic field, and I ask you, is there any employers' organization with all their title to the buildings, to the machines and to the plants, able to defeat you, then? The answer is clear, the truth is obvious. The power is with you, men and women; in your industry with these tools of production completely and intelligently organized and intelligently exercised is the great power to which you men and women can appeal, and it is by your appeal to that power that you have accomplished what you now enjoy; and with that instrumentality will your trade union still further be protected and you shall be the power supreme. This will then truly be a parliament of labor, and thus organizing the whole industrial field in like fashion, we will then have constituted a truly industrial democracy wherein the wage earners will determine the economic and the industrial destiny of the wage earners of our great land (applause).

But I fear that I am venturing into a field to which I did not intend to address myself, because I came here particularly to inform this great parliament of labor of a new venture in which the American trade unions are about to enter, and to lay it before you briefly, in the hope that we may gain your support and unstinted co-operation in the development of this great, new venture of organized labor, thus adding proof upon proof of the evolutionary and foresighted policy and concept of the workers as expressed by the American Federation of Labor.

We are organized, primarily, for the purpose of organizing the economic

power and strength of the workers. More recently we have ventured into the field of pooling the savings of organized wage earners through banking institutions owned, operated and controlled by trade unionists, and demonstrating to us our ability, our capacity to manage successfully and govern institutions of that character for the general benefit of the people as a whole. Our success in that field is demonstrated beyond the peradventure of a doubt. Now we are seeking a further extension of a pooling of the savings and collective funds of the wage earners throughout our land in the form of an insurance company; owned, operated and controlled by trade unionists and their dependents. The trade union movement realizes the importance of that endeavor, having made a study of this subject for a period of two years. We have come to the conclusion that the time is ripe for organized labor to organize its own insurance company to pool its premiums and to exercise its control in the financial world as well as in the economic field of endeavor (applause). We find it necessary to have a minimum capital of \$300,000 plus a \$300,000 surplus in order to enable us to proceed and put into effect this proposition. We hope that your international will participate and join with us, first, in the acquirement of stock allotted to international unions; second, that your local unions may participate likewise; and, third, that the individual members of your organization will participate.

In order to assure complete trade union control, the sale to international unions is limited to 800 shares, that to local unions 80 shares, that to individual members 10 shares and the stock price is \$25 per share plus a surplus certificate of an equal amount. We have already provided in our charter that of the 25 directors, three-fourths of them must at all times be trade unionists affiliated with the A. F. of L. We provide further for an advisory committee of 50 international officers so that every possible assurance is given that this is an organization for the benefit of wage earners. The earnings and surplus are limited to 6 per cent and its policies are to be profit sharing. I

will be happy indeed to meet with your committee to give them my best opinion and judgment so that they in turn may bring that enlightenment that will bring your International into our field as one of the leading crusaders in this movement.

In conclusion may I commend your President for his ability and his sincerity, and express my happiness in knowing that whatever issues arose in your problems I have always counted myself a friend of your International (applause).

Delegate Perlmutter: I move that the instructive address of Brother Woll be recorded in the minutes and that the convention extend its thanks to him and also that his request be referred to the proper committee. (This motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.)

President Sigman: I know that the delegates have enjoyed the inspiring address delivered by Brother Woll, and I am sure we will all remember his constructive suggestions and will apply them in our work for the advancement of our organization as well as for the labor movement in general.

Brother Joshua Lieberman, representing the Pioneer Youth of America, will now address you.

Brother Lieberman: I want first of all to bring the greetings and thanks of the National Executive Committee of Pioneer Youth of America to your convention for the part your International has taken in developing our movement. Your organization more than any other has helped to build up and develop our work and your officers, Brothers Sigman and Baroff and Miss Cohn, have given a good deal of their time and effort in developing this movement.

Briefly, Pioneer aims to help the children of the workers get the advantages of open air life without any of the disadvantages that go with old line children's organizations, the disadvantages of associating the children with men and women who have not the interest of the labor movement at heart and who develop in children an anti-social attitude. Early last year a number of conferences were held. The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, the Interna-

tional Association of Machinists, the Brotherhood of Railroad Firemen and Oilers, and many others were represented. A great many people active in workers' education were also present and we decided then to build up this movement on national lines. It is eighteen months since our movement was organized. Since then, we have grown a great deal faster than we hoped because we are not ready to take care of all the demands that are made upon us. There are one hundred and forty three unions that have endorsed our movement.

We have a summer camp that took care of 300 workers' children, among them over 40 of your International. We have twenty-eight clubs in New York, and are organizing clubs in Philadelphia, Newark and in other sections of the country. Next year we will have two or three summer camps. We are fortunate in having as leaders some of the finest men and women in the labor movement as well as leaders in labor education, and we are training some of our boys so that we will have leaders in the future that come from the rank and file of these children of the workers.

I want you comrades to continue in your active support of Pioneer Youth. We shall appreciate anything you do for us and we are ready in turn to serve your various branches and serve the children of your members on all occasions (applause).

At 4:50 p. m. the session adjourned, to reconvene Saturday, December 5, 1925, at 9:30 a. m.

Sixth Day—Morning Session

Saturday, December 5, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 10 a. m.

Secretary Baroff read the following telegrams which were received with applause:

New York N. Y.

Greetings: We the workers of the Jeanne Dress Co., 147 West 25th St., New York, are sending our greetings to the 18th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. We have full confidence in the delegation of our Local 22, to stand firmly and fulfill the mandate entrusted to

them conscientiously and as instructed by its membership.

Fraternally,
BESSIE BAILIN, Shop Chairlady.

Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Greetings. May this convention enthuse the spirits of our International leaders and delegates and bring more success and better life for workers in our industry.

WORKERS OF MOUNT VERNON
CLOAK CO.

New York N. Y.

Heartiest congratulations from

THE WORKERS OF GAINSBORO
DRESS CO., 412 West 24th St.

New York N. Y.

We extend our best wishes to the 18th Convention of our great International organization and expect that the outcome of this convention will make the I. L. G. W. U. a strong and fighting organ for all the workers in the ladies' garment industries for betterment of their conditions. As members of a big shop we hope you will act upon one question at this convention and that is the uniting of the two Locals 3 and 38. There is no room for two locals whose members do the same kind of work but compete with one another.

THE EIGHTY TAILORS AT JULIUS
KLUGMAN

H. Vitullo, Shop Chairman, 42 West
28th Street, New York City.

New York N. Y.

Greetings: May your deliberations be crowned with complete harmony in the ranks of the workers. It is our sincerest hope that our resolutions for a general strike in our industry and that we become part of the Joint Board be endorsed at the convention.

WORKERS OF THE HARRISON
PLEATING CO LOCAL 41.

WORKERS OF ART NOVELTY
SHOP.

STRIKERS OF KRAMER PLEATING
SHOP.

Chicago, Ill.

International Labor Defense welcomes with great satisfaction the stand of your convention in favor of the persecuted miners of Ziegler. All class conscious workers will applaud your action in supporting these miners who are leading the fight against the coal operators and their progressive measures in the miners union to make it a real fighting body capable of defending the interests of its members. With the support of the class conscious organized workers the conspiracy against the Ziegler miners by the coal operators, the Ku Klux Klan and the black reactionaries who are in league with them and the state officials will be defeated. Your action will be hailed everywhere as a powerful blow against the Ku Klux Klan menace to the labor movement.

J. P. CANNON.

Sec'y International Labor Defense

New York N. Y.

Accept fraternal greetings. Amalgamated members are much interested in the welfare of your International. May this gathering

bring greater unity and strength to your organization.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS
OF AMERICA

Joe Goodman, Chairman; Harry
Sheps, Secretary, Local 2.

Chicago, Ill.

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party notes with joy the greeting sent to Benjamin Gitlow and the demand for his release from prison. Gitlow's "crime" was his stand for an uncompromising class struggle in the worker's interest against the capitalist class and the capitalist system. We welcome the action of your convention in coming to his support as an evidence that the members of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union are for the workers organizing their power as a class for the fight against their exploiters. The imprisonment of Gitlow is an example of the way the capitalists use the governmental power against the workers which you have also experienced through use of injunctions and against workers on strike. This must be met by stronger organization of trade unions and organizations of the political powers of the workers through the formation of a Labor Party and a fight for a workers' and farmers' government. Our party supports the formation of a united front of all workers to gain this end and is ready to join with you in the work of building a mass party of labor to fight for labor's interest.

C. E. RUTHENBERG.

Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Greetings. May success, harmony and unity be outcome of this convention.

WORKERS OF I. C. NEWMAN
DRESS CO.

Chicago, Ill.

The Polish Local Number Sixty of the Chicago Dressmakers greets the officers and delegates of the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. We wish for you every success in establishing peace within our union so that all efforts may be concentrated upon the betterment of conditions for our membership.

POLISH DRESS MAKERS' LOCAL
SIXTY, I. L. G. W. U.

N. J. Brudanski, Chairman
R. Pionka Secretary.

Philadelphia, Pa.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention, Lulu Temple.
Bakers Union Local Two Hundred One, Philadelphia, extends best greetings and wishes for greatest of success for your convention.

MORRIS KATZ, Secretary.

Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Heartly greetings and best wishes for a glorious future.

WORKERS OF POLIZZI AND
CAMADIO, WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

Secretary Baroff read the following telegram forwarded by him to the Ziegler, Ill. miners, as per instruction by the convention.

United Mine Workers,

Ziegler, Illinois.

The Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union con-

gratulates you on the valiant struggle you are making to maintain decent living conditions despite efforts of the operators backed by the Ku Klux Klan. We protest against the arrest of your members for crimes of which they are innocent and the Ku Klux Klan guilty. We pledge our support to do all in our power to win justice for the indicted miners.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President,
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

President Sigman: I will now read the names of the various committees that have been appointed:

COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORT

1. Abe Katovsky, Cleveland Joint Board Chairman.
2. H. Greenberg, N. Y. Dist. Council
3. Abe Rosenberg, N. J. Dist. Council
4. George Rubin, Phila. Joint Board
5. Morris Rappaport, Chicago Jt. Bd.
6. Louis Horowitz, Local 2, New York
7. Earl Nadel, Local 5, Chicago
8. M. Wise, Local 6, New York
9. H. Tuckman, Local 12, Boston
10. Max Kaiser, Local 19, Montreal
11. Pearl Halperin, Local 22, New York
12. Louis Pinkofsky, Loc. 23, New York
13. J. Goldsmith, Local 35, New York
14. Sam Rudin, Local 40, Philadelphia
15. Philip Ansel, Local 10, New York
16. A. Bloomfield, Loc. 50, Philadelphia
17. Mandy Feinberg, Loc. 54, Chicago
18. Yetta Molofsky, Loc. 62, New York
19. Harry Kaplan, Loc. 71, Philadelphia
20. Sam Lorber, Local 9, New York
21. Sam Krausman, Local 32, Toronto
22. Chas. Kreindler, Loc. 42, Cleveland
23. Samuel Cohen, Loc. 113, Mt. Vernon
24. Bono Dominic, Local 48, New York
25. David Godes, Local 39, Boston

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

1. David Dubinsky, Local 10, New York, Chairman.
2. Bernard Schub, Conn. Dist. Council
3. J. Boruchowitz, Local 2, New York
4. Nathan Kaplan, Local 9, New York
5. Albert Eaton, Local 19, Montreal
6. D. Gingold, Local 20, New York
7. Sarah Dorner, Local 22, New York
8. Samuel Fremed, Loc. 23, New York
9. L. Davidoff, Local 35, New York
10. Morris Stein, Local 27, Cleveland
11. Meyer Berkman, Loc. 42, Cleveland
12. Luigi Merolla, Loc. 44, Cleveland
13. Leopolda Polancia, Local 47, Phila.
14. Eduardo Molisani, Local 48, N. Y.

15. Nathan Riesel, Local 66, New York
16. Philip Kremer, Local 75, Boston
17. Anita Levitt, Local 76, Philadelphia
18. Frederica Dorsa, Local 80, Boston
19. Roy Glassman, Local 81, Chicago
20. Leon Rosenblatt, Local 82, N. Y.
21. Julius Hochman, Local 83, Toronto
22. Antonini Crivello, Local 89, N. Y.
23. Morris Ciota, Local 91, New York

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

1. Jacob Halperin, Long Island Dist. Council, Chairman.
2. M. Abrahams, Local 2, New York
3. R. Sigel, Local 5, Chicago
4. M. Saffer, Local 6, New York
5. Abe Goldberg, Local 9, New York
6. Sam Perlmutter, Loc. 10, New York
7. Joseph Weiner, Local 12, Boston
8. Frank Gambina, Loc. 15, Wh. Plains
9. Sasha Zimmerman, Local 22, N. Y.
10. Z. Flax, Local 27, Cleveland
11. J. Gorotsky, Local 35, New York
12. Morris Elsberg, Local 36, Yonkers
13. A. Golden, Local 40, Philadelphia
14. Anna Thomas, Local 40, Boston
15. Antonio Ottone, Local 48, N. Y.
16. Aaron Einbinder, Local 50, Phila.
17. Dennis Cronin, Loc. 63, Cincinnati
18. Josephine Kinney, Local 107, Woodhaven
19. Louis Maggio, Loc. 113, Mt. Vernon
20. Florence Patti, L. 134, Hackensack
21. Marco Durante, Loc. 139, Lynhurst
22. Don Wishevsky, Local 38, N. Y.
23. Ben Gilbert, Local 78, St. Louis
24. Salvatore Amico, Local 89, N. Y.
25. A. Weingart, Local 20, New York

COMMITTEE ON LAW

1. Salvatore Ninfa, I. L. G. W. U., Chairman.
2. I. Steinzor, Local 2, New York
3. Daniel Rubin, Local 3, New York
4. Harry Motrick, Local 5, Chicago
5. Philip Soldner, Local 6, New York
6. Abe Zirlin, Local 9, New York
7. Sam B. Shenker, Local 10, New York
8. Max Bruck, Local 21, New York
9. Abraham Lupin, Loc. 22, New York
10. Max Sherman, Local 23, N. Y.
11. Nathan Solomon, Loc. 26, Cleveland
12. Anna Cloughsey, Local 33, Bridgeport
13. Abe Kushner, Local 39, Boston
14. Mary Liotta, Local 44, Cleveland

15. Minnie Rubinstein, Local 50, Phila.
16. Samuel Otto, Local 53, Philadelphia
17. Joseph Morabito, Local 80, Boston
18. M. Heyer, Local 85, Keyport
19. John Gelo, Local 89, New York
20. Bertha Kelly, Local 113, Mt. Vernon
21. Florence Pette, Loc. 134, Hackensack
22. H. Kochlin Local 140

COMMITTEE ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, UNION LABOR LIFE INSURANCE AND BANKING

1. Fannia Cohn, Local 34, Bridgeport,
Chairman.
2. Abraham Frier, Local 3, New York
3. M. Gobel, Local 2, New York
4. A. Wise Local 2, New York
5. Julius Portnoy, Local 22, New York
6. S. Miller, Local 9, New York
7. A. Goldstein, Local 35, New York
8. B. Horowitz, Local 36, Yonkers
9. Rose Landy, Local 38, New York
10. Frank Communale, Local 48, N. Y.
11. Dorothy Jasinska, Local 57,
Woodhaven
12. Abraham Jacobson, L. 59, Chicago
13. L. Nulman, Local 61, Montreal
14. Sam Cipes, Local 64, New York
15. Phil. Starkopf, Local 23, Cleveland
16. Abe Broth, Local 37, Cleveland
17. Sarah Horwitz, Local 46, Boston
18. David Harris, Local 141, So. Newark
19. Hyman Green, Loc. 93, Long Branch

UNION AND PROSANS LABEL COMMITTEE

1. Louis Hyman, Loc. 9, N. Y., Chairman
2. S. Polakoff, Toronto Joint Board
3. Max Shur, Local 14, Toronto
4. A. Wise, Local 2, New York
5. A. Kravitz, Local 3, New York
6. Rose Wortis, Local 22, New York
7. S. Kritzer, Local 35, New York
8. Hyman Fomin, Local 38, New York
9. Louis Rubin, Local 41, New York
10. Mary Teitelbaum, Local 46, Boston
11. Bertha Pinhasik, Local 59, Chicago
12. Jennie Krooglick, Loc. 62, New York
13. Rose Auerbach, Loc. 66, New York
14. Philip Hauser, Local 100, Chicago
15. A. Weissman, Local 104, Chicago
16. Wolf Weiner, Boston Joint Board
17. Peter LaCausi, Local 91, New York
18. Ercole Veltri, Local 48, New York

RULES AND REGULATIONS COMMITTEE

1. Joseph Fish, New York Joint
Board, Chairman.
2. H. Robbins, Local 10, New York
3. J. E. Blouin, Local 25, Montreal
4. Harry Raymond, Local 56, Boston
5. Chas. Brown, Loc. 75, Worcester
6. Hyman Chardash, Local 77, Corona
7. Nathan Shaffer, Loc. 136, Jersey City
8. Hyman Sherman, Loc. 138, Colchester
9. Isidor Diamondberg, Loc. 84, Astoria
10. Mary Vardon, Local 140, Plainfield
11. Chas. DiSanza, Loc. 141, S. Norwalk
12. J. Schneider, Local 100, Chicago
14. Vita Cottone, Local 48, New York
15. L. Abramson, Local 13, Montreal

COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

1. Samuel Lefkovits, Chairman,
Local 131, New York
2. Simon Domblatt, Local 3, New York
3. Joseph Fish, New York Joint Board
4. Carl Grobber, Local 6, New York
5. Eva Pasher, Local 9, New York
6. John Shweitzer, Loc. 15, Wh. Plains
7. Pter Rottenberg, Loc. 22, New York
8. A. Rosenblatt, Local 35, New York
9. Max Levy, Local 71, Philadelphia
10. Fannia Bremer, Local 62, New York
11. Jack Grossman, Local 84, Astoria
12. Guiseppa Salerno, Loc. 89, New York
13. Benj. Dolnick, Local 60, Chicago
14. Jo Jaffe, Local 59, Chicago
15. Mrs. A. Tishler, Local 29, Cleveland
16. Isidor Shulman, Local 127, Stamford
17. Chas. Cirrincione, Local 143,
Freehold, N. J.
18. Joe Snitkin, Local 4, Baltimore
19. Sarah Greenberg, Local 69, Phila.

APPEAL COMMITTEE

1. Max Amdur, Montreal Joint Board
Chairman.
2. L. Antonini, Local 89, New York
3. Morris Jacobs, Local 10, New York
4. J. Hoffman, Local 18, Chicago
5. S. Turk, Local 37, Cleveland
6. Rebecca Schwartz, Local 46, Boston
7. Morris Greifer, Local 82, New York
8. Paul Goldberg, Local 72, Boston
9. A. Cooper, Local 14, Toronto
10. A. Brick, Local 64, New York
11. Helen Matthews, Local 92, L. Branch
12. Sam Lederman, Local 81, Chicago

13. Mary Yankewitch, Local 91, N. Y.
14. Alex Freeman, Local 92, Toronto
15. Pasquale Nicita, Local 48, New York
16. Clara Weiss, Local 50, Philadelphia
17. Rose Farando, Local 89, New York

COMMITTEE ON TRADE AND LOCAL JURISDICTION AND ADJUSTMENT

1. Israel Feinberg, Local 78, St. Louis, Chairman.
2. I. Silkowitz, Local 2, New York
3. Meyer Weltzman, Local 4, Baltimore
4. Barnett Soll, Local 5, Chicago
5. Wm. Greenberg, Local 9, New York
6. Max Stoller, Local 10, New York
7. Mrs. C. Gallagher, Loc. 29, Cleveland
8. Edward Houston, Loc. 34, Bridgeport
9. Ben Topschik, Local 123, Paterson
10. Gennaro Licastro, Local 48, New York
11. Philip Silver, Local 50, Philadelphia
12. H. Dardick, Local 53, Philadelphia
13. M. Bialis, Local 54, Chicago
14. Morris Levine, Local 54, Philadelphia
15. Philip Oretsky, Local 57, Woodhaven
16. Morris Shapiro, . . . Local 56, Boston
17. Mollie Lipshutz, Local 62, New York
18. Fannie Spiger, Local 69, Philadelphia
19. Hanna Schubert, Local 77, Corona

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION FOR ADULTS AND RECREATION FOR WORKERS' CHILDREN

1. Harry Wander, Local 23, New York, Chairman.
2. Rose Kaplan, Local 9, New York
3. M. Rubin, Local 2, New York
4. Pauline Morgenstern, Local 22, N. Y.
5. J. Gerschikoff, Local 35, New York
6. Raphael Esposito, Loc. 48, New York
7. Abe Gerber, Local 21, New York
8. Dora Friedman, Local 91, New York
9. Gladys Manuel, Local 85, Keyport
10. Sam Cohen Local 4, Baltimore
11. Catharine Morgan, Loc. 134, Hackensack
12. Ella Kelcke, . . . Local 29, Cleveland
13. Mollie Friedman, Local 100, Chicago
14. Paolo Delmonaco, Local 47, Phila.

During the course of the reading of the committees, President Green of the A. F. of L. entered the convention hall and was escorted to the platform amidst enthusiastic applause.

President Sigman: It seems to me that the delegates as well as the visitors are already set for the occasion to hear the

head of the American labor movement. Many of you delegates know about Brother Green and his relations with our movement prior to his becoming the President of the A. F. of L. Many of us know that President Green rose from the mines to one of the highest offices in the United Mine Workers, and when the time came that the American labor movement needed a chief, they chose Brother William Green to fill that high office (applause).

President Green has been on very intimate terms with the International for several years, as were the United Miners, which organization he represented, and since President Green has been called upon to lead the American labor movement, the intimacy between him and our International has grown stronger than ever before. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you President William Green, who will address our convention.

(President was given an ovation)

Brother Green: President Sigman, Sisters and Brothers: I can truthfully say that I consider this a very great privilege and a very great pleasure; a great pleasure because this is the first time that it has been my good fortune to attend a convention of the I. L. G. W. U.; second, it is a privilege because in my official capacity I am permitted to transmit to you the fraternal greetings, the well wishes and the deep concern of approximately five million organized men and women in America (applause). I know if I could say to you one thing in which this great army of working men and women is interested more than another, it is that you may so legislate at this great convention, that you may so act upon all propositions that come before it, as to promote and advance the great interests of the constituency that you have the honor to represent, because the great army of toilers in America realizes that if the cause of the needle trades is advanced, if the interests of the great mass of working men and women associated with this great industry are promoted, if the economic, social, and industrial welfare of the great constituency dependent upon this great industry is raised and elevated, they themselves are benefited. But if you suffer, they suffer;

your cause is their cause; your interests are their interests. And it is because of a consciousness of that great spirit of the American working men and women that I speak to you this morning in this earnest way.

Another thing, my friends; I have been associated all my life with the United Mine Workers of America. I learned all my lessons of trade unionism in that progressive organization. I know the idealistic conception of trade unionism from the pioneers among those who formed the United Mine Workers of America; and, besides, I know something about the heartaches and suffering and the sacrifice of men who work. I entered the mines when a boy, one of a family of five or six children, and as the oldest of that family I was required to enter the darkness and the dampness and the dangers of the mine in order to help support my family, and there I grew up and for more than fifteen years I swung the pick and did the work of a miner. Associated with dangers seen and unseen, day in and day out during that long run of fifteen years I have seen my partner, my associate, working by my side, stricken down, killed by my side, and I frequently wondered why my partner was taken and I was left. I have helped carry from the mine the bruised bodies of my working comrades and I have helped carry them into the home where I could see the family suffering because of the lack of the very necessities of life; and all of these things stirred my young heart, inspired my mind, inflamed my zeal, so that above and beyond all the material things I possess I value the greatest my thirty years and more of membership in the United Mine Workers of America. (Applause).

Is it possible that a person reared in that school of trade unionism, living in that environment, serving in that hazardous and dangerous industry, would not imbibe some of this spirit of idealism and a determination to do everything reasonable and everything within his power to advance and elevate the living standards of those with whom it was his privilege to live and associate? So I come to you with these credentials this morning, with this background of experience, called from this hazardous and

dangerous occupation, to serve as best I can with my tongue and my brain and my body and my time this great cause of organized labor; and as I go from place to place, from city to city and from village to village, meeting the representatives of organized labor, the workers themselves, I feel weighted down with the tremendous responsibility which rests upon me, and frequently I find my desires and my zeal and my idealism outrunning my judgment, and I become impatient and restless and I want to do more for the workers of America. As far as I am able I am going to do all I can for this great army of toilers (great applause).

Then, there is the other factor to which I wish to refer, and that is the close sympathetic relationship that exists between the great organization of which I am a member and your organization, the I. L. G. W. U.

I recall the great struggle in 1922 when the mine workers of the entire country were on strike for more than five months, when the coal pits of America were as silent as a tomb, and the men who worked in the mines mobilized their economic strength and were fighting for higher standards and better wages; and when in the hour of adversity, when the pressure from their employers was very keenly felt, when the situation seemed to be rapidly approaching a crisis, it was then the Ladies' Garment Workers heard our cry and they responded not only with expressions of sympathy, but they responded in a much more substantial way. They brought and gave to the United Mine Workers \$50,000 in cash which helped win that struggle for the United Mine Workers of America (great applause).

So, my friends, we are not ungrateful; in fact, we are deeply appreciative of the splendid support this magnificent organization gave to the United Mine Workers in their hour of need; and so long as the United Mine Workers remain—which will be as long as the sun shines and the stars are in the sky, and so long as there is one single man a member of that great movement—you will find our sympathetic and grateful remembrance of the service you rendered our men and women in the United Mine Workers of America, during

the struggle of 1922. Notwithstanding the fact that we have in our representative capacity and otherwise expressed to you our deep appreciation of the help and support you gave us on that occasion, I think it would not be amiss for me to add as a member of the United Mine Workers of America on this occasion my appreciation, my gratitude, to this splendid organization for the support you gave us in 1922 and you can rest assured that the United Mine Workers will reciprocate, they will help, they will not forget, they will show by their actions insofar as it is possible for them to do, their gratitude and their appreciation by giving to you material and substantial help in your hour of need when they are called upon to do so (applause).

Now, my friends, just one other word in these preliminary remarks; I want to tell you that we are proud to have the I. L. G. W. U. as a part of the American Federation of Labor. We are happy to know that you have been associated with the American Federation of Labor for many years. You can help the cause of the great movement, the working people's movement, and the great bulk of the American people associated with the A. F. of L. can give to you the substantial support that they are able to give in waging your economic battle with hostile employers; and I want to assure you as the representative of the A. F. of L., as the spokesman of that great movement, that in your fight for higher standards of living, for the realization of your ideals, for better wages and better homes, for a better land and for a better community, the resources of the A. F. of L., so far as I can give them, are at your disposal (applause). And I also want to assure you that I transmit this message to you this morning with all the sincerity I possess and with the earnestness of my heart and mind.

Now, with your permission, may I discuss briefly some things that are of tremendous interest, absorbing interest, things that come close to you in your daily lives, in the workshop, in the homes and in the factory. This great movement of trade unionism represents in a most peculiar way the heartbeats and the desires and the idealism of working men

and women. It is difficult sometimes for those not associated with our great movement to understand us fully and completely. They do not understand why it is that men and women with their economic resources will make the interest of one that of the other, will sacrifice and suffer on the industrial field, and even give of their lives and their strength and their blood in the cause of this great movement. Well, in order for people to understand more fully our great union movement, it is necessary for them to understand the underlying cause upon which our movement rests. This cause is to many people a religion and a passion. It grips the hearts and souls and minds of men and women. They are those invisible powers that move men and women mightily when they become constructively discontented with the existing order. They are fired by this passion and this zeal and when these invisible forces move men and women mightily, they are willing to go to any limit or to employ any reasonable means in order to advance their economic industrial and social interests. So, it is necessary then that people understand this cause, this great moving, mighty force, unseen, invisible, that moves men and women to action. And what is it? Slaves will not organize and unite and suffer and sacrifice. Contented working men and women cannot be aroused to action. Those who say, let well enough alone, are not inspired to noble endeavors and to noble efforts. It is the men and women who are fired with the spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction with the existing order, with the knowledge and understanding that rights that belong to the workers are withheld from them, that they are not enjoying a proper and equitable distribution of the proceeds of industry; and when this becomes an obsession, if you please, when it becomes a force that moves men and women, then they are going to seek ways and means by which and through which they may give expression to the discontent that is within their souls, and fight and strive to raise their standards and to achieve their purposes. So, the trade union movement based upon a great cause is constantly endeavoring to mobilize this spirit of intelligent and constructive discontent in order to induce men and

women to unite in a common purpose and in a common cause. And after all, what other resources can working men and women use in order to promote their interests? They are not possessed of capital in large amounts. They are not possessed of material things. They are not possessed, however, of a power to serve and give service. They have within them a potential power, an economic power, a strength mighty and invincible, which, if properly mobilized and rightfully directed, can accomplish wonderful things. I wonder if we properly appreciate the potential power that lies dormant within the ranks of labor. I wonder if we understand the mighty pool, the power pool, from which we could draw. It is this great strength inherent within the working men and women, forceful and efficient as has many times been demonstrated, which if partially mobilized can do much; and, fully mobilized could accomplish wonders. And it is that which the trade union understands is the power that moves them on.

Now, many people, have asked me, what is the greatest need of organized labor today? And my answer has always been, as it must be now, I think the greatest need of organized labor in America today is organization, education and agitation (great applause).

Let us analyze that just a moment. We have in America approximately 5,000,000 men and women organized in the trade unions. Not all of these are represented through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, but, in round numbers, we have this great army united into trade unions, co-operating working and serving in the interest of labor. Now, the organization of this army of 5,000,000 has been a gradual process. They were not organized in a day, nor a week, nor a year, but their present standing and their present strength in America is the result and the outcome of years and years of education and agitation and organization. The working men and women in every trade have been appealed to, and during these years of organization and agitation and education the workers have accomplished wonderful things, remarkable things. In fact, when we analyze the record, when we examine the

facts, when we pass judgment upon the accomplishment of organized labor, the wonder to any reasonable, analytical mind must be this: not that the organized labor movement has not accomplished more, but that it has under the adverse circumstances accomplished so much within a brief space of time. I challenge any organization in America or throughout the world to show where they have either approximated or excelled the accomplishments of organized labor in America (applause).

It has not been so very many years since the garment-making industry, the needle trades, the department which you have the honor to represent, was suffering because of sweat shops, because hours were so long that men and women fainted, as it were, at their work, when conditions were intolerable, when wages were small, when the black list and the discharge were rampant, when all the persecutions of the employers were visited upon the workers in an unrestrained fashion. Many of you can remember when in the garment centers of our country the sweat shop seemed to be recognized as a necessary evil—no agreements, no conditions of employment, no collective bargaining, no recognition of your organization, no provision for sick benefits, for unemployment help, nobody to protect the worker when he was discharged; and within the space of a few years organization revolutionized the industrial and economic conditions in your own industry. Now through your organization engaged in collective bargaining with your employers you have something to say about the wages and conditions of employment; you have established your benefit funds; you have taken a step forward in social and recreational work; you have gone a long way in lifting the standard, and so far as I can understand you have succeeded in eliminating from this great industry the child-destroying, woman-killing, inhuman, uncivilized sweat shops (applause).

I can remember in my own union, within the brief space of my own lifetime, when little boys went into the mine at the tender age of six or eight. Do you recall how the people in New York and throughout the east were

the struggle of 1922. Notwithstanding the fact that we have in our representative capacity and otherwise expressed to you our deep appreciation of the help and support you gave us on that occasion, I think it would not be amiss for me to add as a member of the United Mine Workers of America on this occasion my appreciation, my gratitude, to this splendid organization for the support you gave us in 1922 and you can rest assured that the United Mine Workers will reciprocate, they will help, they will not forget, they will show by their actions insofar as it is possible for them to do, their gratitude and their appreciation by giving to you material and substantial help in your hour of need when they are called upon to do so (applause).

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I can remember in my own union, within the brief space of my own lifetime, when little boys went into the mine at the tender age of six or eight. Do you recall how the people in New York and throughout the east were

shocked only in 1901 when John Mitchel led the strike in the anthracite regions; how you were shocked to learn from the press and otherwise that thousands of breaker boys were performing labor in the blackened breakers of the anthracite region, little boys only eight and ten years of age working from early morning, from daybreak until dark at night in the blackness of the breakers? It might be interesting if I tell you this little story in connection with that.

A short time ago the United Mine Workers of America decided to erect a monument to be erected in the anthracite region to the honor and memory of John Mitchel, who came to the anthracite region some twenty-five years ago and like a crusader led the movement of organized labor there. So we built that monument, erected it at Scranton, Pennsylvania, and dedicated it just a year or so ago. I was on the Memorial Committee, clothed with the responsibility of securing a design and erecting a monument to this great man. In looking around for the architect and sculptor our eyes naturally turned to the East and to New York, and among those who bid for the work was a young man living at Hazleton, Pa., a man who had taken a course at the Brooklyn Fine Arts Academy — I think that was the name of it — who had shown talent in his early days, completed his course and was serving as an architect. We were very much impressed with the ability, the simple, frank way in which this young man talked to us about the building of this monument. And so after some discussion, this young man was selected as the designer, the architect charged with the responsibility of designing the monument that was to be erected to John Mitchel. So after we employed him he told us his story. He said, "When John Mitchel came to the anthracite region some twenty-five years ago I was a breaker boy working in a breaker at Carbondale, Pa., along with fifty or sixty other boys. I was ten years of age. I was paid 30 cents a day for working in the breaker picking slate from daybreak until dark at night. My inspiration to make something of myself came from a meeting addressed by John Mitchel which I attended only

as a little boy, and out of his address and from that meeting I became inspired to do something for myself. I left the breaker, went to school, took up my course of study and after graduating from the High School of Hazleton I took my course in New York. I am the breaker boy inspired to be an architect by the statements and the appeal that Mr. Mitchel made. I am happy to be the architect selected to design his memorial."

Now, isn't that wonderful? — This one life taken out of the breakers inspired and fired with an ambition and zeal to make something of himself became the great architect who designed the monument erected to the great leader that inspired him. All through that region there were cases, numerous cases of this kind, boys working in the mills and factories inspired by zeal that came through the influence and efforts of organized labor.

Then came the agreements giving them collective bargaining, the eight-hour day and higher wages in the industry; and the solidarity of their movement grown in the brief period of twenty-five years is now demonstrated by the splendid way in which these 168,000 United Mine Workers in the anthracite region are standing for their rights; and so far as I can see and so far as I know and understand, it is my judgment and my opinion that the miners in the anthracite region, come what will or come what may, will never yield to their employers, the bosses of the anthracite region, until they secure the justice to which they are entitled (applause).

I am referring to these things in order that I may, if I can, attract your attention to the accomplishments of organized labor. Then, on the legislative field we secured the passage of compulsory education laws, giving the workers the right to send their children to school, compelling them to go to school and secure an education. The American Federation of Labor was the first great movement in America that stood for the compulsory education of the children. We have secured the passage of legislation giving to the workers com-

pensation, so that the widows and orphans are reasonably compensated when distress and death comes into their homes.

Now, I might go on this way calling your attention to these things one by one showing the progress that the organized labor movement has made, but the point I wish to make is this, and I want to say it to those who criticize our great American Labor Movement, alleging that it is impotent, that it has failed, that it has not accomplished its purpose. What I want to say is this: that all of these things that we have secured or that we have accomplished have come as a result of only a partial mobilization of the economic strength of the workers. With only 5,000,000 out of 20,000,000 workers united in this great economic movement we have come forward with only one-fourth of the working people interested enough to be organized, with only a small portion, if you please, of the great army of workers serving in the ranks of organized labor and we have accomplished these things. Now let me ask you in all fairness, in all justice, in all sincerity, if we have accomplished these things to which I have referred, the evidences of which are all about us. — I say if we have done all these things with only a fourth of the members of organized labor united, what could we do if we had the 20,000,000 united in the American Federation of Labor (applause)?

So that, my friends, the thing I think we need above everything else is organization and agitation, the building up of our economic strength, extending its influence, bringing into the fold those who are on the outside. I know there are those amongst us who become impatient. I am impatient too. There are those who are critical, and I am critical too of all the evils that exist. There are those who feel that the great American labor movement has not accomplished all it should. Perhaps it has failed sometimes. But I lay the record before you and I ask you where is there a movement that has accomplished so much under such adverse circumstances? Our policy is to go along practical constructive lines, to consolidate and hold

every gain we secure, to build and become stronger, for our ideal can only be reached when our organization has reached that point of strength and influence that it is able to compel recognition by the hostile employers. It would be most unwise if we would let loose our feelings and our passions and let them control our policies and our actions, it would be folly to rush thoughtlessly and headlong into a position where our great movement would be destroyed. Many times we find ourselves battling between idealism and judgment, between feeling and reason, and many times it is difficult for us to control our passion and feeling and substitute judgment and reason. I know there are many wrongs that must be righted and it is our purpose to so develop our strength and pursue such a constructive policy as to hold firmly the gains we make and reach out for the correction of the wrongs from which we suffer.

I have always found in every movement in our land that the movement succeeds just in proportion as those whom it is intended to serve will support it. The failure of organized labor to correct all the injustices from which it suffers is not due to the desire or the policy of those who are already organized but it is due more largely to the indifference and the apathy of the millions of unorganized men who remain outside the fold of organized labor (applause.) In considering your policies you should so control your feelings and passions that you will not do the very things your enemies wish you to do and play into their hands so that they might destroy you. For, in this great movement we are matching our judgment and our reasoning power, not our passions and feelings, with the employers of labor who wish to exploit labor and keep labor in a condition of semi-servitude. Nothing would please them more than for you to substitute passion and feeling for judgment and reasoning power, and risk the destruction of your organization, by matching it unwisely against the power of the other side. We will fight when it is necessary to fight. We will bring our economic pressure to bear when we should bring it to bear, but we are not going to rush our army into the

breach when they open it for us and say "come in and be annihilated."

I have dwelt upon this in order that you may think about the record of organized labor and may appreciate the power that lies dormant within the ranks of these fifteen million men and women outside of the organized labor movement. The miners in the bituminous field in America are suffering not because of their own solidarity but because of the thousands of men working in the coal mines of Kentucky and West Virginia and Maryland and certain sections of Pennsylvania, mining millions of tons of coal annually, who are so indifferent that they will not respond to any appeal made to join with the united workers in the bituminous fields, the organized fields. And so industries suffer not because of the solidarity amongst you but because of the menacing influences of those who are not identified with you.

Now may I pass on to a consideration of your problem. I want to talk in a concrete fashion and in a frank way about you. I have watched with deep concern the troubles with which you have been assailed during the past year. I have been deeply concerned because of the apparent division that has manifested itself within your ranks. I want to say this and let it be the basis upon which I shall discuss this feature, that where a group of men and women develop a strong economic organization, when that organization has grown out of the intelligent discontent that moved them forcefully to unite, there is no power from without that can successfully destroy it. The winds of opposition may blow, the great shrapnel shots coming in from hostile employers may be directed against you, even the power of the capitalistic press and hostile public opinion cannot injure you because this opposition drives you more closely together. The most destructive force, the most subtle influence that can tear the structure down more quickly than anything else is the discontent, the weakness and the division within our own ranks (prolonged applause).

I have no fear that the International that has been built up to its present point of power during twenty-five years

will ever be destroyed by the employers in the women's wear trades, or by a hostile press. I am at ease so far as that is concerned, but I am apprehensive lest you destroy yourselves (great applause).

Let me illustrate this point. I used to go to school as a little boy not for many years — but I was privileged when a boy of six to go to school a little while and then by force of economic circumstance, I was compelled to enter the mines. At school I read this story in the old McGuffey textbook. There was a man who had seven sons. They grew to manhood a happy family. They were united and harmonious. The time came when the father was about to die. He realized there was a danger of the sons being divided after his death. And so upon his deathbed he called around him his seven sons and there represented to them a bundle of sticks all tied together securely. He asked each one of them to place this bundle of sticks across his knee and break it in his presence. Each one tried without success. Then the old man, as weak as he was, untied the bundle and broke each stick separately and threw them on the floor. He said, "My boys, I have given you an object lesson. United together as these sticks were you cannot be broken, but divided each of you can be broken and cast aside. Don't forget the object lesson taught you by your dying father and never allow anything to divide you."

Does this lesson come home to you? Here you are figuratively speaking tied together, standing shoulder to shoulder, the hand of brotherhood extended, no hate or ill feeling. That is the principle of organization but oh, my friends, listen, if the element of human weakness so control us as to bring into our ranks hate and enmity and ill-will and division, then I say you have sown the seeds of destruction and, unless you reunite your forces, the powers that are at work will destroy you as these sticks were destroyed. I suppose there is only one class of people that is made happy when you show signs of dissension and that class is your enemy. We and those whom we represent are concerned about you. We want to see you united. Why? Because we are your friends. Whom are

you going to please, your friends or your enemies?

I may be wrongly informed, but I have this impression that as a result of this division the welfare of the workers in many cities has already suffered immeasurably. Many shops in which union conditions have prevailed, have lost their standards and the old spirit does not prevail. Your membership has lost interest in some cases. Your membership has fallen. The spirit is not there. You are facing the future, and what are you going to do about it? Are you going to permit industrial suicide, or are you going to bury your differences, close up the ranks, and harmonize your views by making this grand old union a solid economic strong organization? (Great applause).

I am not here to place the responsibility for this situation on one side or the other. I realize that our great movement is made up of men and women who hold different views upon the matter of procedure and administration. I think if we could dig down to the very basis we would find no difference in our purpose to achieve and accomplish. But the division comes over extraneous matters that are not so vital to the workers as they may seem to some who are active in the organization. I want to call your attention to this situation so that you may utilize the reasoning power you possess and unite your organization at this convention, so that when you go from the City of Philadelphia you will be the old I. L. W. G. U.—one for all and all for one, and no "rights" and no "lefts". (thunderous applause). Why should there be? Can you serve your interest by one group occupying the position called the "left" and the other the "right?" I expect that, if we were to analyze the situation and try to find out who is responsible, we should find that the kettle is as black as the pot and that the blame perhaps belongs to both sides. Proceeding on that theory, I am going to ask you as trade unionists to harmonize your differences in this convention, thrash them out, unite as never before and go out not to fight yourselves, but present a solid front to the common enemy (applause).

I am liberal enough to respect the

opinion and judgment of every man. I think I can be classed as a radical many times and I have no quarrel with a member of our union who may be classified as a radical. In fact, I am glad to see that spirit manifest itself. I would rather see that alive in every organization than I would to see it dried up with dry rot. (applause). I learn a great deal from those who express their progressive ideas. We need them in our movement. They are the salt of the earth because many times they inspire us to action and to service (prolonged applause).

But my friends, let us bear this in mind that, in respecting the judgment and opinion of those who may be properly classified as being ultra-progressive, and in telling you that you have as much place in our movement as anyone else, we ask in return that you must respect the judgment and opinion of those who may not seem to see the thing as you see it (thunderous applause). It is upon this basis of reciprocal relationship that we can make progress. Let us, like a family, thrash out our differences within our own counsels, and let us not carry our differences to the street, and thus add to the pleasure of those who would oppose us. (great applause).

And, while we are thrashing out our differences, let the majority rule, for this after all is the most democratic institution in the world. Here is where the majority rules and when the majority have decided an issue, it is the duty of the minority to support the expressed wish of the majority (great applause). If you forget what I have said, if the advice I have given you is not remembered, may I ask that you will never forget as you look into my face the earnestness with which I appeal to you (applause).

To those who are bitterly criticised and who may feel that they have cause for reprisals, may I remind you that there are few men in the labor movement who are more criticised than I am. I have read some criticism of myself that bordered on condemnation and abuse and that made me ask myself if I really was the bad man they say I am. But that, my friends, has not made any impression except to make me wonder whether or not there may be something more I can do to advance the interests of

my fellow-workers. I am not, to use a slang expression, thin-skinned or sensitive. I invite criticism and I reciprocate that criticism with the kindest feeling because I reason from cause to effect that the one who criticised me is just as sincere as I am in trying to do something for the workers. Let us proceed upon that basis of common brotherhood of understanding, of mutual understanding, realizing that if one suffers the other suffers. You cannot lower the standing of your own movement by attacking those who represent it without in a corresponding way injuring yourselves because you are a part of the movement, and surely you ought not to put a dagger into your own economic life. It is you for whom I am pleading; it is you that must respond; it is you who hold within your power the strength to make this great movement a force for advancement, for good, or to weaken it by dissension until it becomes the laughing stock of your enemies.

Now, may I address you on one or two other thoughts? We have so much to do, I do want to see the men and women enjoying all the things to which they are entitled and I want so to shape the activities and policies of this great movement that ultimately, step by step, as circumstances will permit, we may mobilize and unite all the powers we possess in furthering the interests of the working people. The A. F. of L. is sometimes criticised for pursuing a rigid, antiquated conservative policy. Perhaps it deserves some of that criticism, but what would you put in its stead? Suppose you destroy it now, what would you substitute for it? You would not do it if you could. We want to make it what we think it ought to be and so my friends, the policy of the A. F. of L. is not a rigid, inflexible policy but is as flexible as circumstances require and we find ourselves continually adjusting ourselves to circumstances as they arise. What would you think of a general who would attempt to lead an army of five million workers, when he ought to have twenty million in it, in a fight against a superior force? Wouldn't you fight as circumstances permit with the strength and power you now have and build up and strengthen your army so that when it

reaches the peak point of its strength you will be ready to hurl it against the forces of opposition (great applause)? That is the policy we are trying to pursue.

There are so many things in our social and industrial life that are wrong that we are must fight against. The A. F. of L. is leading the fight in behalf of the amendment to the constitution of the United States that has for its purpose the saving of its children. State after state has been controlled by the forces of reaction, until we have found that progressive states upon which we depended for support have turned us down. But our cause is just. The children must be saved, not the children of one state alone but the children of our nation must be saved, and so far as I can influence the policies of this great generation we will lead this fight and know no defeat until we win for the children of America (great applause).

Again my friends, we have these issues of racial hate and intolerance. But if there is one thing that the organized labor movement needs today more than any other it is to unite its forces against this growing spirit of racial hate and intolerance. If America is to live up to its traditions, up to its highest opportunity, it must be irresistably opposed to these issues of hate and intolerance and bigotry that are dividing the people along racial lines in many communities. I am glad that the A. F. of L. has taken a stand against this growing spirit of intolerance. Then again, there is the other thing that shows itself in our midst, the extremist on the one hand and the extremist on the other—this Fascist movement that attempts to fasten upon the workers here as in some lands across the sea the yoke of political and industrial servitude. This must be opposed with all our strength (great applause). It is a destructive force that has no place in our American social and industrial life. As the spokesman of the A. F. of L., I am going to hit that thing hard whenever it raises its head anywhere in America (great applause). On the other hand, there are the extremists in our own ranks who destroy what we have, who are controlled by

ulterior motives—not those who are sincerely progressive, who are honestly radical, but those who would destroy and tear down the building that has been erected upon the tears and the sacrifice and the lives of the working men and women of America. We will denounce them and fight them just as hard as we fight the other extreme to which I have referred (great applause).

In the hills and valleys of Ohio there sleep thousands of men who gave their lives for their movement. Do you recall that only a few days ago at Latimer, Pa., some forty miners were shot in the back with guns placed in the hands of those who represented the employers? In the hills and mountains of West Virginia we find numerous graves; at Verdun, Ill., there sleep hundreds of our miners who gave their lives in the battle for industrial freedom. In every State there are union men who have given their lives and, if we would destroy the movement for which they died, do you think they would sleep quietly? We want them to rest undisturbed and, by the Eternal, when I hear a man preaching the doctrine of destruction of our great movement, I see looking at me the bright face of some miner who died thirty years ago for this great movement. These men gave too much, they paid too great a price for this movement to see it destroyed.

There are other matters of absorbing interest upon which I have an opinion that I would like to talk about but I cannot do it now because neither the time nor the opportunity will permit. I want you to think about the things to which I have referred. The A. F. of L. has been watching you, when you thought perhaps they were not watching you. We are concerned about you, when you thought perhaps we were indifferent to your situation. I am here today because I am interested in you. I make this appeal to you to go from here united as never before. This situation cannot go on because it not only will destroy you but it will have a demoralizing effect upon our great labor movement. The force to rebuild your structure is in your hands. We want you to do it and we want you to do it free from the domination, the control or the influence of the

great parent body, but we must expect, we must insist, that this great movement shall be united.

I have known your officers for years and, whatever may be our differences of opinion, I have found your President, your Secretary and those I know amongst you honest and sincere in all their dealings with the A. F. of L. I have a high regard for them as I have for you and, in speaking to you in this way, I am not influenced by any personal alliance or consideration. I am inspired by an unselfish desire to see the highest and best interests of your organization promoted. And so in conclusion I make my appeal to your heart and to your conscience, to the best within you, to those elements of human nature that are high and above and beyond the base things represented by passion and hate. It is to the intelligence, the conscience, the love, the sentiment, the whole of your life, the emotional part of you, the sentimental side of your nature, that I appeal. Come together, be men and women, brothers and sisters, not in name, but in fact all together. I thank you.

President Green was given an ovation.

Delegate Hochman: I move that President Green's address be recorded verbatim in the minutes and that we extend to him a rising vote of thanks.

President Green was extended a unanimous rising vote of thanks.

Delegate Jacobs: I feel that President Green's address will be of great value to our membership in uniting our ranks in our future struggles against the common enemy. I therefore move that his address be printed in pamphlet form and sent to each member.

This motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

President Sigman: The time to adjourn has arrived. The chairmen of the various committees are requested to visit me this afternoon in my room at the Majestic Hotel. The members of the General Executive Board are requested to come together at 2 o'clock at the same hotel. This session stands adjourned.

Delegate Zimmerman: I think that

the President of our International did not act in the spirit of unity in which the President of the A. F. of L. spoke, in the appointment of the committees. (applause). If we want unity we must show it by acts and not by lip service. Time and again have we pointed out that the acts of the official administration are contrary to what they say and that is certainly not in the spirit of unity. The appointment of committees at this convention was a very important matter because we have undergone a period of internal strife and now, before we proceed to unite our organization and to work out new policies to fight the employers and strengthen our organization, we have to clear up the internal matters first and to straighten out the policies of the organization. It has been the tendency of the administration to appoint people on committees who, while not incompetent, are unable to express themselves properly on the floor of the Convention so that all the delegates may understand them. That was illustrated on the Credentials Committee in the appointment of Brothers Farblash and Shally who understood the problems of the Credentials Committee but could not express themselves so that all the delegates would understand them because they had to speak in Yiddish. The same thing is true about the appointment of all these committees. It is a great insult, I say, to the faction that is called "left", to the progressive delegates, in appointing on your Committee these men. On the committee on Officers' Report, your most important committee, you appointed people who will not be able to express themselves to all the delegates. Are you afraid to appoint people who will be able to state their opposition to you? (Great applause).

President Sigman: I will have to call you to order. Your statement is entirely out of place and unbecoming to the delegates at this convention. The problems of our organization are not decided in committees but upon the floor of conventions, and every delegate, I am certain, understands at least his own desires and has always the privilege upon this floor whether he is on one committee or another, to argue and represent his or her point of view. And I

say, it is entirely unfair to rise on the floor and express the point of view that you did at this time. There are 195 delegates on the committees—and perhaps more because some will have to be added—who will analyze every subject included in the report as well as in the resolutions that have been submitted, and these questions will be argued out on the floor; there is no use in playing up another firecracker at this time (great applause). I therefore call upon Delegate Zimmerman to please take a seat and permit me to adjourn this convention.

A Delegate: Hyman is on the Label Committee.

President Sigman: I will prove to you that the label committee is as important as any other committee and I will prove it to you by the fact that resolutions have been introduced here regarding this matter by the most progressive elements seated at this convention. Every item that comes up here is of concern and importance, and some of the delegates here will have to study and analyze them and bring in their recommendations, and then the entire body will have the right to decide and approve or disapprove and argue pro and con and convince the delegates one way or the other. That is the purpose of our congress. That is the duty imposed upon them and I believe that everyone of us here will sincerely try to meet each of the issues confronting our trade and membership. So why these oppositions?

Delegate Nagler: I rise to a point of order. There is nothing before the house; a motion to adjourn is not debatable.

President Sigman: I will permit Delegate Zimmerman to conclude his statement.

Delegate Zimmerman: I realize the importance of all the problems that we are facing including labels, unemployment, child welfare, etc. I also realize the importance of the policies of the administration. I realize the importance of trade problems and our policy toward the employers, and I know that they are all important, but there are certain problems that are more im-

portant and others that are less important, and I believe that the delegates who are most competent to meet our problems should have been placed on the most important committees, and, therefore, I say the way we were divided in these committees is not the way to meet these problems, but is an insult to us and we are not going to serve on these committees. (Applause).

President Sigman: Before we adjourn I want to make the brief statement that I consider every delegate sent here by the members competent and able to participate in the deliberations of this convention. The meeting stands adjourned.

Whereupon the meeting was adjourned at 12:30 p. m. to reconvene Monday, December 7th, at 9.30 a. m.

**Seventh Day—Morning Session
Monday, December 7th.**

President Sigman called the session to order at 10 a. m.

Secretary Baroff read the following messages and telegrams addressed to the convention:

Mount Vernon, N. Y.

With sincere fraternal greetings.

WORKERS OF EALINE DRESS CO.
Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Greetings. We wish you success in your work.

WORKERS OF MURRAY DRESS CO.,
New Rochelle, N. Y.

Chicago, Ill.

Young Workers' (Communist) League of America sends fraternal greetings to your convention. The present conditions in the industry where a large number of young workers are employed in unorganized shops, calls for aggressive organizational activities. The Young Workers' (Communist) League calls upon you to fight for the organization of the Young Workers in the needle trades industry and the improvement of their conditions. We pledge our close cooperation in this work.

HERBERT ZAM,

National Sec'y.

New York, N. Y.

International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union Convention.

Hearty Greetings of the Italian members in Boston to the Delegates of the 18th Convention. We wish great success to our International in all its achievements.

ITALIAN CLOAK & DRESS WORKERS
UNION, LOCAL No 80.

Salvatore Miceli, Secretary.

The following resolutions were introduced by delegations and individual delegates and referred by President Sigman to the proper committees:

Resolution No. 149

Submitted by I. Shovchenko, Secretary
Russian-Polish Branch:

WHEREAS at the 17th convention of the International in Boston Resolution 8 was introduced by the Russian-Polish Branch requesting a separate charter for the Russian and Polish members of the Cloakmakers' Union in Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, the resolution was referred to the General Executive Board of the International for decision; and

WHEREAS, the General Executive Board appointed a committee to investigate our demand, before whom we proved beyond doubt the necessity of a separate charter for our members; and

WHEREAS, the General Executive Board at the session in Montreal, Canada appointed another committee with full power to act in our request; but due to the abnormal situation in our Union this committee never came together; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 18th convention grants to the members of our Branch a separate charter for a Local Union with the definite plan for transferring our members to the new local from their present affiliations.

Referred to Committee on Trade and Local Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Resolution No. 150

Introduced by the Delegates of the Canadian Locals and Joint Boards, S. Polakoff, S. Kraisman, A. Friedman, J. Hochman, A. Cooper, M. Shur.

WHEREAS, the City of Toronto houses the largest cloak factory in the world, employing over two thousand workers in the manufacture of ladies' garments, namely, the T. Eaton Company, and

WHEREAS, this shop was once under the control of the Toronto union and was lost after one of the greatest struggles against such a large manufacturer, a strike which lasted twenty-four weeks, and

WHEREAS, this firm at the present time employs mostly girls, paying them low wages and operating on a system of section work, therefore constituting a dangerous competitor to the conditions of workers in all other shops in the ladies' garment industries of Canada; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board stand instructed to take up this question as soon as possible and make a study of possibilities of organizing this shop, and that it use every effort at its disposal to unionize the ladies' garment workers in the T. Eaton Company.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 151

Introduced by M. Amdur, M. Shur, A. Eaton, M. Kaiser, J. Blouin, L. Nulman, F. Goodman, A. Abramson, A. Cooper, A. Friedman.

WHEREAS, the I. L. G. W. U. has recently conducted an organization campaign in Canada to organize the cloak and suit makers in the City of Toronto and Montreal and has been successful in establishing a basis of organization in the above-mentioned cities; and

WHEREAS, there is still a large number of unorganized workers to be organized and the unions have used all their efforts to bring these workers into the ranks of our organization but were not successful until now due to the unprecedented dullness that has existed in the trade for the last seven or eight months; be it therefore

RESOLVED that this convention instructs the incoming G. E. B. to give its moral and financial support in order to complete the organization campaign that has been started about a year ago and bring about a strong and powerful organization in the cloak and suit industry.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 152

Introduced by Delegates of Local 38.

WHEREAS the Ladies' Tailors and Custom Dressmakers Union, Local 38, has made many attempts to organize the 9,000 workers engaged in that industry and did not meet with success; and

WHEREAS, the 400 women workers who belong to the union have the greatest difficulty in maintaining the conditions in the union shops due to the fact that the greatest number of factories in the City of New York are unorganized and conditions in them are much inferior to those obtaining in union shops; and

WHEREAS, the inferior working conditions in the non-union factories, the lower wages, the longer hours and the general treatment of the worker is bound to have and has had an adverse and demoralizing influence upon the conditions in the organized shops; and

WHEREAS, the ladies' tailors employed in the tailoring department of the same employers cannot maintain union standards due to the competition of the unorganized women workers; and

WHEREAS, the convention assembled in Chicago, in May 1920, in Cleveland in May 1922, and again Boston in May 1924 instructed the incoming G. E. B. to carry on an organization campaign in the custom dressmakers' trade; be it therefore

RESOLVED that the 18th convention of the I. L. G. W. U. assembled in Philadelphia instructs the incoming G. E. B. immediately after the adjournment of the convention to start an intensive campaign to organize the Custom Dressmakers, Ladies' Tailors and Theatrical Costumers; and be it further

RESOLVED that this convention authorizes the incoming G. E. B. to appropriate the necessary funds to make such a campaign a success.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 153

Introduced by Delegates of Philadelphia Cloak Joint Board Locals No. 40, 47, 53, 69, 71.

WHEREAS, there are a number of jobbers in the city of New York who are sending out work to Camden, N. J., which is being

made up in non-union shops under the section system; and

WHEREAS, the shops are a great menace to our Union in New York and are also becoming a menace to our union in Philadelphia; be it therefore

RESOLVED that this convention instructs the incoming G. E. B. to carry on an organization campaign in Camden, N. J., in order to establish union conditions in the locality.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 154

Introduced by Delegates of Local 38.

WHEREAS, the wages earned by 95 percent of our members cannot meet the incessant increase in the cost of food, shelter and general commodities, and certainly do not correspond to the minimum wage rate established as essential by a government bureau, which is set at from \$2400 to \$3000 per year; and

WHEREAS, the workers in turn in the ladies' tailoring and custom dressmaking trades are of the most underpaid in America, considering their capacity for production and the responsibility that this work demands of them.

RESOLVED, that this 18th convention endorses a general strike if necessary in the ladies' tailoring and custom dressmaking trade in order to completely organize the workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, that this convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board to render to Local 38 all assistance possible to carry on this organization campaign for a complete victory for the workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 155

Introduced by Joseph Flash, Luigi Antonini, A. Baroff.

WHEREAS, the power of the press cannot be overestimated; and

WHEREAS, the Seventeenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union endorsed the magazine LABOR AGE, and pledged its moral and financial support to LABOR AGE; and

WHEREAS, LABOR AGE reflects the needs, hopes and aspirations of the labor movement and at the same time, prints educational articles, discusses the problems of the labor movement, and tells of the newer things that are being done by Labor throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, officers of the I. L. G. W. U. have actively participated in the development of LABOR AGE since its inception; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. re-endorses LABOR AGE, and pledges its continued support.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 156

Introduced by Fannia Cohn of Local 34.

WHEREAS, in accordance with the direction of previous conventions our Union pub-

ished "The Women's Garment Workers" written by Louis Levine, which attracted a great deal of attention in America and Europe because of its scholarship and general excellence; and

WHEREAS, this book is a dramatic story of the struggles, successes and achievements of the men and women who made our union what it is today; and

WHEREAS, a large number of our members are deprived of the joy and inspiration which follow the reading of this book because they are not sufficiently acquainted with the English language to be able to read this valuable work, and whereas every member of our union should be given an opportunity to read this inspiring book; be it therefore

RESOLVED that we urge the incoming General Executive Board to publish in our official organs a Yiddish and Italian translation of Dr. Levine's "The Women's Garment Workers."

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 157

Introduced by Fannia M. Cohn for Local 34.

WHEREAS, Manumit School has been arranged especially as an experimental school where children of workers can benefit by most modern methods of education; and

WHEREAS we are deeply interested not only in our economic welfare but also in providing the best spiritual environment for ourselves and our children; and

WHEREAS, it has been the policy of the I. L. G. W. U. to assist all experiments designed to provide our children with whatever will develop them into fine men and women devoted to the cause of labor; and

WHEREAS, the Manumit School is controlled by an executive board, which consists of representatives of organized labor as well as prominent educators; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we urge the incoming General Executive Board to continue our cooperation with the Manumit School and give it moral and financial support.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 158

Introduced by Delegates Dolnick, Merolla, Palancia, Chiarchiara, Schwartz, Naglor, Solomon, Lipschutz, Groentorg, Reanikoff, Weiss, Fremed, Sherman, Grabber, Perlmutter, Rosenberg, Antonio, Atkin, Ralek, Gallagher, Rubinstein, Schnelder, Reisberg, Lifschutz, Rudin, Sirota.

WHEREAS, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has conducted educational activities for eight years without permitting them to be interrupted by the various struggles and hardships that confronted it; and

WHEREAS, these activities organized by the Educational Department have been very successful in reaching thousands of our members who did not have opportunities to gain the knowledge and training which they de-

sired, imbuing them with devotion to their Union and greater confidence in the ability of our organization to carry on various activities for the welfare of its membership; and

WHEREAS we realize that such educational activities are of tremendous importance because they serve to strengthen the power of organized Labor by enabling organized workers to use their economic strength with greater skill and intelligence, and because they enable our members to be of service to our organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we express our deep appreciation of the splendid achievements of the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for the past eight years; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we instruct the incoming General Executive Board to continue this admirable educational work on a larger scale, extending its activities in other directions, so that they may reach and satisfy greater numbers of our members.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 159

Introduced by Local 73, L. G. W. U.

WHEREAS the Cutters Local 73, in the City of Boston, consists of a very small membership, namely: between 50 and 60 members; and

WHEREAS all the cutters in our trade speak and understand the English language and all our business is conducted in English; and

WHEREAS, the members of Local 73 are better controlled and more abiding by the Constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. than members of other locals in Boston; and

WHEREAS in Boston there is a newly chartered Italian Local No. 80, consisting of members working in different branches of the Cloak and Dress Industry, and Local 80 claims that Italian cutters must also belong to their Italian local; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that for further progress of the Boston Cutters Union Local 73, and for complete unity and keeping up old and firm standards achieved by our membership, all the cutters in Boston shall belong to one Local 73, regardless of nationality.

Referred to the Committee on Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Resolution No. 160

Introduced by Local 100.

WHEREAS, unity is the only weapon in the possession of the workers, which if properly used will bring to our members a better and happier life; and

WHEREAS, the present division of the various crafts into different locals makes it very difficult to exercise proper control over the working conditions in the dress shops; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this 18th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. goes on record as favoring the amalgamation of all workers employed in Chicago dress shops into one local which shall be known as the Dressmakers' Union of Chicago, Local 100.

Referred to the Committee on Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Resolution No. 161

Introduced by Local 62 Delegates.

WHEREAS, there are thousands of workers employed in the factories who are engaged in the manufacturing of silk and muslin ladies' underwear in the city of New York and who are not yet under control of the Union in spite of the many efforts made by Local 62 to organize these workers; and

WHEREAS, the conditions under which the workers are laboring in the non-union shops are different from the working conditions in those shops now under control of our Union therefore making the task of maintaining our union conditions more and more difficult; and

WHEREAS, our experience in the past has definitely proved that an organization campaign against individual shops doesn't meet with the desired results regardless of how effective such campaign may be; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct the incoming G. E. B. to immediately make arrangements with Local 62 for the purpose of carrying on an intensive general organization campaign in the city of New York which would eventually bring all the non-union workers in the ranks of Local 62, and thereby establish such working conditions in the non-union shops as prevail in the shops now under control of our Union.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 162

Introduced by Delegates of Local 62.

WHEREAS there are numerous shops in the different cities and States other than New York which are employing thousands of workers for the manufacture of silk and muslin underwear, and the conditions that prevail in these out-of-town shops are such that they are becoming an absolute menace to the existence of the union shops in the city of New York; and

WHEREAS the International is maintaining an out-of-town department for the purpose of organizing workers in the various branches of the ladies' garment industry in every town, and while many of these out-of-town shops are owned and operated by the employers who own and operate factories in the city of New York as well, some of whom are under contractual relations with our Union; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the incoming G. E. B. instruct the out-of-town department to give particular attention to those out-of-town shops now making silk and muslin underwear, that they organize locals of white goods workers, thereby helping Local 62 maintain its conditions and also prevent New York manufacturers from opening out-of-town shops for the purpose of evading dealings with the Union.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 163

Introduced by Sophie Kniznick, of Local 91.

WHEREAS, the bathrobe industry is growing very rapidly; and

WHEREAS only a few shops of the bath-

robe industry in New York are under the control of Local 91; and

WHEREAS, no organization work was done in this trade since the last strike of 1923; be it therefore

RESOLVED that the 18th convention of the I. L. G. W. U. in Phila., instructs the incoming G. E. B. to launch a special campaign in 1926 for the bathrobe makers of New York.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 164

Introduced by Local 62 Delegation.

WHEREAS, the white goods industry has gone through a period of changes which industry instead of one that has given steady employment in the past, which changes have also caused periodic unemployment amongst the white goods worker of Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, the system of work in the white goods factories is at the present time week-work and piece-work, rendering control and adjustment of disputes in the shops very complicated and often times difficult; and

WHEREAS, the agreement that we now have with the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association, and with the independent manufacturers expires February 1, 1926; be it therefore

RESOLVED that this convention endorse a campaign amongst the white goods workers of Greater New York for a change of system, which will establish week-work on a forty-hour basis all through the industry; and be it

RESOLVED that the incoming G. E. B. participate with Local 62 in future conferences and try to bring about an agreement with the manufacturers for a forty-hour-week and also a week-work system.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 165

Introduced by Local 3, D. Rubin, Sec'y.

WHEREAS, the cloak and dress industry is a seasonal industry instead of one that gives steady employment and which consequently causes periodic unemployment among the cloak and dressmakers of Greater New York and

WHEREAS the system of work in the cloak and dress industry is at present week-work and piece-work, enforcing control and adjustment of disputes in the shops become more and more complicated; and

WHEREAS, the agreements that we now have with the different cloak manufacturers' and jobbers' associations and with independent manufacturers expire some time in May 1926; and

WHEREAS as one of the remedies to solve this problem, it is very essential that the workers in our entire industry, shall not work more than 40 hours; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention endorse a campaign in the cloak and skirt industry which will establish a forty-hour week; and be it further

RESOLVED that the incoming General Executive Board assist in all future conferences and endeavor to bring about an agreement with the manufacturers for a forty-hour week.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 166

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 the 18th biennial convention in the city of Philadelphia, solemnly protests against the policies of persecution and imprisonment for political opinions and beliefs, and jointly with all the labor movements all over the world demands the release of such political prisoners in all countries where such conditions exist.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 167

Introduced by Delegates A. Rosenberg, J. Halpern, A. Lupin, C. Rubin, H. Greenberg, M. Sirota, M. Lifshitz, L. Pankdofsky, A. Cottone, J. Boruchowitz.

WHEREAS, the Ex-patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colorado, is the only national institution that admits consumptives in all stages, ineffectual as well as advanced; and

WHEREAS, the Ex-patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colorado, is the only hospital that keeps incurable cases for an unlimited time and teaches its improved patients a suitable profession, in order that they should not have to be compelled to return to their previous occupations, thus protecting them from relapses; and

WHEREAS, in the Ex-patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colorado 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, Colorado, is not being supported by the 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, Colorado, takes care of a number of patients from the International Ladies' Garment Union of America; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the eighteenth convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of America, assembled at Luna Temple, in Philadelphia, Pa., appropriate a liberal allotment for the Ex-patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colorado, the workers' sanatorium, in recognition of their great humanitarian work; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union should help the Ex-patients' Tubercular Home to enlarge its capacity for many more workers who are stricken with the proletarian disease of tuberculosis.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 168

Introduced by Delegates of Locals 26, 27, 37 and 42.

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. 169

Introduced by Sophie Kulznick, of Local 91.

WHEREAS, only a handful of the bathrobe makers of New York City are organized; and

WHEREAS, the District Council has not done anything to organize the bathrobe makers; and

WHEREAS, due to the difference in seasons of the children's dress and bathrobe makers of Local 91, it can help us very little; and

WHEREAS, the fact that we are out of the Joint Board and under the control of the Joint Council means that we are separated from the main body of the membership of the I. L. G. W. U. in New York City and from other locals in the industry with whom we should closely cooperate; and

WHEREAS, the existence of two similar bodies, the Joint Board and the Joint Council, means an unwarranted expenditure of money from the treasury of the I. L. G. W. U., which could be used to better advantage in the interests of the membership and our organization; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we demand of the National Convention that the Joint District Council be immediately abolished and that locals affiliated with it be admitted to the New York Joint Board.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 170

Introduced by Julius Portnoy of Local 22.

Article 10, Section 10 shall read:

"Members shall stand automatically expelled if they fail to pay dues for 52 weeks."

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 171

Submitted by Sam Lederman, Local 81, Chicago.

WHEREAS, our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is an economic organization whose main purpose is to elevate the conditions of its members in their every-day struggle for existence; and:

WHEREAS, our membership is composed of men and women who have differences of opinion as to how the organization should be governed; and

WHEREAS, the recent trouble within the union was due to lack of tolerance and also due to the interference of outside influences; be it therefore

RESOLVED that this convention, in framing the policies of our International for the future should embody in the constitution that our members shall be free to express their opinions and those opinions shall be tolerated, and that interference from outsiders, individuals or organizations, shall not be permitted, as our organization is for the members of the Union and shall be led and controlled by them only.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 172

Introduced by Nathan Riesel of Local 68.

WHEREAS, it has been shown that in many instances where members of our International Union elected as paid officers serve more than two years, and their being away from the shop for a long period brings it about that such officers do not feel keen interest, and the psychology of the workers becomes foreign to them; and

WHEREAS, their long stay in the office therefore makes it impossible for them to serve the workers properly for the reasons enumerated; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention decide that members of the I. L. G. W. U. who are elected to paid office should not be permitted to hold office more than two years, after which period they shall be obliged to return to the shop at least for a term of one year before being permitted to hold office again.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 173

Introduced by Delegates Kreindler, Friedman, Greenberg, Stein, Cirrincione, Harris, Grossman, Schaffer, Rappaport.

WHEREAS, the effort of the union to establish fair sanitary and labor standards throughout the industry through collective bargaining has been frustrated by the multiplication of non-union shops which are unclean, unsanitary, unsafe, and where the workers are exploited by low wages, long hours of employment; and other unfair labor conditions; and

WHEREAS the checking of this unscrupulous competition by non-union shops is one of the most important needs in the industry; and

WHEREAS for a great many years the Union has advocated the checking of these conditions through a Union Label; and

WHEREAS, through the efforts of the Union, a sanitary Union Label was provided in the 1924 agreement in the Cloak and Dress Industries of New York City known as the "Prosanis" Label and issued by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control; and

WHEREAS, this label is a device by which the Union can discover and check the flow of garments to non-union shops promoted by unfair jobbers and manufacturers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union take strong steps to bring about one hundred percent cooperation for the enforcement of the label in every shop having contractual relations with the Union.

That it serve notice upon the manufacturers that every evasion of the label provision of the agreement will be stubbornly resisted with every power the Union commands.

That a special campaign of education be carried on among the workers on the importance of the label as a device for strengthening the Union standards of the industry.

Referred to the Committee on Union and Prosanis Label.

Resolution No. 174

Submitted by Delegation of Local 35.

WHEREAS, the Cloak and Skirt Pressers of New York, Local 35, have three scales of wages, which seem to divide the membership of our own craft; and

WHEREAS, even the largest scale does not enable our members to make a living; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct the Incoming G. E. B. and the Joint Board of New York that when agreements with the employers in the cloak trade are renewed, they work out one uniform scale of wages which shall not be lower than the wage scale of any other craft in the trade.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 175

Introduced by Delegates of Local 113.

WHEREAS, there is much difficulty in organizing Italian and American workers in Westchester County; and

WHEREAS, when a shop is organized and union conditions are obtained, these shops either move to the City of New York or go out of business, leaving their workers without employment; and

WHEREAS, such workers are compelled to seek work elsewhere securing jobs mostly in New York City; and

WHEREAS, they are either stopped from work in the New York shops or compelled to pay an extra initiation fee in the local unions in the city of New York in spite of their membership in the out-of-town locals; and

WHEREAS, it has created such an impression upon the workers of Westchester County that it is very hard to convince them to join the Union; be it

RESOLVED, that the Incoming General Executive Board sees to it right after the convention that all locals in the city of New York recognize the members of out-of-town locals and accept transfer cards to any individual local of New York City without subjecting them to the payment of an initiation fee into the New York local.

Referred to the Committee on Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

President Sigman: Are any of the committees ready to report? (There were none. The chairmen of the various

committees thereupon announced the meeting time and place for their respective committees).

President Sigman: This convention will have no work before it until we get reports from the various committees. It will therefore be necessary for the committees to get together at once and prepare at least a partial report, so that when we come here tomorrow we shall be able to pass judgment on the reports that are ready.

President Sigman announced the following changes and additions to the standing committees of the convention.

Rose Faranda, Local 89, is transferred from Committee on Appeals to Committee on Rules and Regulations.

Frank Amler, Local 30, is added to Committee on Rules and Regulations.

Charles Kreindler, Local 42, is moved from Committee on Officers' Report to Committee on Law.

Louisa Siano, Local 134 is added to Committee on Law.

Florence Pette, Local 134, is moved from Committee on Law, and remains on Organization Committee.

Sophie Kniznick, Local 91, is added to the Committee on Officers' Report.

Emma Yanisky, Local 22, is added to added to Appeals Committee.

Sarah Chernow, Local 55, is added to Committee on Union and Proseans Label

F. Goldman, Local 13, is added to Committee on Education.

Delegate Snyder (chairman of the Credentials Committee); Local 142 has sent Delegates Lucy Meclarski and Amelia Petro to take the place of Grace Dellu-vise and Murray Golembeck. I move you that these two new Delegates be seated. This motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

President Sigman: The Credentials Committee reported last week that we have the privilege of having with us a fraternal delegate from the Needle Trades International, Brother Plettl. I

believe we should take advantage this morning of his presence and call upon him to address our convention and tell us about the efforts and accomplishments of the labor movement abroad. I believe he will address us in German. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Brother Plettl (applause).

President Plettl spoke for a half an hour in German, and his speech was frequently interrupted by outbursts of applause. It was apparent, however, that many of the delegates not familiar with the German language were not able to understand him.

Delegate Helen Matthews: I move that Brother Plettl's speech be translated and appear in the minutes.

(This motion was seconded and unanimously carried).

President Sigman: Delegate Lefkovits will translate the address for your benefit. The speech will appear fully in tomorrow's minutes.

Delegate Lefkovits translated the speech as follows:

I regret that I cannot speak your language, which prevents me from transmitting to you as warmly and as wholeheartedly as I should like the message of greeting from the International Clothing Workers' Federation, to which you belong, and from the German Clothing Workers' Union whose president I am, and who send their best wishes to you and to your convention.

The workers of Europe in general, and the workers in our own trades, the needle trades in particular, suffered greatly during the years before the war, in the horrible nightmare of the World War, which lasted four years, and ever since the war was concluded. During the war the bonds of international solidarity which had grown strong and bade well to become a tremendous weapon in the hands of the workers for their emancipation became weaker and in many instances were torn asunder. During the war and after it, the employers in every industry on the continent of Europe have sought to take advantage of the critical situation which faced every nation and

to break down labor standards and labor unions which have taken generations to build up. In this they were, we must regretfully admit, successful to a considerable degree.

Fortunately, since the conclusion of hostilities the workers in Europe, and in many of the other countries affected by the war, have again awakened to the realization that international solidarity must be preserved at all costs if the working class organizations are to be saved and amount to anything. As a result, we find today that former ties and affiliations have been revived and we are happy to state that they are even stronger today in many industries than they ever were before. Our own International Clothing Workers' Federation was revived in 1920, and today we have an affiliated membership of 385,000 workers from countries all over Europe and America. True, these are not all the needle workers all over the world, but we are hopeful that before long every trade organization on the face of this globe will be united with our Federation.

I came to America, together with my associates in the German trade union movement to study American working conditions in the shops and mines and to study your methods of work and industry. We came here as a commission from the German trade unions, 15 of us, to seek information for the benefit of the organized workers of Germany, prompted by the fact that last year a group of German employers came to the United States, and upon returning to Germany informed us at conference that, if German workers want to get Germany back to its former leading position in industry and commerce, the workers would have to work longer hours more efficiently and harder than they work at present, and concretely proposed that the German trade unions give up the eight-hour day, and work 10 or 12 hours daily, for lower wages and at as high a speed as they claimed the American workers are working.

When I came to America, I found that our German captains of industry had told us only part of the story and that a great deal they either kept to them-

selves or designedly misrepresented. I found for instance, that the needle workers in America worked even less than eight hours a day on the average—namely 44 hours a week and in some trades even 40 hours, and I learned to my great satisfaction that these needle workers, organized in powerful unions, have actual control over labor standards and conditions in the shops and that they are able to adjust grievances to the best of the workers' interests because of this excellent exercise of their organized power in the clothing factories. I have learned many other facts and data, which, when presented in their true light to the garment workers of Germany, will give them added strength and additional weapons to fight the aggression and the avarice of our employing interests.

I am going to report back to the German workers the true state of affairs in our industry in America, and my fellow workers in the German clothing trades will give notice to the master clothiers of Germany that their attempt to make slaves of the German garment workers so that they might compete with other countries at the expense of the living standards of our men and women, will not succeed; that we shall fight back every attempt to debase our living conditions and with the strong organization that we possess we shall succeed in frustrating their efforts.

I do not desire to flatter you. We German workers are not so constituted as to make a practice of hollow phrases or meaningless flattery, but I desire sincerely to tell you that I am very deeply impressed by what I have found in your shops. The evidence of a strong organization in your trade is manifest everywhere and wherever I went I could not help observing the effects of the solidarity and the united power that you exert. I hope, and this will be my own endeavor and the endeavor of my colleagues in our union, to establish such labor conditions in our shops in Germany as you have in your garment factories in the United States. But while you may consider it somewhat out of place, I cannot help remarking that in my three months' study and contact with the workers in your shops and likewise

with some of the employers. I found also the evidence of the internal strife that is going on in your ranks, evidence that is deplorable and that is affecting very much the welfare of your members. I am not here to give you my advice. I know that just as we German workers do not like to be dictated to from London or Paris as we believe that we can ourselves best face our problems, so are you best suited to solve your own problems. But I must tell you that I gained the impression in your shops which I visited that your employers are happy in the thought that there is an internal strife in your organization and that they believe that when the time comes to make new agreements in your industry they will be able to make the best of this situation for themselves.

We, too, in Germany have had internal disagreements in our Union; but I am happy to inform you that today we are through with brotherly strife in our organization. We had the same agitation and bad feeling in our unions, but we have managed, by the recognition of the fact that we can only exist and be an influential factor in the trades through harmony and union, to do away with our dissensions and present a solid front to our employers. It is my hope, therefore, that your convention will very earnestly apply itself to the problem of solidifying your ranks and of eliminating to the best of your ability fraternal dissensions and succeed in creating an united a front line in the needle industry as will convince the employers that they cannot count upon your disagreements as a means of breaking up your union and disintegrating the working conditions in your industry.

This is my sincere and fervent wish. I do not want to tell you the means that you should adopt for strengthening your organization and to bring about again the feeling of solidarity and brotherly love, but I should like to take back to Germany the message that you are once more on the road to united organization, to strengthened morale and increased influence. I also want to bring back to them the message that as class conscious workers you are with them together in their ultimate aim and object—to free the workers from the capitalist

system and together with them establish the future republic of the workers. (applause).

At this point a group of progressive cloak and dressmakers of New York marched down the aisle of the convention floor up to the platform and presented to the Convention a basket of flowers, amidst loud applause.

Secretary Baroff then read the following communication from this group:

Delegates to the 18th Biennial convention of our International.

Greetings: The workers of New York are following the deliberations of the convention with the greatest of interest. We sincerely hope that at this historic convention you will adopt measures which will do away with the causes of our internal conflict and make it possible for every member of our union regardless of his political views to contribute the best that is within him to the upbuilding of our union.

A Group of Progressive Cloak and Dressmakers of New York.

Delegate Nagler: I shall speak in German for the benefit of Brother Plett. I move that this convention go on record thanking Comrade Plett for his wonderful address and the greeting that he has brought from the German Clothing Workers' Union.

This motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The next speaker to address the convention was Mr. Nathaniel Halpern who spoke on behalf of the Denver Sheltering Home for Jewish Children. He briefly described the aims and purposes of his organization and the work it was accomplishing for the children of working-class parents who are stricken with the white plague in Denver and other parts of the country. He made reference to the fact that many of these children belong to families of members of I. L. G. W. U. and pleaded with the convention to give its moral and financial support to his organization.

Delegate Dubinsky announced that the Committee on Resolutions would have

its first session at two o'clock that afternoon at the Majestic Hotel, Room 1037.

Delegate Fish announced that the Committee on Rules and Regulations would meet at the Majestic Hotel, Room 349, at 2 o'clock that afternoon.

President Sigman: There isn't any further business before the house and this convention will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

Thereupon the convention adjourned at 11:30 a. m., to reconvene the next day, Tuesday morning, at 9:30 a.m.

Eighth Day—Morning Session Tuesday, December 8, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 10:00 a. m.

Secretary Baroff read the following telegrams which were received with applause:

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Fraternal Greetings from Local 5, A. C. W. A. May your convention be the beginning of the end of brotherly strife in the labor movement. We wish you to rise above all small things to the great cause of Labor solidarity.
SAM LEVY, Secretary.

Chicago, Ill.

Greetings and best wishes to the officers and delegates of the Eighteenth Convention. May your deliberations be crowned with success.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, LOCAL 5,
CHICAGO.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Accept our wishes for a harmonious and successful outcome of your deliberations.
CHUDNOVER EDUCATIONAL BR. 300
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE.

I. Melamed, Secretary.

New York, N. Y.

Greetings to the Progressive Delegates of the 18th Convention of I. L. G. W. U.

We the active members of Loc. 2, 9, 22, 10, 35, assembled at an open forum in Local 12, encourage the progressive delegates for not participating in the committees to which they were appointed by the chairman of the convention and we protest against the actions taken by the chairman of the convention against the progressive delegates who represent the vast majority of the members of New York.

THE ASSEMBLY OF OPEN FORUM.

New York N. Y.

Greetings. We the workers of A. H. Giltelson, 148 West 37th St., express our greetings to the Eighteenth Convention. We instruct our delegates to stand by our demands for which we have been fighting during last summer months, under the leadership of the Joint Action Committee.

THE ACTIVE COMMITTEE.

Jacob Blecher, Anna Laboralitch,
Max Siegel, Shop Chairman.

New York, N. Y.

Greetings. The Italian Branch of Local 38, I. L. G. W. U. acclaims with pride the Eighteenth Convention and express their vote of thanks for the proper and equitable decision rendered in the case of Brother Louis Rea, member of our branch. We hope all your proceedings may be guided solely by the sacred interest of the masses which are entrusted in your hands and may the spirit of brotherhood rule over all your councils and deliberations.

ROMEO, Chairman.

Delegate Wishnevsky: I have a resolution pertaining to the Workmen's Circle which was adopted by our Local and I was instructed to present it to the convention. President Sigman refused to accept it because of the last resolve. He suggested that I make two resolutions instead of one, or otherwise read the resolution before the house.

President Sigman: The chair refused to entertain this resolution particularly because of its last resolve, which as submitted originally proposed to censure the administration of the Workmen's Circle for I don't know what, and I don't feel that I must take for granted the cause submitted by the delegates who signed this resolution. Delegate Wishnevsky then consented to change the expression of censure to a protest against the administration. I again refused to entertain this resolution with this inclusion. I explained to him that we are not a trial tribunal over any organization. We are gathered here for definite purposes and we are interested in taking up such matters as concern us, mainly within our own organization. Delegate Wishnevsky insisted that this resolution having been adopted by his local, should be submitted in its present form. I suggested that I would be willing to take up the first part of the resolution and the first resolve, and that if he wanted to censure or protest against the Workmen's Circle administration, he should read the resolu-

tion before the convention and by consent of the convention we may insert such a resolution in our proceedings, which he declined to do. Finally I suggested to him to present this resolution before the house and leave it to the decision of the convention.

Delegate Wisniewsky: I will read the resolution:

Delegate Wisniewsky thereupon read the following resolution:

Resolution

Introduced by Local 38.

WHEREAS, it is known to the membership of our Union that the Workmen's Circle Children's School is the only institution that gives the children of the Jewish workers an education that is essential for them, based more or less on the interpretation of the class struggle and class division in present society; and

WHEREAS, it brings the children and parents closer together in an understanding of what is involved in class consciousness and the struggle of the workers for the betterment of their conditions, the sacrifices that have to be made when there are strikes, lock-outs, injunctions, imprisonment, etc., and renders the children more sympathetic toward the cause of the labor movement in general; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we endorse and support this school and be it further:

RESOLVED, that although we endorse and support the school, we must emphatically protest against the expulsion policy of the present administration of the Workmen's Circle as it weakens and demoralizes the organization.

Delegate Nagler: I move that the resolution be tabled.

This motion was seconded.

President Sigman: On such a motion there cannot be any discussion.

Delegate Zimmerman: There is a special reason why this resolution was not presented to the committee within the specified time allowed for the introduction of resolutions. I believe therefore that this resolution should be referred to the proper committee for action, and then you can act upon it.

President Sigman: All that can be considered if the motion before the house is defeated.

Upon being put to a vote, the motion to table the above resolution was carried.

President Sigman: I again repeat to

Delegate Wisniewsky that if he changes this resolution as suggested by me he still has the opportunity of submitting it before the convention.

Delegate Wisniewsky: I was instructed to present the resolution as I read it.

President Sigman: The Committee on Rules and Regulations is now ready to report.

Delegate Joseph Fish, chairman of the Rules and Regulations Committee, read the report of the Committee, as follows, each rule being taken up serially and acted on separately:

Your committee on Rules and Regulations unanimously recommends 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 5:00 p. m. except on Saturdays on which days the session shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 1:00 p. m.

Rule No. 2. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall at the request of the chair, take a seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule No. 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule No. 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to call him to a point of order.

Rule No. 5. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same question without the permission of the Convention.

There being no objections to the preceding rules as read, the recommendation of the Committee were unanimously adopted.

Delegate Schwartz: I want to ask a question, Mr. President.

President Sigman: What is your question?

Delegate Schwartz: I want to know

whether those rules and regulations are for this Convention only or for future conventions also.

President Sigman: These rules will apply to the coming conventions, in accordance with our constitution, until new rules are adopted. If the constitution is modified, then those rules will not apply to the coming conventions, and the convention will then have to conduct its business without any rules until rules are adopted.

Chairman Fish (continuing reading):

Rule No. 6. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the Convention.

President Sigman: Any objection to that rule?

Delegate Rubin: I want to amend this rule so that on an important question the time allotted to each speaker shall be fifteen minutes instead of ten.

President Sigman: As a rule, when a very important question is on the floor of the convention, we know from experience that we allot at least fifteen minutes. Is this amendment seconded?

This motion on the amendment was duly seconded.

Delegate Antonini: I don't understand the reason for this amendment. A question is important only in the way you look at it. What may be a very important question to Brother Rubin may not be important to me at all, and vice-versa, and who is to decide whether it is important or not?

Delegate Robbins (Secretary Rules Committee): The Committee in making this recommendation knew that there would be some people who would ask for fifteen minutes. Therefore, your Committee says: "Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the Convention." The convention will decide whether it is important or not.

Delegate Hyman: I don't know whether the majority can extend the time of a speaker or not, but there may

be an important question under discussion where a speaker cannot express his opinion in ten minutes. I would therefore amend the recommendation so that on every question where there is a difference of opinion both sides shall have the right to consume an equal length of time and that the speakers shall be apportioned by each side and that they be given as much time as they need in order to give them an equal opportunity. If you are going to adopt this rule as it now stands, I am sure that we will never be able to have an intelligent discussion on the most important problems that come before this convention.

Delegate Stoller: Brother Hyman says we should appoint an equal number of speakers from both sides, but suppose there are more than two sides to the questions, and there usually are three or four different opinions on the same resolution. I would like to know what Brother Hyman would suggest when there are more than two sides to a question.

President Sigman: I am not interested in arguing against the amendment, but personally I don't find much wisdom in it. At any rate, there is the original proposition and there is an amendment.

I will ask the stenographer to read the amendment of Brother Hyman.

The amendment as made by Delegate Hyman was read by the stenographer.

President Sigman: Why not vote on this amendment? Whether such a procedure is wise I don't know. Considering my own habits, when I start speaking, I can sometimes go on for an hour or more. If the convention desires to have this rule amended in this way, I have no objection.

Delegate Volkowitz: I understand the amendment to mean the following: That when an important question is before the house and speakers have spoken for ten minutes or so, then each side will have an opportunity of having one or two more to present the case from each point of view, and for those particular speakers the time shall not be limited.

President Sigman: I must make a

brief reply to that. Personally, I think that the delegates to this convention are quite desirous of being informed on every complicated question that may come up for discussion here, and I would be satisfied to depend on their judgment on the basis that the original proposition was suggested. I would not want you to come to an unfair conclusion, that no matter how vital a problem may be, your privilege in discussing the question will be curtailed. But as I said before, if the convention desires to modify the recommendation of the committee, it is its privilege. We will therefore now vote on the question.

Delegate Feinberg: I would like to be informed by the mover of the amendment whether he has in mind that on a particular question which he considered important the convention set a certain time, say two or three hours or so, and that that time be divided equally between the two factions.

Delegate Hyman: That is what I mean. For instance, when the officers' report comes up for discussion, we will set aside say a day for discussion, each side to have the right to bring out the opposing views, and, instead of the speakers being called by the chairman, each side shall have the privilege of having either one speaker or as many as they desire to speak on the question.

Delegate Amdur: I understand the chairman shall decide whether the question is important.

President Sigman: The convention will decide that.

Delegate Amdur: Well, that is the original recommendation of the committee. I think that the amendment is not clear.

President Sigman: We will now vote on this question of the original motion. First we will vote on Delegate Hyman's amendment and then on the Committee's recommendations.

Secretary Baroff announced the vote as 123 for the amendment and 126 for the recommendation of the Committee.

President Sigman: The original recommendation of the committee is there-

fore carried, and I want to assure the delegates that when vital questions are discussed before the house the convention will have no objection to extend as much time as will be necessary so that speakers will be able to present fully to the Convention their views on the matter.

Chairman Fish of the Rules and Regulations Committee, continued the reading of the Committee's report as follows:

Rule No. 7. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

There being no objection, this rule was unanimously adopted.

Rule No. 8. 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 amend, which motions shall have preference in the order made.

President Sigman: Any objections

Delegate Yanisky: I want to know whether that provides that a speaker not recognized by the chair can make such a motion.

President Sigman: In our procedure heretofore anyone could make such a motion if he is recognized by the Chair.

Delegate Hyman: What Sister Yanisky means is whether, when a delegate has the floor and is speaking on a question, a delegate not officially recognized can jump up and make a motion to adjourn, or any of the other motions specified in that rule.

President Sigman: No; a speaker cannot make such a motion without being recognized first by the chairman.

Is there any objection to this rule? Hearing none, the recommendation is adopted.

Chairman Fish, continued the reading of the report as follows:

Rule No. 10. 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. 11. That the report of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes on the floor of the Convention the same as the other motions and resolutions.

Rule No. 12. It shall require at least fifteen delegates to move the previous question.

Rule No. 13. 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. 14. No debate shall be declared closed until the maker of the motion shall have the privilege of the floor.

Rule No. 15. After 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. 16. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

There being no objections, these recommendations were unanimously approved and the rules adopted.

Rule No. 17. When a delegate addresses the Convention in any other than the English language, the main points of his remarks shall be interpreted by the chairman or any other delegate appointed by the chair.

President Sigman: Any objection to that rule?

Delegate Wolkowitz: I object to the word "interpreted." I think it should be "translated" instead of "interpretend."

Delegate Rubin: I also add to that amendment that the translation be recorded in the minutes.

President Sigman: Any objection to this rule as amended? There being no objections, it is adopted.

Delegate Fish, Chairman of the Com-

mittee, continued the reading of the report as follows:

Rule No. 18. Registration cards shall be furnished by the Convention of 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. 19. Roll call may be called upon any question at the request of not less than fifteen delegates from five different locals.

Rule No. 20. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule No. 21. The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates only.

Rule No. 22. The delegates shall retain the same seats all through the Convention, occupied by them during the first sessions of the Convention.

Joseph Fish
Chairman
Henry Robbins
Secretary
Hannah Schubert
Nathan Schaffer
Mary Vardon
Isidore Dimentberg
Charles Disanza
J. E. Blouin
J. Schneider
V. Catania
Rose Yaranda
H. Chodosh

There being no objections to these recommendations, the balance of the report was unanimously approved and the rules adopted.

President Sigman: I want to express my thanks and the thanks of the Convention to the Committee on Rules and Regulations for its report.

Delegate Portnoy: I move that the Committee on Officers' Report be instructed to bring in a report not later than tomorrow morning. I want to protest against the way the convention is wasting its time. Today is already Tuesday of the second week. There was no reason in the world why the com-

mittees could not have been appointed last Friday, have met Saturday and Sunday and reported Monday morning. We did not come here to enjoy ourselves. (applause).

Delegate Antonini: I am surprised at the explosion of Brother Portnoy. I charge that we have lost time due to no fault of our side. (Applause).

If the President was not in a position to announce the committees any sooner it is due to your action and nothing else. It is ridiculous for Brother Portnoy to instruct the committee on Officers' Report to bring in a report tomorrow. It is an important committee and I cannot understand the position of some of the delegates. I read in this morning's paper that some of the delegates have said that in the committees were appointed the most stupid and incompetent of our delegates. How you can stand for such an insult surprises me.

President Sigman: That is another matter.

Delegate Antonini: The committee will submit its report as soon as it is ready.

Delegate Zimmerman: I rise to protest against the insinuation of Brother Antonini that we stated the delegates on the committees were stupid and incompetent. I stated on the floor of this convention the reason why we will not participate in the committees. You should not take your version from the newspapers but from what I said here. I charged the administration and particularly President Sigman in appointing these committees that he did so in such a way that we would not be able to get the best services out of the committees.

Delegate Nagler: Point of order. There is only one motion before the house.

President Sigman: Your point of order is well taken.

Delegate Nagler: It is ridiculous to instruct the committee to bring in its final report tomorrow morning because I want to call the attention of the so-called "progressives" to the fact that

they have consumed too much time on the Credentials Committee's report and that is the reason that this convention is behind time. While it is true that there is a big "gallery" in the rear of the convention hall at present, I am not ready to appeal to the gallery but everyone knows that on account of your tactics it took so long a time for the Credentials Committee to complete its report.

A Delegate: There is no gallery here.

Delegate Nagler (sarcastically): I apologize, but I want to finish. These delegates ought to be the last ones to make this protest on the floor. They should not get up at every moment because they suspect that there is possibly a certain group that might listen to them and give them a little applause. I say to you that you have been the cause of this convention not organizing in time. You did not approve of the report of the Credentials Committee and everyone wanted to have the floor for at least an hour's time. You have taken up five days on the Credentials Committee's report when it should not have taken more than two, and it is your fault, and not the fault of this side.

Delegate Hochman: People who do not want to do any work themselves have no business to tell anybody else how to do it. (great applause). No committee can be instructed as to when to complete its report. We are trying to do our best. Most of the time that has been consumed has been consumed by cheap demonstrations and cheap speeches and that is the reason why we are so far behind in our work. (applause.)

Delegate Rubin (Yiddish): I believe Brother Portnoy's motion is a previous one. We are wasting too much time. Since representatives of the progressive group were not appointed on the committees, it is useless every day to make announcements for committees because we will not participate anyway and we should like the committees to report partially whatever they have accomplished, in order to give the convention an opportunity to act on their recommendations.

Delegate Amdur: I am opposed to

this motion for the reason that the delegate who made this motion bases his argument on the premise that it is unfair to apply the steamroller to pass upon decisions of the committees. I claim it would be more unfair according to his suggestion to apply the steamroller on the committee on Officers' Report to pass judgment in one day on the most important questions that have to come up before the convention. (applause.)

Delegate Dubinsky: I believe the committees should immediately proceed with their work. I would modify the motion that the committee on officers' report be instructed to bring in a report as soon as possible.

Delegate Katovsky: It is not the fault of the committee that the work of this convention has been delayed and as chairman of this committee I don't feel I should be called upon to defend our action. We attach a great deal of importance to our work and we will have to deliberate upon the questions before us. To do so we cannot act on instructions. The committee has already had two sessions and we will meet again this afternoon. We are working as rapidly as possible and as soon as we are ready we will report. (applause).

President Sigman: Before I put this motion to a vote, I desire to make a few remarks. The delegates will remember that since the committees were announced I have made frequent requests that these committees go in session, work on the reports and submit their recommendations to the convention. Why it was necessary for Delegate Porthoy to assist me in this matter I don't know. The motion, however, must be passed upon by this convention.

Upon being put to a vote, Delegate Porthoy's motion was lost.

Delegate Nagler: I move that the Committee on Officers' Report be requested to bring in a report as soon as possible.

Delegate Hochman: I amend the motion that the committee shall make every effort to submit a partial report tomorrow morning.

Delegate Nagler: I accept the amendment.

The motion as amended was unanimously carried.

President Sigman: It is my duty to bring to light some insinuations that some of our delegates have been making since the opening of this convention, and peculiar as it may seem, the very delegates who have made these claims against the convention are perhaps more responsible than anyone else for what has taken place and for the fact that the committees could not be organized at an earlier period. That is why I was surprised when Delegate Hyman made his amendment referring to the time a speaker should be permitted to address the convention on any question. For three or four days, delegates, contrary to the advice of the chair, when discussing a question, have been talking about everything else under the sun and in this way killed our time making it impossible for us to proceed with constructive work. It may be my fault, and it is my good luck to know that whatever happens must necessarily be blamed on me. It appeared to me that if I were to apply against some of the speakers the strict rule in connection with discussions on the floor, the cry would have come that the President does not permit the so-called progressive delegates to express fully their views and that it was a case of discrimination and intolerance. At every session, and finally at yesterday's session, I called the attention of the delegates to the fact that thereafter we would have to be more strict when it comes to speaking on any question, and only during this morning's session we had another example of wasting time during the reading of the report of the Committee on Rules and Regulations when a half hour was spent on a matter of no consequence whatever, and naturally someone is going to be blamed for it.

And now one word with regard to the remark of Delegates Zimmerman and Rubin. It was again the same story that some of the delegates who were appointed on the various committees would not appear and participate because the personnel of these committees was not satisfactory to them. I will only ask

the delegates and the visitors—and it bothers me very little what wing they belong to—I want them to get copies of the proceedings for the last two days in which the committees appear, and in which the changes and additions on those committees appear, and then judge for themselves as to whether there is any unfairness in the division of those committees. I am perfectly satisfied and my conscience is clear on the way I have divided the committees and that I have shown fairness and equity in doing so.

One thing, however, must be borne in mind at all events, that members in a union, if dissatisfied with certain occurrences must seek correction in a legitimate and organization-like manner and people in a union who do not want to apply such methods and on account of this do not get anywhere, have themselves to blame, and not the organization. (applause). Our by-laws on the question of organizing the committees propose two ways; one in the method of appointment by the chairman, which system has been practiced in our International as long as I can remember. The other method is the system of electing committees. If there was any dissatisfaction with the appointed committees they had the absolute right in a friendly way to make as many counter-proposals as they desired. This was not done. These great leaders, these peerless leaders of the labor movement, who, when they needed it, quite frequently consulted me on just as, and perhaps more important matters, at this time could not afford to lower their dignity and take this matter up in an organization-like spirit. Nor did they do the other thing and make use of their own rules and laws that still prevail at this convention. What did they do? They rose on the floor of this convention and humiliated their own delegates, and in a way insulted the delegations of the other organizations present, and said, "We are not going to serve on these committees." That decision was reached here by our very good brothers who claim to have the labor movement at heart. Their spokesman has slapped in the face the entire convention and the entire labor movement and has acted in

a manner, which, in my opinion, is not to their credit when he said "We are not going to serve on the committees." Is it a division, is it sabotage, is it a strike on a matter which involves the life, the interest of thousands and tens of thousands of our members? Or is it a question of bulldozing this convention, of bulldozing the entire movement which is represented at this congress? Is it an effort to seek new fields with new issues to be able to bluff the constituency? That is what it is in my judgment. Able men with clearer conscience and a greater responsibility for the Labor movement if they wanted to sabotage the convention, would at least pick an issue of principle—of vital principle and not an issue that involves, in my judgment, the personal honor of the delegates.

As to which of the committees are important and which are not, I don't want to touch upon that at this time. When the reports come in, you then will see whether there is any committee which is not of great consequence. It carries me back to my experience as general manager of the Joint Board some years ago when assignments had to be made of the office staff for various districts. Some business agents, and I am sorry to say that even some of the leaders of the organization shared this view, looked upon Brooklyn division as the least important office. The one assigned to Brooklyn considered it a degradation, and in the localities of consequence, where the ablest people were required, they would, as a rule send the weakest.

It appears that here we have the same situation. It is the same ridiculous viewpoint of drawing distinctions between one committee and another, perhaps, even more so here. I should like very much that the delegates who have committed in my judgment an error should at least not bring to light over and over again their unpardonable action in trying to place the responsibility on somebody else. I don't think it is fair, because I, too, am very eager to get on with our work. There will not be any railroading of any question. Reactionary as I may be, I have at least a fair sense of justice. I know some people have tried to destroy this in me, but they have not succeeded

and I shall not give anyone the opportunity at this convention to do mischief or to wrong anyone of the delegates, including myself. (applause).

I have too much respect and love and admiration for our Union, as well as for the trade union movement in general—I know how it was born and the sacrifices it has demanded from all of us. I know the pride of our membership, and I know the price our workers had paid in building up our International. I shall not do anything to degrade, destroy, or weaken anything that makes for the strength and influence, and I ask the delegates with the revolutionary and progressive labels to put a stop, for their own good, to the tactics and methods that they have demonstrated and applied during the entire convention, if they want to serve this movement for at least as long as I have and serve it with absolute honesty and integrity.

Delegate Wortis: How comes it that on the Appeal Committee we have not a single representative and on the Label Committee we have a chairman and fourteen of our delegates on a committee of eighteen?

President Sigman: I will tell you where your mistake comes in. I am afraid your concept is that a small number of locals who have a large membership must be the dominating factor everywhere in this Union and, from that point of view, you look upon the committees at this convention. My view is a different one. I say that this convention must give to as many delegates as possible an opportunity to be part and parcel of every function of this convention, no matter what it may be. We have practically every local represented on one or another committee and I am not ready, and never will be, to take all the committees and all the functions of a convention and assign to one group. If you will read over the committees you will see that the "stars" are very well divided in committees which, in my judgment, they best fit in. But as I said before, my judgment may be wrong. Every delegate has a right to correct it in an organization-like manner and not by casting threats or applying the method of bulldozing as you have demon-

strated on a few occasions during this convention. You did not do it, and you are to be blamed and not anyone else.

We will have to have night sessions. I asked Secretary Baroff to get the hall for a night session tomorrow. I am calling this to your attention so that you will not make any other engagement for tomorrow night.

I want to take the opportunity at this time to present to you a speaker who will address you on a question concerning our industry as well as our organization. He will speak on a question that is being considered by our Prosanis Label Committee. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Dr. Henry Moskowitz, the Director of the Label Department of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. (applause).

Dr. Moskowitz: I come here this morning as the Director of the Label Division of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. The Joint Board of Sanitary Control is about to celebrate its 15th anniversary.

All of you here know that the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is the child of that great collective agreement which was the result of the strike of 1910. You all remember that at that time there was a great demand to "clean the shops," and you all remember that the outcome of that revolt of the workers was the Protocol of 1910, and that as a result of that Protocol a number of institutions were established in the industry; but during the past fifteen years nearly all these institutions went down and only one survived, and that was the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

Now, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, friends, has been unique because it is the only board which is a joint board, which has a volunteer inspection service of its own, and which has for the past fifteen years improved the outward surroundings of the workers. This board also recognized that, if they found a tubercular worker in a clean shop, this tubercular worker was a source of infection to his own brothers and to the public, and so the officers of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control were directed

toward a second emphasis, the emphasis upon the personal health of the workers, and in consequence of the physical examinations which were given under the direction of that able and efficient director of the Board, Dr. George M. Price, the Union Health Center was established, and that Union Health Center, my friends, is the only example in the history of the Labor movement of an institution for the cure and prevention of disease which is supported by the workers themselves.

Now, my friends, I am coming to a vital point, and that is this. Early in the history of the Board we sent our inspectors to the shops and they found on Broadway very nice showrooms and very nice shops and they gave these employers certificates. But what did we find later, my friends? We found that these very employers with these very nice showrooms and very nice shops were receiving 90 per cent. of their garments from the foul sweatshops and non-union shops in Brooklyn and other parts of New York. The certificate therefore, meant nothing. These employers were not only exploiting the workers physically but exploiting them economically. So that this certification meant nothing and was useless.

As early as 1914, the I. L. G. W. U. learned that mere inspection of shops and mere certification of shops meant nothing; that it was necessary to control the flow of non-union contractor shops into the big shops on Broadway. And so as early as 1914 the I. L. G. W. U. advocated a label. It took ten years for I. L. G. W. U. to get the principle of the label recognized, and that principle was recognized in 1924 when the I. L. G. W. U. demanded a union label. What it received was a sanitary union label. And, my friends, the Proslavery Label, or the sanitary union label which was given through the recommendation of the Governor's Mediation Commission provides that no employer can obtain that label or the right to use that label unless that employer has an agreement with the I. L. G. W. U. (applause); so that the label is a de facto union label and it is also a sanitary union label, and the shop must not only be a

union shop but it must also be a clean shop.

Now what is the history of this label? This label was introduced in September, 1924, in the cloak industry and very soon thereafter it was introduced in the dress industry. When we started, my friends, we met resistance. First of all, the right of the Label Division to inspect the shops was fought by the jobbers and the employers. They recognized and they knew full well that if we could go into a jobber's or a sub-manufacturer's or a manufacturer's establishment to inspect the garments to see whether they had labels or not, we had an easy way of detecting whether those garments were made under union conditions. And so they fought that right of inspection; but we took that question right before the Governor's Commission and the Commission ruled that we had the right to inspect every shop to ascertain whether the garments there had the label or not. But, my friends, let me tell you this: that the sale of the label and the control and enforcement of the label was not effective until the union itself established a Label Department. When the Union established a Label Department under the direction of Mr. Charles Jacobson, when every representative of the union asked for and got the label, that was the time that the sale of the label was stimulated, that was the time to make the sale of the label effective, and the figures of the sale of the label show what can be done when the union is in harmony and working in unison. The label was introduced in September, 1924. In October, 1924, we sold 716,700 labels. In October, 1925, when there was strife and dissension, when the employers sensed that the Union had internal trouble and that the members were fighting among themselves, what was the result? The facts were these: In October, 1924, we sold 716,700 labels. In October, 1925, we sold 382,300 labels in the cloak industry. The same contrast is shown also in the dress industry. And what do these figures prove, my friends? They simply prove this, and I say it with all fervor that is within me and with all the enthusiasm that I possess for the Labor movement, that unless you have a united front against your

employers you cannot achieve your standards and you cannot enforce your standards. You can do what you please about an agreement. You can sign an agreement. You can sign an agreement and theoretically, under the agreement the employers are obliged to carry out the clause of that agreement, but if there is not behind the agreement a powerful union, a strong union, a united body, the agreement isn't worth the paper it is written on (applause).

So, my friends, I appeal to you and I ask you in the interests of progress, in the interest of raising the standards of life and labor among your people, keep strong, keep united, don't have dissensions, bring about a united front and preserve your power, for without power your agreements are worthless. And I ask you also, my friends, to remember that you have not only a strong weapon when you are united to achieve your standards; you have not only a strong weapon when you are united to enforce your standards, but I ask you, my friends, who represent 100,000 workers that you also require a weapon to exercise pressure upon the producers, upon the retailers, as consumers, as purchasers, to encourage the sale of this label by asking for Prosanis Label garments wherever you women as consumers, purchase your garments (applause).

My friends, I have done all I could to arouse the women of New York to the necessity of our label. We have had a committee of fifteen society women, fifteen middleclass women, most influential women in New York, go to the various retailers, the largest retailers in New York, Franklin Simon, Altman's and others and ask them to carry Prosanis Label garments; otherwise they threatened to withdraw their charge accounts. Now, my friends, have you done that? If the retailer finds that that label is demanded, then the employer has an incentive to use that label and he will use it. Therefore, I appeal to you as consumers to use that weapon as consumers and patronize only such retailers as carry Prosanis Label garments.

Now, my friends, I won't keep you any longer. I wish to acknowledge the ap-

preciation of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control for the cooperation you have given us. I wish to bring you the greetings of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and I hope and trust that as a result of your deliberations the I.L.G.W.U. and every local connected with it will emerge from this convention full of power and strength and united in support of those standards which you have thus far achieved, and in hope that you will improve those standards in the future (applause).

Delegate Antonini made an announcement in Italian to the Italian delegates.

President Sigman: There being no further business before the house, this convention stands adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 a. m.

Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m. the convention adjourned, to reconvene the next day, Wednesday at 9:30 a. m.

By special consent of the convention the following resolution was allowed to be submitted:

Resolution No. 176

Introduced by delegation of Local 9.

WHEREAS, Local No. 9 of the I. L. G. W. U. is the recognized Local of Cloak Finishers in Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, this is a good policy and in the interests of the workers that there should not exist more than one local of a particular craft in one City; and

WHEREAS, there are shops in Greater New York which are under the jurisdiction of the Joint Board of the Cloak Makers Union and in which many finishers of other locals are employed and over whom Local No. 9 has no jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, such condition hinders the work of raising the wages and standards of the finisher; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. goes on record favoring that all cloak finishers of the other locals of Greater New York be transferred to Local No. 9.

Referred to Committee on Trade and Local Jurisdiction and Adjustment.

Ninth Day—Morning Session
Wednesday, December 9, 1925.

President Sigman called the session to order at 10:00 a. m.

Secretary Baroff read the following telegrams which were received with applause:

Long Island City N. Y.

Greetings. We wish you success in your deliberations. May your convention solve your problems in such manner as will lead to the emerging of your union from the chaos and strife which sapped its vitality. The successful solution of your problems will help to establish our union and all other sister organizations on a healthy progressive class-conscious foundation and will enable us all to protect effectively the interests of the workers against the encroachment of the manufacturers. The Furriers have strongly cherished a fond hope to amalgamate all needle trades unions into one powerful class-conscious needle trades union; our last convention embodied this hope in a resolution unanimously adopted. The furriers look forward to your decision to bring into life the amalgamation of all needle trades unions. We are with you for a powerful militant class-conscious organization of all needle trades workers and for the international unification of the working class in the struggle for the complete liberation of the workers from capitalism and for the institution of working class rule.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION.

I. Wohl, Sec'y-Treasurer.

New York, N. Y.

Greetings to your National Convention from the Trade Union Committee for organizing the Purcell meetings. We hope that your convention will aid the cause of world trade union unity by adopting a resolution in favor of sending a trade union delegation to Soviet Russia for the purpose of making an investigation of labor conditions there and to report findings to the American Labor movement. With best wishes for your success.

M. ROSEN.

Chairman Trade Union Committee for organizing Purcell meetings

New York, N. Y.

We are sending our greetings to the Eighteenth Convention of our International. We hope that unity and tolerance will be established in our ranks, and that the demand of the rank and file for a stronger and more powerful union will be carried.

Fraternaly,

CHAIRMAN AND COMMITTEE OF
LOUIS MARGOLIS SHOEN, 131 W.
35th STREET.

New York, N. Y.

Greetings and best wishes for successful deliberations that will result in the elimination of the chaos created in our International during the last few months.

JACOB WHITE LOCAL 10.

President Sigman: The Resolutions Committee will now present its report.

Delegate Dubinsky, secretary of the

Resolutions Committee, thereupon proceeded to report as follows:

Report of Committee on Resolutions Forty Hour Week

Your committee received Resolutions Nos. 1, 2, 144 and 165, dealing with the introduction of the forty hour week in all the ladies' garment industries, and which read as follows:

Resolution No. 1

Submitted by Cleveland delegates:

WHEREAS, at the conventions in Chicago, Cleveland and Boston it was decided to establish a forty-hour week in our industry; and

WHEREAS, the forty-hour week is very essential in our industry due to the short seasons and long slack our members are going through; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. goes on record and instructs the incoming General Executive Board to enforce the forty-hour week in all the centers where ladies' garments are made.

Resolution No. 2

Introduced by Local 10 delegates:

WHEREAS, the workers employed in union shops in the making of dresses have for the past few years been working on the basis of a forty-hour week; and

WHEREAS, production has not diminished and the industry has been enabled to prosper in New York City as an important market for the manufacture of dresses; and

WHEREAS, the reduction of the hours of work per week to forty has afforded the dress-makers increased rest and opportunity for personal recreation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Eighteenth Convention of the International, assembled in the City of Philadelphia, go on record as instructing the incoming General Executive Board to use every effort in aiding the various joint boards and district councils to establish the only genuine eight-hour day and five-day work week, the forty-hour week, in all of the cities in which workers are engaged in the making of ladies' garments.

Introduced by Delegates of Local No. 18, as part of Resolution No. 154

WHEREAS, a 10-hour week and a guarantee for the workers to make a decent living is the general demand of all the workers engaged in the entire ladies' garment industry;

Resolution No. 164

Introduced by Local 63 Delegation.

WHEREAS, the white goods industry has gone through a period of changes which transformed this industry into a seasonal industry instead of one that has given steady

employment in the past and which changes have also caused periodic unemployment amongst the white goods workers of Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, the system of work in the white goods factories is at the present time week-work and piece-work, rendering control and adjustment of disputes in the shops very complicated and often times difficult;

WHEREAS, the agreement that we now have with the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association, and with the Independent manufacturers expires February 1, 1926; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention endorse a campaign amongst the white goods workers of Greater New York for a change of system, which will establish week-work on a forty-hour basis all through the industry; and be it

RESOLVED, that the incoming G. E. B. participate with Local 62 in future conferences and try to bring about an agreement with the manufacturers for a forty-hour week and also a week-work system.

Resolution No. 165

Introduced by Local 3, D. Rubin, Sec'y.

WHEREAS, the cloak and dress industry is a seasonal industry instead of one that gives steady employment and which consequently causes periodic unemployment among the cloak and dressmakers of Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, the system of work in the cloak and dress industry is at present week-work and piece-work, enforcing control and adjustment of disputes in the shops to become more and more complicated; and

WHEREAS the agreements that we now have with the different cloak manufacturers' and jobbers' associations and with independent manufacturers expire some time in May 1926; and

WHEREAS, as one of the remedies to solve this problem, it is very essential that the workers in our entire industry, shall not work more than 40 hours; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention endorse a campaign in the cloak and skirt industry which will establish a forty-hour week; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board assist in all future conferences and endeavor to bring about an agreement with the manufacturers for a forty-hour week.

The decrease of the hours of work is the greatest gain organized labor has accomplished. The reduction of hours adds to the sum total of human life and happiness. Less hours of work mean for the worker more hours in which to enjoy his life, broaden his outlook and enrich his personality, thus enabling him to become more useful to himself and society.

There are special reasons why the hours of labor should be reduced to forty in our industry at the present time. The trend in the last few years in our indus-

try has been toward shorter seasons and longer periods of unemployment. The responsibility for this condition cannot be laid at our doors. Our members are indeed but too anxious to work if given an opportunity.

The forty-hour week was introduced in 1923 in the dress industry of New York, one of the largest branches in the ladies' garment trades, and proved practicable.

It is, therefore, with a feeling of gratification that we herein express our pride in the fact that our International has been one of the first organizations to introduce the forty-hour, five day week, and your committee unanimously recommends that the incoming General Executive Board make the forty-hour five-day week the outstanding issue in our organization campaigns and make every effort to introduce the forty-hour, five-day week in all the ladies' garment industries throughout the United States and Canada, and therefore recommends the adoption of Resolutions Nos. 1, 2, 154, 164 and 165.

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Week-Work

Your committee has received Resolutions Nos. 5 and 6, which read as follows:

Resolution No. 5

Introduced by I. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Grivelle, F. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radoati, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, the workers in the dress and waist industry are working under the piece-work system, a system which makes it impossible for the union to standardize the wages of the workers; and

WHEREAS, the piece-work system creates sub-manufacturers, causing the sub-division of the large shops; and

WHEREAS, the piece-work system creates conflicts and antagonism among the workers, and in many cases divides them and puts them in a hostile situation towards each other; and

WHEREAS, the piece-work system makes the workers slaves of bundles, styles and difference in prices; and drives the workers to self-intensified slavery and exploitation, thus creating jealousy caused by lots, styles and big bundles for which prices are often reduced; and

WHEREAS, the only solution to preserve the earnings and the life of the workers is the establishment of the week work system in this industry; and

WHEREAS, practically all of the workers in the cloak and skirt industry of our country are working under the system of week work; and

WHEREAS, this system of week work proved to be a success wherever it was introduced in preserving the health of the workers by standardizing their earnings and by the abolition of all shop antagonism among these workers, which prevailed under the system of piece work; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union assembled in the city of Philadelphia, Pa., go on record for the establishment of a general system of week-work in all branches of the ladies' garment industry in the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the Incoming General Executive Board should use all powers at its command in order to bring about the realization of this decision.

Resolution No. 6

Submitted by Local 22:

WHEREAS, the piece-work system fosters keen competition among the workers in our industry and has proved to be highly injurious both to the health and the spirit of solidarity amongst the workers; and

WHEREAS, the piece-work system has also proved to be a great obstacle in the way of standardizing conditions in our industry and interferes with the proper union control in the shops; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International goes on record in favor of establishing the week-work system in our industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the Incoming G. E. U. through its official organ and otherwise, undertake an intensive campaign of agitation amongst the dressmakers in favor of week-work, so as to prepare the ground for putting the week-work system into effect at the expiration of our agreement.

There can be no question in the mind of any intelligent worker that the week work system is by far the more desirable system of work as compared with that of piece work. The oldest and most stable labor unions of this country have introduced it as soon as they have commanded enough strength of organization. Among the first to introduce the week-work system in this country were the printers, the building trades, the railway workers, the machinists, etc.

It is indeed regrettable that there are still workers in our industry who are not appreciative of the wonderful benefits accruing to the workers from week work, as compared with piece work. There still are elements in our union which are

advancing criticism against the week work system.

We are therefore strongly in favor of that part of these resolutions recommending an intensive educational campaign among our members to popularize week work, and while the International convention has gone on record time and again favoring week work, and while week work has been introduced in our largest cloak markets, we, the committee, feel that the Incoming General Executive Board should make every effort to introduce this system, and shall in all cases carry on a campaign of education, and make sure before doing so that the change from piece to week-work meets with the approval of the membership.

With these remarks, your committee heartily recommends the adoption of the above enumerated resolutions.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Uniform Scale of Wages

Under this, the Resolutions Committee has received resolutions Nos. 8, 9, 49, 50, and 174, which read as follows:

Resolution No. 8

Introduced by Local 3; D. Rubin, secretary:

WHEREAS the wages earned by most of our members cannot meet the perpetual increase in the cost of food, shelter and most necessary commodities; and

WHEREAS, our seasonal industry yields sufficient profits for the employers and provides them with a comfortable living during the entire year; and

WHEREAS, it should be the responsibility of the industry to provide all those employed in it with a living wage, and to insure them and their families with their upkeep; and

WHEREAS, the workers employed in the making of samples and the most exquisite and expensive tailoring work, where one must be a full-fledged mechanic and capable of the workmanship are the most underpaid in our industry, considering their capacity for production and the responsibility that this work demands of them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this convention decides to devise and employ all means to help bring about the assurance of a decent living wage for the members of our local union; and be it further

RESOLVED, that in order to assure each member of our local union with a comfortable living wage and also safeguard him during his trying period of unemployment, his

minimum wage shall be for both sample makers and piece tailors \$35.00 per week.

Resolution No. 9

Submitted by J. Gorotsky, of Local 36; A. Goldberg, of Local 9. I. Steinzor, of Local 2, and A. Kravits, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. adopted resolutions to introduce a uniform scale of wages for finishers, operators, pressers and cutters, which is a wise and justified decision; and

WHEREAS, the General Executive Board has thus far done nothing to carry this decision into effect; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International instructs the Incoming G. E. B. to do every thing possible that a uniform scale of wages be introduced in our industry.

Resolution No. 49

Introduced by Local 10 delegation:

WHEREAS, The present minimum scale of wages for cutters in the cloak and suit industry in the New York market is lower than that in some of the other crafts, although the work of cutting is as complicated and requires as much skill, if not more, than in the other crafts; and

WHEREAS, The cutters, even before the existence of a powerful union, were considered the most skillful workers receiving accordingly the highest wages, as is proven by the history of the International, the "Women's Garment Workers," on page 80; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth Convention of the International go on record as instructing the Incoming General Executive Board and all Joint Boards and district councils affiliated, that when making or renewing agreements in all the trades in all the markets, the minimum scale of cutters shall not be lower than that of any other crafts.

Resolution No. 50

Introduced by delegates of Locals 37 and 42:

WHEREAS, The minimum scales of wages for cutters and pressers are different in every locality; and

WHEREAS, A situation of this kind is detrimental to the workers in these trades; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Incoming General Executive Board stands instructed that in the next agreements with the employers one uniform scale of wages be fixed for cutters and pressers in every place where ladies' garments are made in the United States and Canada.

Resolution No. 174

Submitted by Delegation of Local 35.

WHEREAS, the Cloak and Dress Pressers of New York Local 35, have three scales of wages, which seem to divide the membership of our craft; and

WHEREAS, even the largest scale does not enable our members to make a living; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct the Incoming G. E. B. and the Joint Board of New York that when agreements with the employers in the cloak trade are renewed, they work out one uniform scale of wages which shall not be lower than the wage scale of any other craft in the trade.

The question of minimum scales and uniformity in scales is indeed a very involved and serious problem within our organization. It is as a matter of fact a part of the great problem of wages which in importance is next to the question of hours as a practical and immediate problem before the trade unions.

We are glad to note that the report of the General Executive Board to this Convention deals with this question in detail. Pages 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 and part of 36, of the G. E. B. report give a complete analysis of the wage question as it concerns our International today.

The question of a wage minimum is closely connected with the need of a guaranteed period of employment. But in so far as these resolutions deal with the question of equalization of minimum scales for the different crafts, your committee is fully in agreement that the bringing about of such a condition in our industry would be very desirable. As a matter of fact, we know that it has always been the policy of our International in renewing agreements to demand higher increases of wages and minimum scales for the lowest-paid workers. But we must not forget that there are great difficulties connected with the solution of this problem.

When an industry is organized the union finds a divergence in the earnings of the workers of different crafts with which it must contend. Such a variety of earnings can be found in almost every industry. Nevertheless, the principle involved in this question is just and your committee recommends that the Incoming General Executive Board, the Joint Board and District Councils make every effort at their command to continually work for the goal expressed in these resolutions, namely the equalization of the scales of all crafts of the workers in the ladies' garment trades.

With the above interpretation in view,

the committee recommends adoption of Resolutions Nos. 8, 9, 49, 50, and 174.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Unified Expiration of Agreements

Resolution No. 7

Submitted by A. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; B. Helfand, of Local 62; L. Wisniewsky, of Local 38; J. Krooglick, of Local 62; S. Kniznick, of Local 91; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; Jack Prokop, of Local 45; Barnett Soli, of Local 6; J. Goretzky, of Local 35; M. Shur, of Local 14; Philip Hauser, of Local 100; V. Milefsky, of Local 41, and A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, our industry is becoming centralized into the hands of an ever smaller number of jobbers who, in order to evade union control, operate different branches in various centers throughout the country, thus using one group of workers to compete with another; and

WHEREAS, the agreements in the different centers of our industry expire at different periods of the year, thereby bringing about a situation where members of our International Union in one city are forced to scab on other members of our Union who happen to be on strike in another city; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to make every possible effort to see that all agreements in each branch of our industry irrespective of the locality, shall expire at the same time.

Your committee does not see justification for the expression, "Unions in one city are forced to scab on other members of our union . . ." In so far as your committee is aware in all cases of strikes, whenever the workers of our organization in any given city were called upon, they readily responded to join in a strike and help in every way to win in the struggle against the employers.

The Resolutions Committee, nevertheless, feels that it is desirable to have more uniformity in the time of expiration of agreements existing between our organizations and the employers in the various industries in the cities of the United States and Canada, and that it would be very desirable that all such agreements expire at the same time.

The committee therefore recommends

that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to make every effort to the end that wherever agreements are to be signed they shall have in mind the carrying out of the above resolution so that as soon as possible the agreements of our organizations in the United States and Canada shall expire at the same time.

With the above changes in the second section and with the opinions above expressed, your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

Delegate Wolkowitz: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I am in agreement with the recommendations of the committee but I disagree with the remarks on the second "Whereas". The introducers of this resolution did not mean to accuse any members of scabbing against all the workers. Let us see what exists at the present time. If there is a dress strike in Philadelphia and we have an agreement with our dress manufacturers or contractors in New York, unless the workers make a special effort to find out whether a manufacturer is sending out work from New York we can't know whether we make the garments for Philadelphia or not, but knowingly or unknowingly we do help the manufacturers of Philadelphia. So I think the remarks of the chairman of the Resolutions Committee are not in order.

Delegate Stoller: I want to ask a question as to the intention of the introducers of this resolution. When one local is ready to sign an agreement with the employers in one locality and another one is not ready, are we going to call out on strike the whole union throughout the country?

Delegate Antonini: I say that it is desirable to have all the agreements expire at one time. My question is exactly the same as Delegate Stoller's. For instance, we go out in a general strike tomorrow and a general strike will be called in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago and Cleveland. What will happen tomorrow? If the employers of Philadelphia will agree with the demands of the union, aren't you going to sign an agreement? If you sign an agreement, then the objection of Miss Wolkowitz is

not in place. I believe that the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee is in place, since our workers never scab.

Delegate Halperin (Local 66): I think it would not be of any essential value to talk on this resolution since it has been recommended for adoption by the Resolutions Committee. I do, however, wish to cite to you a particular instance as far as the question just raised by the delegate of Local 10 is concerned. In our own local, our agreements usually expire in the month of July or August. We have had cases where the dressmakers went out on strike and we were supposed to work on embroidery and we had to close our shops because the dressmakers were not working. What did we do? We simply added another six months to our agreement and our agreement was made to expire at the same time that the Dressmakers' agreement ended, so that when the dressmakers went out on strike we at the same time went out on strike with them. I think a similar procedure can be pursued in other localities. This will result in not having to hold our various branches of the union on strike in order to help others in different localities.

Delegate Amdur: I believe that most of us realize that the second part of that resolution is merely child's talk and I am really surprised that the committee took it into consideration at all. If New York had an agreement for a year and it happened that on the very last day or a few days before the New York agreement expired, they had to draw up an agreement according to the wording of this resolution, we would have to draw up an agreement in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore or any other city for only two weeks in order to have our agreements expire at the same time, and you will find that throughout the entire year we may have to make agreements practically every month in order to live up to this resolution. It is entirely impossible, and I think it is ridiculous to even consider a proposition of this kind.

The previous question was called for and carried.

Delegate Hochman (Secretary, Resolu-

tions Committee): I am really surprised at the attitude of Delegate Wolkowits. The entire resolution, insofar as it represents the principle for the unification of agreement, has met with the approval of the committee and the committee believes that every effort should be made where new agreements are signed to ultimately reach a uniformity of agreement. The only thing that this committee objects to is injecting into any resolution language that may be interpreted by anybody as insulting to any part of our membership. Consciously or unconsciously, we are not psychoanalyzing anybody. We don't want to call anybody a scab; and it is for this reason that your committee has omitted this part of the resolution.

In answer to the question raised about the agreements expiring at the same time, I hope our International has enough able leadership to take care of the situation. Anyhow, I believe that this resolution should be adopted with the correction because the intentions were certainly for the benefit of the organization.

Guaranteed Payment of Wages

Your committee has received Resolution No. 10, which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 10

Submitted by G. Halperin, George Triestman, S. Halpern, Nathan Riechel and Rose Auerbach, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, it is essential in order to secure the payment of wages of members of Local 66 producing garments for jobbers and manufacturers in contractual relations with the Joint Board of the Dress and Cloakmakers' Union and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, that the jobbers be responsible for the wages of members of Local 66 employed in embroidery shops; be it

RESOLVED, that this convention recommends that the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union shall include in the next agreement to be presented by it to the employers' association and also to the independent manufacturers a clause to the effect that the manufacturers guarantee the payment of wages to the union embroidery workers in the event that the embroidery manufacturers fail to pay.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and further recommends that a clause for the guarantee of wages by the manufacturers and jobbers shall be inserted in future agree-

ments between the New York Joint Board and employers covering all the miscellaneous trades.

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

Campaigns and Strikes

Your committee has received Resolutions No. 4 and 154 which read as follows:

Resolution No. 4

Introduced by V. Miletsky, chairman of Local 41 delegation:

WHEREAS, the agreement in our branch of the industry concluded for the period of two years ending on March 1927, has been abrogated by the employers by lockout declared by the President of the Association; and

WHEREAS, in order to safeguard the prestige of our union and protect the interests of the members of our local, we have taken up the challenge of the employers and have conducted a number of strikes in some of the most important shops connected with the Association, as well as in a number of others which are also connected with the Association; and

WHEREAS it appears that the employers have entered into a conspiracy to destroy our local union, which would be a great loss to the workers engaged in our industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. endorses a general strike of the Tuckers, Hemstitchers, Pleaters and Novelty Workers' Union, Local 41.

Resolution No. 154

Introduced by Delegates of Local 38.

WHEREAS, the wages earned by 95 per cent of our members cannot meet the incessant increase in the cost of food, shelter and general commodities, and certainly do not correspond to the minimum wage rate established as essential by a government bureau, which is set at from \$2,400 to \$3,000 per year; and

WHEREAS the workers in turn in the ladies' tailoring and custom dressmaking trades are of the most underpaid in America, considering their capacity for production and the responsibility that this work demands of them.

RESOLVED, that this 18th convention endorses a general strike if necessary in the ladies' tailoring and custom dressmaking trade in order to completely organize the workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, that this convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board to render to Local 38 all assistance possible to carry on this organization campaign for a complete victory for the workers.

Your committee is fully in sympathy and in accord with the desire of the above locals to strengthen their organizations and to improve the condition of the workers in their respective industries.

Your committee recommends that the incoming General Executive Board give every assistance possible to these organizations to negotiate their agreements and get for the workers of the above-mentioned locals the conditions they are striving for in these resolutions. Your committee further recommends that the incoming General Executive Board be empowered to call general strikes for the enforcement of these conditions if the General Executive Board finds such a course of action necessary and advisable. The committee, therefore, after making this explanation, recommends adoption of Resolutions No. 4 and 154.

Delegate Hochman: It was the intention of the Resolutions Committee to incorporate in its report an expression of support on the part of this convention to Local 38 in its strike against the Metropolitan Opera House.

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation as amended by Delegate Hochman was unanimously carried.

Recognition of Examiners in Agreements

Resolution No. 13 received by your committee, dealing with the question of recognition of examiners in our agreements, reads as follows:

Resolution No. 13

WHEREAS, the Examiners Squarers (Begraders) and Bushlers Union has been affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union as Local No. 82 since May 15, 1917; and

WHEREAS, this Local Union, in accordance with the decision of the Fourteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been affiliated with the Joint Board of the Cloak, Shirt and Reefmakers' Union since September, 1918; and

WHEREAS, we have not, up to this date, succeeded in obtaining full recognition in all agreements, which condition hinders to a great extent the organizing of a number of workers, and practically interferes with the possibilities of protecting our members in other shops; and

WHEREAS, the Sixteenth Convention already approved our resolution that the General Executive Board and the officers shall

use all efforts in securing full recognition for our Local Union in all new agreements made in the cloak industry in the City of New York; and

WHEREAS, the said resolution was not carried into life during the last four years for various reasons, particularly because no new agreements were made, and the old agreement was continued for another four years; and

WHEREAS, the General Executive Board and the officers of the International participate in conferences with various groups of manufacturers to work out agreements for the Cloakmakers' Union of New York; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board and officers to see to it that full recognition is secured for our Local Union in all future agreements made in the cloak industry of the city of New York.

Your committee is in thorough agreement with the demands expressed in the above resolution and unanimously recommends concurrence and strongly urges the incoming Executive Board to see to it that in the future agreements to be signed shortly by the New York Joint Board, this resolution shall be carried out completely.

Pressing Machines

Resolution No. 3, reads as follows:

Resolution No. 3

Submitted by Local 35, J. Gorotsky:

WHEREAS, the introduction of the pressing machine in the cloak industry does away with many workers in the pressing department; and

WHEREAS, we are not opposed to the introduction of improved machinery in the industry because 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, we are, as yet, living under a capitalist system of society, where improved machinery is used for the purpose of getting higher profits for the employers and eliminating a great number of workers from the shops, thereby increasing the army of unemployed; and

WHEREAS, the further unchecked introduction of pressing machines would greatly increase the number of unemployed in our trade and would make more difficult the problem of providing them with employment; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Convention of the International instructs the incoming General Executive Board not to permit any manufacturer to take in a pressing machine unless he employs a minimum of six pressers in one shop.

The effect of the introduction of new machinery upon the workers of any

given industry has long been a problem giving the organized labor movement no small concern. There are very few people today who question the right of workers to safeguard themselves against the suffering caused the workers by the immediate introduction of machinery.

It is the opinion of all fair-minded economists that in cases where new machinery is introduced into an industry such machinery should be introduced gradually and slowly so that the workers of the industry have a fair opportunity to adjust themselves to the new condition. It is furthermore agreed that a large part of the benefits accruing from such an introduction of machinery should go to the workers.

Your committee is of the opinion that the above resolution has in mind such safeguards, and recommends heartily, therefore, concurrence in the above resolution and proper enforcement of same.

Delegate Hyman: There is another branch of our industry that is suffering from the introduction of new machinery. I have in mind the finishers where machines are installed in some shops that do not employ a minimum number of finishers.

Delegate Hochman: I move that we grant Brother Hyman permission to draft a resolution on this subject and the Resolutions Committee will act upon it.

Delegate Yanitsky: The recommendation of the committee as I understand it applies in general to the introduction of machinery. Why should we have separate resolutions?

Delegate Dubinsky: We expressed our opinion about machinery in general but we have here a specific resolution with a specific demand in a given industry. Brother Hyman has something specific in view and if he wants to introduce a resolution this convention can act upon it.

President Sigman: I am sure the delegates will have no objection to Brother Hyman's introducing a resolution pertaining to the finishers.

Upon being put to a vote the recom-

mendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Civic Federation

Resolution No. 30 reads as follows:

Resolution No. 30

Submitted by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; D. Wishnovsky, of Local 38; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; P. Starkopf, of Local 26; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; Bessie Helmand, of Local 62; J. Krooglick, of Local 62; J. Prokop, of Local 45; S. Kniznick, of Local 91; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; Barnett Soll, of Local 5; Philip Hauser, of Local 100; V. Miletsky, for Local 41; S. Domblatt, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, the National Civic Federation is an organization tending to perpetuate the slavery of the working class and its spirit is therefore contrary to that of our International Union and of all progressive Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, some of the worst enemies of labor in the United States are members of said National Civic Federation and have great influence in its deliberations; and

WHEREAS, we consider it inconsistent for labor men to belong to said organization and to give, thereby, prestige to our enemies; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we instruct our delegates in all future annual conventions of the A. F. of L. to introduce and vote for a resolution that all officers of the American Federation of Labor who are at present connected with the National Civic Federation should sever all affiliations with that body.

Your committee recommends adoption of the above resolution.

Delegate Wortis: We realize that the Resolutions Committee is very generous in giving its approval to the resolutions that have been introduced by the progressive delegations.

Delegate Hochman: Not all the resolutions. (Laughter).

Delegate Wortis: I mean so far. But I think it is not sufficient for us to pass resolutions and include them in our minutes. It should be the duty of our delegates of the A. F. of L. conventions to get up on the floor for resolutions that have been adopted by us and fight for the resolutions. I therefore hope that at the next convention of the A. F. of L.

our delegates will have courage enough to get up to defend the resolutions which have been concurred in on the floor of this convention. (Applause).

Delegate Antonini: I am surprised at Sister Wortis' remarks that our delegates had no courage on the floor of the A. F. of L. conventions. If they introduce this resolution this year and they call themselves progressives, I say that they would be three years behind us as this resolution was introduced by the delegation of Local 89 a few conventions ago. (Laughter and applause). You are three years behind us and that is why we claim that we are the true progressives. (Laughter and applause).

President Sigman: The other delegates did at the time the resolution was introduced.

Delegate Dubinsky: I have before me the proceedings of the Cleveland convention where a similar resolution was adopted.

President Sigman: This proposition was supported by the present President of the A. F. of L. and he has stood by it and is standing by it today. John Mitchell who was then leader of the miners was obliged to withdraw from the Civic Federation because of the action of the miners at that time, so that this proposition is not new, but I fully concur in the recommendation of the committee.

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried amidst applause.

Fascism

Resolution No. 46, reads as follows:

Resolution No. 46

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gela, J. Salerno, A. Radosi, G. Mirenda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, the Fascist reaction in Italy has ruthlessly murdered thousands of men, women and children of the working class, burned hundreds of labor temples, destroyed scores 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 a 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 Fascisti 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 Fascisti bands operating under direct orders from Italy, are already in existence, encouraged by the labor-baiting elements here and actually attempting to substitute Fascisti organizations 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 Eighteenth Biennial Convention, assembled in the City of Philadelphia, Pa., abhors and condemns every manifestation of Fascism, and calls upon the Labor Movement to combat its importation into the United States under any guise or form whatsoever; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union endorse and grant its fullest moral support to the anti-Fascisti forces in their unremitting drive against Fascism and all its nefarious connotations of strikebreaking, thuggery and ruffianism, and asserts its readiness to co-operate with these forces to protect especially the Italian-speaking members of American Union Labor from the poisonous taint of this international plague.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution and wishes on this occasion to express satisfaction and pride in the fact that our Italian locals are taking an active and leading part in the movement to combat Fascism in all its forms and manifestations. And the committee strongly urges all other locals of our International to join them actively in this fight against the dangers of autocracy and terrorism that are synonymous with Fascism.

Fascism, indeed, is to be combatted not only in our country, but throughout the world. The spread of Fascism in Germany, Hungary, France, England, and not excluding the United States, where Fascism parades under the white shroud of the Ku Klux Klan, is becoming a danger to the international labor movement. We therefore urge our International Union to do all in its power and join hands with the labor movement, nationally and internationally, to fight this dangerous pest of bigotry and brutality.

Delegate Rubin: On the ground that the Italian government is one of the worst governments in the world, I amend

the recommendation to read that we demand of the American Government that it break off commercial and diplomatic relations with the government of Italy. The situation is the same as when Louis Marshall proposed to the American Government several years ago that it sever relations with the Russian Government and I say that the present Italian Government is much worse than the Russian tyranny of the past.

This amendment was seconded.

Delegate Antonini: We shall do everything in our power to ask the Government of the United States to send back the ambassadors of Mussolini in this country. (Great applause). But I realize that we must deal with realities. The only weapon we have with which to fight Fascism is labor solidarity of the workers. (Applause). When we carry this message to all the workers of the United States and other countries, the government will be compelled to send back Mussolini's ambassadors. We are not to ask anything of Mr. Coolidge to send back these ambassadors, but the workers of this country, when they realize the danger of Fascism, will demand that the ambassadors of Mussolini be returned to Italy and Mussolini will no longer be the ruler and tyrant of Italy. (Great applause).

Delegate Hochman: While Fascism originated and has manifested itself most strongly in Italy, I believe we would not be consistent if we did not at least include Hungary in this amendment, because Fascism in Hungary is becoming just as bad as it is in Italy.

Upon being put to vote the report of the committee as amended by Delegates Rubin and Hochman was unanimously adopted amidst prolonged applause.

Delegate Dubinsky: This concludes in part our report.

Delegate Antonini: I want to ask a personal privilege to address the convention. I am not interested in what the papers write about me, calling me a reactionary and a faker, but I will not permit anybody to make a statement about me which is not true, particularly on the floor of this convention. The other

day Brother Zimmerman said I had been expelled from the Worker's Party and his statement appeared in the Daily Worker. I said at that time that I would give the press table all the documents I have in this case. I won't take up your time by reading the entire correspondence, but here is an extract of what appeared in the New York Call signed by me. Then came a letter from the Workers' Party asking me to explain why I wrote that statement in the New York Call. Then came my reply in which I told the Workers' Party that I did so following the policy of a "united front", the policy of the Workers' Party and the formation of a Labor Party. They answered me in a letter signed by Bennie Lipschitz, executive secretary of Local Greater New York, in which they told me. "You are right; this is a thing for the mass, but you as a leader are not to align yourself with a yellow socialist and when you do so you stab us in the back, and therefore the executive committee has instructed me to censure you for your action and to request you in the future to be more careful when issuing your statements that can be interpreted by our enemies as supporting or in any way countenancing the action of the reactionary clique in the labor movement." I don't like to receive orders. I like to give orders. And when I received this censure I took my card, my dues having been paid up in advance for three or four months, and sent it back with a reply which was published in many papers. After that, when I resigned, nothing else occurred and I was surprised to hear that I was expelled, unless they expelled me after I withdrew from the party. (Laughter). I did not publish all these documents right away, because when I resign from a party I do so as a man and I did not want to do anything to harm the party. I was out a year or more without saying a word, when suddenly an Italian daily paper of this party (which no longer exists) attacked me. Naturally I had to answer the attack and I published all the correspondence in the New York Leader, in our "Justice", in all the Italian radical papers, and in the "Gerechtigkeit". My statement and my correspondence were never challenged by anybody until the other day when Zimmerman spoke on the

floor of this convention and said that I had been expelled from the party. That is what I want to correct. Furthermore, even if I were expelled I feel proud of it. Lore was expelled and Miss Poyntz is on the way to be expelled, and I hope, my dear Brother Zimmerman, that it will not be long when you will be expelled from the Party since you do not agree with them one hundred per cent. (Applause). It is no disgrace to be expelled from the Workers' Party:

I want to say in conclusion that it is very peculiar that you come here at this convention and fight the administration because of its expulsion policy, and you practice expulsion right there where you are. (Applause). If it is good there, I believe that any organization has the right to discipline its members.

I will give all these documents to the Chair to give to the press. (Applause).

Delegate Zimmerman: Mr. Chairman, I want to answer Delegate Antonini.

President Sigman: This convention is not at all inclined to go into matters that take place in any organization outside of its own (applause), and I will not permit any discussion.

Delegate Prokop, of Local 45, said that his delegation desires the privilege of reading before this convention a resolution dealing with their trade and their situation as workers in the industry, with the hope that the convention will consent to have this resolution after it is read referred to the proper committee.

Delegate Prokop: The original resolution which we were ordered by the last general meeting of Local 45 to present here was a lengthy document that embodied some of the arguments which were just threshed out, but by direction of the president we are confining ourselves to the text of the resolution. The resolution is as follows:

Resolution on the Demands of the United Designers of Ladies' Wear Industry of New York and Vicinity

WHEREAS, the designers form a definite branch of the garment industry, engaged in the creation and devel-

opment of constant style changes, and

WHEREAS, these style-changes are the life blood of the industry, especially so during the life-term of the capitalist order of society, making the designers a permanent factor, a keystone in the industry, who, if neglected and permitted to remain unorganized may cause a considerable hardship not only to themselves, but to the whole class-movement of organized labor in our industry, and

WHEREAS, on the other hand, the existing designers' local is determined to organize all unorganized designers into a solid unit of the I. L. G. W. U. and thus help to bring about the final sealing up of leaks within the army of our International, and

WHEREAS, the existing Designers' Locals has not obtained the necessary contractual recognition by the various employers' organizations on the same basis as other branches have, nor even the necessary support and co-operation of the Joint Board and the General Executive Board in the enforcement of the meager clauses embodied in the present agreement, in consequence of which hundreds of designers are unemployed and the rest suffering under unbearable conditions in their trade, and

WHEREAS, these conditions force the designers local to immediately launch an all-embracing organization drive and prepare their forces for a militant campaign not excluding the possibility of a strike, in order to establish a regulation and control of conditions in their trade according to their just conception, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the United Designers of Ladies' Wear Industry of New York and Vicinity, Local 45, I. L. G. W. U. go on record and demand, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of our International sanction and prepare for the imposition of the following demands of the Designers:

- 1) That every shop in our industry be compelled to employ a designer, and that all shops which are so small as to be financially unable to comply with this request, be discarded.
- 2) That this Convention adopt as

the permanent policy of our International, that every jobber in the Ladies' Garment Industry be allowed to employ designers and samplemakers.

3) That our International enforce to the full extent the clause in the present agreement, which requires that no manufacturer or jobber be allowed to do his own designing of styles, cutting, or performing any other manufacturing work in the shop.

4) That the Incoming General Executive Board stand instructed, to extend to the designers local full moral, financial and active help, in their impending membership drive and militant campaign, for the enforcement of all the above mentioned demands.

Jack Prokop for Local 45.
Abe Kravitz for Local 3.

Brother Chairman and delegates to this convention, I move that this resolution be adopted as read.

President Sigman: I don't think I will entertain the motion made by the delegate. I believe that the convention would rather agree to refer this resolution to the proper committee and let the committee act on it, and if there is no objection that will be done.

There was no objection to that suggestion.

President Sigman: I think we have time to hear the report of the Committee on National and International Relations.

Delegate Lefkowitz, chairman of the Committee on National and International Relations, proceeded to read the report of 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 craft union, we are but a part of the entire Labor move-

ment and that we are inseparably linked with the rest of the working class.

Guided by its title, your committee has divided its work into two sections—national relations and international relations.

On the subject of national relations, your committee has acted on the report of the G. E. B. in reference to the A. F. of L. convention of 1925.

In the report of the G. E. B. on pages 172 and 173, there appears the following section, an abstract from which we desire to read to the delegates:

"Upon instructions from the G. E. B. the I. L. G. W. U. delegates at the 1925 convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City, New Jersey, introduced the following resolution:

Resolution Demanding a New Trial for Sacco and Vanzetti

WHEREAS, the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati, Ohio, went on record demanding a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, convicted of murder in the first degree by a biased jury under the instructions of a prejudiced judge in the State of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, notwithstanding the urgent demand from millions of workers throughout our country and all over the world, such a retrial and the opportunity to present incontrovertible evidence of their innocence of the heinous crime imputed to them has recently again been denied by their first trial judge, and an effort is being made to have their case reviewed by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, they are in danger of their lives unless the prompt intervention of an enlightened public opinion prevents this ghastly miscarriage of justice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor, in its forty-fourth annual convention assembled in El Paso, hereby reiterates its demand for a new trial for these defenseless vic-

tims of race and national prejudice and class hatred, to the end that the honor and fairness of the American people may be preserved untarnished before the eyes of the civilized world; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to the governor of Massachusetts, the president of the United States and the press.

This resolution was adopted unanimously by the American Federation of Labor convention, and your committee commends the action of our delegates and asks your whole hearted concurrence in it.

* * *

On the subject of international relations we have received resolution No. 36 and resolution No. 37 and also No. 38. The last two resolutions are exactly the same, word for word and we are therefore acting on them as one.

Resolution No. 36

Introduced by Delegates I. Steinzor, of Local 2; D. Vishnevsky, of Local 38; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Harperin, of Local 66; B. Holtand, of Local 62; J. Krooglick, of Local 62; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; A. Volkowitz, J. Prokop, of Local 45; S. Kniznick, of Local 91; Sam Saraff, of Local 20; J. Gorotsky, of Local 35; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; Philip Hauser, of Local 100; B. Soll, of Local 5; V. Miletzky, of Local 41:

WHEREAS, the lack of solidarity amongst the workers of the different countries of the world is a constant source of weakness to the Labor Movement, creating a condition in which the capitalists use the workers of one country to defeat the workers of another, and take advantage of the resulting weakness to launch a world-wide open-shop movement to destroy the trade unions; and

WHEREAS, the international divisions of the labor movement have been especially emphasized by the failure of the labor movement of the United States to affiliate with any international center, while the rest of the unions of the world are divided between the Amsterdam International and the Red International of Labor Unions;

WHEREAS, the trade union movement of Great Britain, responding to the initiative of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, has inaugurated a world-unity movement, designed to bring together the unions of the entire world for a common struggle against capitalism; and

WHEREAS, this movement for world unity

has resulted in the formation of an Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, established during the recent negotiations in London, and officially endorsed by the General Council of the British Trade Unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International goes on record in favor of actively participating in the movement for world trade-union unity, and pledges its support to the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee in its efforts to convoke a world conference of trade unions of every country for the purpose of establishing unity of the international trade union movement.

Resolution No. 87

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS The money lords of the United States have become the leaders of the exploiters the world over; and

WHEREAS The employers are organized internationally into trusts and financial combines and use their governmental power to force us to war for their profits; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse the efforts of the General Council of the British and Russian Unions to establish world-wide trade union unity, and instruct the General Executive Board of the International to fully participate and encourage all such efforts.

Resolution No. 88

Submitted by Local 5, B. Soll:

WHEREAS The money lords of the United States have become the leaders of the exploiters the world over; and

WHEREAS The employers are organized internationally into trusts and financial combines and use their governmental power to force us to war for their profits; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse the efforts of the General Council of the British and Russian Unions to establish world-wide labor unity, and instruct the General Executive Board of the International to fully participate and encourage all such efforts.

It is not correct to state that our union is isolated from the rest of the labor world. We are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and we are also affiliated with the Amsterdam Trade Union International, which has a membership of over 21 million workers, through the International Clothing Workers' Federation. Both these organizations have expressed themselves as opposed to this kind of unity which essentially means no unity at all. We are in favor of bringing unity to the whole labor movement of the world and as soon as every country is imbued with the spirit of real unity, and not with the desire to interfere with and dictate to each other, then we will be in favor of such a conference to bring all the workers of the world into one federation.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in resolution No. 36. We are in favor of world-wide trade union unity, and we believe that the workers of the whole world must act jointly to meet the joint attacks of the master-class the world over. But we also believe that the workers of each country have the unabridged right to decide for themselves the objects that they wish to attain and the methods they would use in their attainment. We believe that it is not enough to preach unity and render lip-service, and at the same time fail to back words by genuine and sincere action. We believe that there cannot be an amalgamation with the Red Trade Union International, the Comintern, and with the Third International as long as they continue their methods of interference in the lives of the different trade union organizations. A similar resolution was introduced at the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Atlantic City in October, 1925, and that resolution was rejected. We are quoting from their proceedings a section bearing a recommendation with regard to this resolution:

"The American Federation of Labor is willing at all times to join with the free labor movements of other countries for the promotion and protection of the interests of the toiling masses. It will not lend its support to any movement to destroy from ambush the freedom of the workers of democratic countries. On the contrary, it will do all in its power to reveal the truth and to open the eyes of labor everywhere to the infamy of this proposed treachery."

Your committee feels that in order to be fully acquainted with the conditions of the needle trades workers all over the world, and help them to alleviate those conditions, it is necessary that our representative shall be present at the congress held by the International Clothing Workers' Federation, and we therefore recommend that a delegate be sent to the next congress of the Federation, such delegate to be elected from the floor of the convention.

Chairman Lefkovits: I move that the recommendation of the Committee be con-

curred in. This motion was duly seconded.

President Sigman: Delegate Marks.

Delegate Marks: I rise at this time to speak against the recommendation of this committee. I am the secretary-treasurer of the Purcell Conference in the City of New York, where 150,000 organized workers are combined to work for this wonderful movement of world trade union unity, and our conference has arranged two mass-meetings with Brother Purcell in the City of New York. I want to call the attention of the delegates to this convention that there exists in our movement today no greater need than that of international trade union unity. It is not possible for us, the workers of the world, to oppose the attacks of capitalism without all the workers of the trade unions being united; it is not possible for us as trade unionists to achieve real international working-class solidarity without that unity. The capitalists of the world have been carrying on their operations against the workers' interests; they use the workers of one country to defeat the workers of another. We, as trade unionists must fight against the Dawes plan, against Fascism and against the dangers of war, and I want to ask you delegates, how can we fight these things without our being united into a strong organization? When the miners of England go out on strike the miners of America send coal to England. When the miners of France go out on strike the miners of Germany send coal to France. When the workers of one country in any particular industry go out on strike the workers of another country are sending their product to the country where the workers are on strike.

We as workers ought to realize that there is a war, a class war, a war between the workers and the capitalists, and I want to ask the chairman of this committee how he expects to win that class war if the workers the world over will not be united. The chairman of that committee has stated that we are connected with the Amsterdam International. I want it brought to the attention of this convention that the chairman of the Amsterdam International is in favor of world trade union unity and also in-

cluding the workers of Soviet Russia (great applause). The workers in Soviet Russia may have different opinions from the opinions of the leaders of our Labor movement here in America. They may have different opinions concerning the gaining of control over industries. We believe that it is their right and their duty to do as they please, and we also believe that the workers of Russia, Germany, France, England and America, and every other country the world over, should unite and unite for one purpose, and that is to carry on the war against capitalism and the capitalistic system under which we live, and I ask you to vote for the resolution introduced by the progressive delegates of this convention, Resolution No. 36. By voting for that you will recognize that there is a class war that we are waging, a war against the capitalistic system, and the sooner we are united the sooner will that capitalistic system be abolished and the sooner will there come in its stead a republic where the workers and the workers alone will rule (applause).

Delegate Halperin (Local 66): When the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions reported favorably on the question of the National Civic Federation he thought he would give us a surprise by recommending and concurring in this resolution. I thought, perhaps, we would have some more surprises from the chairman of the Committee on National and International Relations. What does the Committee on International Relations report in regard to world trade union unity? They say we are not ready for world trade union unity. At the present time when American capitalism is in the very thick of European affairs and is practically dictating the economic and political life of Europe, there can be no doubt that the workers must do likewise, combine together in joint action to counteract the influence of capitalism in all their attempts to crush and abuse the standards of the workers of all the countries. But the committee on International Relations says we can only combine with unions which do not only render lip-service. I suppose that the committee is aware of the fact that the British Trade Union Congress, representing some seven or eight million organized workers, re-

sponded favorably and acted jointly with the Russian trade unionists. If that is action by lip-service, I would like to know what action is. The committee says we shouldn't amalgamate with those that interfere with somebody else. The Russian trade unionists don't believe that the president of a union can also be a president of a coal mine, they believe that the president of an open shop coal mine is not fit to be a president of a union. This is called interference in somebody else's business. The Russian trade unions and the Profintern do not believe that a labor leader who endorses a Democratic Senator or endorses Walker for Mayor of the City of New York, the regular nominee of Tammany Hall, is a fit person to be a labor leader. Are those the reasons that we should not see fit to be affiliated with these unions?

I believe that the view of the committee is somewhat antiquated. It would be all right some five or six or seven years ago when the Russian Government was isolated from the rest of the world, when it was surrounded by economic and military dictatorship; but that time is gone forever, and during the last five years that government has become entirely changed and stabilized and is making wonderful progress. While the economic life of every country in Europe is not on a sound foundation, the Russian Government has the confidence of the vast majority of the population. I may say it has the approval of all the working element of Russia. And it was the Russian trade unions and the Profintern that helped bring about that change in Russia's political life. Is that the reason why we, the I. L. G. W. U., should not affiliate with this kind of organization? I say no, and I say no because I am sure that I express the sentiment of every class-conscious worker or any other organization in this country, and by voting down the recommendation you will uphold your dignity and integrity as workers, and you will write the finest page in this history of world trade union unity by being one of the first to endorse it in this country (applause).

Delegate Hochman: We are not discussing here the question of the Russian Government. We are discussing the question of trade union unity on an in-

ternational scale. I believe it will be appropriate to try to get down to a few fundamentals rather than talk generally. There are at the present time two trade union internationals in the world. There are some minor ones but they don't amount to anything. There is the Amsterdam International and the Red International. The Amsterdam International represents the organized workers of every organized country in the world. The Red International represent the workers of Russia and Russia only. I challenge any speaker who may follow me to point out any industrial country where organized labor, such as England, France, Germany or Belgium, is affiliated with the Red Trade Union International.

When the Red International was formed one of the bases of its foundation was expressed in this clause, Article II of its Rules, Clause 4, which reads as follows:

"The object of the Red Trade Union International is the amalgamation of all revolutionary class elements of the International Trade Union Movement, and the waging of a definite war with the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, and with the International Federation of Trade Unions, at Amsterdam which, as a result of its programme and general policy, constitutes a rallying point for the International Bourgeoisie."

The Red International, therefore, was formed for the primary object of waging war against the Amsterdam International, and it waged such a war, but did not succeed. As a result the Red Trade Union International began to break into the Amsterdam International through the Secretariats. I will have to make an explanation. We belong to the Amsterdam International, that is, we belong to the Clothing Secretariat, and the Clothing Secretariat belongs to the Amsterdam International. And the Amsterdam International said to these Secretariats, You cannot belong to an organization that is fighting our organization, just as we in our International say to its members, You cannot belong to an organization that is waging war against our International (applause), and they told these Russian trade unions that

wanted to join the Secretariat that either they adopt the program of our International or out they stay.

Here is the paragraph of a letter written by the President of the Russian Federation of Trade Unions to the Amsterdam International, dated Moscow, February 7, 1924:

"You are surprised to see all the Russian trade unions expressing their desire to join the International Trade Secretariats, while still continuing to form part of the Red Trade Union International. The Russian Federation of Trade Unions authorizes the organizations belonging to it to enter into negotiations with the Trade Secretariats, and to join them, while still forming a part of the Russian Federation of Trade Union and the Red Trade Union International. We see no contradiction in this, and consider any discussion on this question useless.

"Signed M. Tomsky, Chairman, A. Dognadof, Sec'y."

And the report of the activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, states:

"We recognized the right of existence of the Russian Federation of Trade Unions, but not that of the Red Trade Union International, which, according to its rules, was established for the purpose of destroying the Amsterdam International. Our recognition of their federation was expressed in the resolution of our Management Committee meeting of the 9th November, 1923."

Now, how can you belong to an International of trade unions and still belong to another organization whose object is to destroy the particular organization that you joined? We are told here that the Red International has nothing to do with the Communist International. That is not true. The policy of the Red International is dictated and determined by the Communist International.

I say that the only way in which we can work for world trade union unity is by the workers joining the majority

of the workers of the world and not by going to an opposing organization that slaps our organization in the back. We must not forget that our International is an organization belonging to the American Federation of Labor (applause). We must not forget that the unity between our International and the rest of the organized labor movement of this country is the most important thing before anything else (applause) and that while the majority of the unions of the American Federation of Labor are affiliated through Secretariats with the Amsterdam International, the American Federation as such is not yet affiliated with the Amsterdam International. And therefore I say that we workers, if we are to make peace and unity, must belong to an organization and permit that organization to make peace and unity between the entire labor movement, and therefore I say we shall work through the Amsterdam International to which we belong. We want unity, of course, but I don't think that our members are ready to have a Communist program imposed on them. (Applause).

Delegate Hyman: The Committee on National and International Relations recommends that we reject the resolution favoring world trade union unity, which means that we should not be in favor of uniting the two Internationals of trade unions, the Amsterdam International and the Red Trade Union, as they are labelled. We want unity of course, and the objectors to this resolution state that the reasons we should not unite is that we won't be dominated by Communists, that we are not Communists and that we won't accept their program. The same reasons are given by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor for not uniting with the Amsterdam International. They proceed from the same point of view and say, "We will not hand over our organization to outside influence, to outside powers that may interfere with our organization and dictate our policies." But in what way can the Red Trade Union, assuming you are not in favor of their program and that you are not ready to accept their views, impose on you their policies? They are not going to subject you to their dictation at the point of the bayonet or by force.

You know very well that when you say you are not going to be dictated to by them, there is no physical power that is going to impose their policies on you. The reason you don't want to come into any closer relations with them is that they have ideals, they have a system and a program and a policy which you condemn (applause). It is this fear of their principles and their ideals that makes you stay away from them and not because of the power that they may exercise and impose on you.

Delegate Hochman: Do you agree with them?

Delegate Hyman: No, and I am not afraid of them and I am not afraid to debate with them on any questions (applause), and if you were convinced that you were absolutely right you wouldn't be afraid either.

We have great leaders in the American Labor Movement who offer us a weapon to fight militarism and capital by telling us that we should organize insurance companies and banks and that by these methods we can overcome the rule of the Morgans and the Rockefellers. Why, that is like taking a Fourth of July toy pistol and attacking a tiger; it will not protect you at all.

You say that twenty-one million workers don't want to associate with them, don't want to unite with them. How do you know? Six million organized workers in Great Britain, the largest national movement throughout the world are in favor of uniting with them and are agitating and working to that end; and there are great numbers of workers in every European country who would be willing to join with them and their cause.

We are told that the Red International has a separate program and that they are fighting the Amsterdam International, and vice versa, and this is given as the reason for not uniting with them. They will advance all sorts of theories, and all sorts of views and reasons for not uniting with them, but if you are going to adopt this resolution it doesn't mean that we accept everything that this side says or that that side says. No matter what language they speak, no matter

what their religion is, no matter what their ideals or principles are, when it comes to fighting the common enemy you will find that they will stand with you, and we cannot fight the common enemy by being separated and apart. And I want you delegates to remember that aside from our daily needs, aside from the advantages that we try to get in the form of immediate demands, in the form of immediate improvements for our workers, all the achievements and all the accomplishments of the Labor movement may be set aside and wiped out by the capitalists, by the rulers, who can do as they did not so long ago, declare war for the purpose of annihilating the Labor movement. They can find all sorts of reasons and all sorts of excuses for declaring war, and it is these wars that destroy not only the lives of the workers but the souls of the workers and the soul of humanity, as it was destroyed in the last war, that we must combat, and it is to combat this monstrous danger that the workers throughout the world must be organized so that we may have an International Trade Union Movement throughout the world that will say to the rulers, "If you are going to declare war for this reason or for that reason, we will declare a general strike throughout the world." (Applause).

Delegate Di Nola: I am puzzled about the word unity. When we speak of unity on one side we understand that all the workers of the world should unite into one organization in order to fight capitalist unity, as Brother Marks said a little while ago, but the resolution that they have brought in does not mean unity, because they want our International to withdraw from another organization, which according to Brother Hochman has twenty-one million members, and join another organization with a much smaller membership.

It is all right for Brother Marks to make such a plea, for after all he is a member of the Communist Party, but I cannot understand the position of Hyman who is not a member of the party.

Brother Marks said we must unite all the workers of the world into one organization. I agree with him, but I'd like to know if the Third International of

Moscow is really a trade union organization or is it a Communist organization which wants to control the proletariat of the world. (Applause). The capitalists of the world are united in one front, but they do not discuss politics while they are discussing their financial interests. When we come to the Third International they discuss politics. They want everyone to be a Communist. They want you to agree with them whether right or wrong. You cannot argue with them. Whatever has been decided, the membership at large has no business to discuss. I was a member of the Workers' Party. I know that whenever the Secretary of the Italian Federation came to my branch and brought a resolution, he would say, "It has been decided and you have no business to argue on it," so we had to accept it.

I do believe in the united front of the working class, but the program and tactics of the Third International have brought about discord in the rank and file of all the trade unions of the world. The Labor movement in Italy was disrupted because the Third International from Moscow wanted to dictate to it. Until the membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union joins the Workers' Party of America and affiliates with the Communist Party of Russia, we can not join the Third International of Moscow. (Applause).

Previous question was called for and carried.

Delegate Wortis: I'd like to know whom Purcell represents.

Delegate Feinberg: I'd like to know if Purcell who was, or still is, the chairman of the Amsterdam International has a majority in the Amsterdam International with him? I also want to know whether the Chairman of the Committee is informed whether Purcell represents the six million workers of England. What about the Liverpool Congress and Scarborough?

Delegate Zack: I want to know if it is not true that the resolution does not urge affiliation with the Red Trade Union International, but only urges that our International cooperate with the

unity committee formed by the British and Russian unions in order to establish unity in the world trade union movement?

Delegate Lefkowitz: I was very much interested when the Third International was organized. I was very sympathetic towards the Russian revolution and, although I am not a Russian by birth, I followed up all the information I could get. For many years I have read about Soviet Russia, so that I know a little about that country. When the Third International was organized as a dual organization of the labor movement of the world, they gave instructions to their followers that, if they cannot get the unions under their control in the different countries, they shall organize separate dual unions. Is this unity? They have nearly killed the German Labor movement. The metal workers of Germany were once so powerful that when the Kapp "putsch" came, it fell through, because the metal workers declared a general strike. At the present time this metal workers' union is broken up by the leadership of the Third International.

People stand up here and say that they are class conscious, and Marks asked me, "How will we fight against the united capitalist class if we do not want to unite the forces of the workers?" I am a Socialist. I came as a Socialist from Europe, and I did not deny my principles as yet, and your committee did not deny the fact that they believed in the class struggle. They do believe in it, they believe in real unity. What your committee does not believe in is to be fooled through the back door into a movement for so-called unity which may disrupt the labor movement of the whole world. (Applause).

A sister wanted to know who is Purcell. Purcell came to America and had meetings arranged and he spoke for world unity. He is the President of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, but he is here in America working for this movement unofficially as an individual, because the Amsterdam Trade Union International is opposed to this movement, because they know the color of the people who propose this movement. Do you believe that if Hyman or Zimmerman go to the Purcell meetings they

represent the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union? They went as individuals or they may have represented those who believe in them, but they did not go as representatives of our International.

We do not want to put our union in a ridiculous or harmful position. We are affiliated with the A. F. of L. (Laughter) and we are still part and parcel of the American Labor movement. (Great applause). We are part and parcel of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, which comprises over twenty million workers. The workers of the world are united there. Your committee feels its responsibility. It cannot recommend to you that you join the proposed movement and thereby sever your relations with the American and labor movements of the world (applause).

Therefore we tell you we are for world unity and we hope and trust that the organization which first organized dual unions and did not succeed and wants now to go through the back door and to disrupt the labor movement of the world, will really come to the conclusion to play openly and fairly and really mean unity of the workers of the world, —then we will be ready to recommend that we join this movement. (Loud applause).

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was decided to vote by roll call.

The result of the roll call vote was 158 for the recommendation of the committee, 113, against; 3 not voting and 6 absent.

Chairman Lefkowitz of the Committee on National and International Relations then proceeded to read further parts of his report:

We also have on the subject of International Relations the report of the G. E. B. as follows:

"The International Clothing Workers' Federation, reorganized with the aid of our International Union of 1920, and with which we have been affiliated ever since, held a convention in the summer of 1925 in Leipzig.

"Much to our regret, the I. L. G. W. U.

could not be represented at that convention, as President Morris Sigman, who is a member of the Executive Council of this Federation, could not leave the United States at the time it took place.

The International Clothing Workers' Federation has today affiliated with it practically every needle trades union in Europe, except Russia. It is now publishing a monthly bulletin in several European languages, including English, recording every event of importance in this section of the labor movement the world over, and keeping its affiliated organizations in closer contact with each other's doings."

We appreciate the action of the G. E. B. in this matter. We express our regret, however, that our representative on the International Secretariat of the Federation, Brother Sigman, could not have been present at their last meeting in Leipzig, held in the summer of 1925.

As you know already from the report of the G. E. B. in the fall of 1925, a committee representing the German Labor Unions visited America to attend the Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L. and to study from first-hand observation the production methods and conditions of industry in America. Among these visitors was Brother Martin Plettl, the president of the German Clothing Workers' Union, which embraces the needleworkers of all crafts in Germany, including the Millinery and Fur Workers. President Plettl brought fine tidings with regard to the condition of the German garment workers' organization at present. Brother Plettl conveyed to us an expression of brotherly gratitude from the German garment workers for the financial aid we gave them in 1924 during the time of their worst slump, which they cherish as a fine expression of international working class solidarity.

President Plettl is still in this country, and this week we have had the extreme pleasure of listening to his address of welcome and the personal greetings extended to us through him from the German Clothing Workers and also from the International Clothing Workers Federation of Amsterdam, both of which

he represents at our convention as fraternal delegate. Needless to say, we were immensely pleased to have Brother Plett with us and we hope that his presence at our convention will result in the strengthening of the ties of proletarian comradeship which exist between us and the garment workers of Europe and with the organized Labor movement the world over.

This brings our report to a close. We have been guided in our judgment not by our individual feeling, but primarily by the interest of our organization, which we regard as superior and paramount to every other movement. Nevertheless your committee, in making these recommendations, was constantly actuated by the consciousness that from the first day our International was organized we have been part and parcel of the Labor movement, not only of America, but of the whole world; that as members of the working class, we must retain our bond of affiliation with those workers of America and Europe who, like ourselves, make their living in the needle industry.

Fraternally submitted.

The Committee on National and International Relations.

Samuel Lefkowitz, Chairman.

Joseph Fish, Secretary.

Carl Grobher, Local 6, New York.

John Schweitzer, Local 15, White Plains, New York.

Max Levy, Local 71, Philadelphia.

Fannia Bremer, Local 62, New York.

Jack Grossman, Local 84, Astoria, L. I.

Giuseppe Salerno, Local 89, New York.

Benj. Dolnick, Local 60, Chicago, Ill.

Joe Jaffe, Local 59, Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. A. Tishler, Local 29, Cleveland.

Isidor Shulman, Local 127, Stamford.

Chas. Cirrincione, Local 143, Freehold.

Joe Snitkin, Local 4, Baltimore, Md.

Sarah Greenberg, Local 69, Philadelphia.

A motion was made and carried to thank the Committee on National and International Relations for its work.

At 1:30 P. M. the session adjourned to reconvene at 3:00 P. M.

Ninth Day—Afternoon Session Wednesday, December 9, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 3:00 P. M.

President Sigman: It gives me pleasure at this time to introduce to you Brother A. J. Munte, the director of the Brookwood Labor College, who will tell you of the progress of education in the organized labor movement. (Applause).

Mr. Munte: I very much appreciate the opportunity of addressing you, particularly in view of the fact that you are in the second week of your convention when your time is so valuable. I wish to extend to you the heartiest greetings of Brookwood Labor College. I want to thank you for the fact that your organization was amongst the first to give it the moral support of its endorsement and to give it financial support, and still more for the fact that your organization has always encouraged the attendance of its members at Brookwood College.

You have been told that your organization was the pioneer international union in this country to interest itself in workers' education. You must be encouraged in these days at the growth of workers' education throughout the world, and particularly at the fact that in this country there are already so many labor organizations to follow in your pioneering footsteps.

You have recently celebrated the eighth anniversary of the beginning of your own educational development, the establishing of an educational department in your organization. You are now but a part of a great world movement of workers' education. Great Britain has no less than 100,000 workers, members and officers of labor organizations who attend classes under the control of their organizations every year; similar thousands do so in countries like Germany, Holland, Belgium, Austria and in the Scandinavian countries. In this country it has been estimated, although the movement is still very young, that last year there were as many as 23,000

workers in workers' classes under the auspices of working class organizations.

This workers' education movement represents a revolution in the field of education. It means that the idea of education as a preparation for life is past—the idea that you go to school for a few years when you are young and then you graduate and education is over with. The new idea is that education begins with life and does not end until life ends. The old idea under the competitive capitalistic regime that life consists in making money, and that if you made your living by digging ditches or as a garment worker, you did not need any education, is gone. We are coming now to the conception that life does not consist merely in making a living in competition with someone else and that education is confined to a small section of life. Workers' education means the end of the idea that, if you are a manual worker, you cannot have any education or culture, and, on the other hand, if you have education or culture, it is a disgrace to work with your hands. Workers' education means the coming of the time when all men shall take part in the ordinary day-to-day work of the world, when all men shall have equal access to opportunities for education and culture.

Sometimes we think of educational work as a kind of frill, a luxury. Our enemies don't think that way about education. They are willing to spend hundreds of millions of dollars every year to develop the leaders who fight against us, and to conduct educational propaganda among the masses in order that they submit to their will. We as a labor movement shall triumph when we also recognize that it is only by the intelligent use of our force that we can gain our ends, and we cannot know how intelligently to use our force unless we adopt a sound educational policy. We have got to use methods of education in order to reach the great masses of the unorganized. There is no movement that means so much to the worker as the trade union movement. It protects him on his job, it means his living, his work standards, it means the instrument through which ultimately he may gain his emancipation, and yet you know there are thousands of organiza-

tions in this country, fraternal organizations, religious organizations, even organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, that can gain members and hold them more effectively than the trade unions, which the workers actually need. There are a great many reasons for this situation, but one of the reasons certainly is that practically all of these organizations pay the utmost attention to the development of educational programs to win members and to hold them, and in that respect we can take a leaf out of their book.

One of the leaders of workers' education said a couple of years ago: "When the workers organize unions, it means that they no longer will let their enemies control their job; when the workers organize their own political party it means they will no longer let their enemies vote for them; when the workers organize their own educational work it means they will no longer let their enemies do their thinking for them." Our educational work must be class conscious. It must be directed by helping the workers equip themselves more intelligently and efficiently to gain the ends of the labor movement, to gain their own emancipation, and it must be under the control of organizations of the workers if it is to effect these ends.

In conclusion let me hope that your organization will continue in this field of workers' education to be a pioneer, to do one hundred times better in the future than in the past, and may I hope that you will conduct all your work in the future in an intelligent, united, militant and constructive manner. (Applause).

President Sigman: It gives me pleasure at this time to introduce to you Brother P. Pascal Cosgrove, who will address you in behalf of the International Labor Defense. (Applause).

Mr. Cosgrove: It is, indeed, a pleasure to appear before you, and it seems strange that I should be the speaker after Brother Muste. Brother Muste gave you a talk on education, and told you that you must educate the workers and make them class conscious. That very often gets them into trouble. I am here representing the International

Labor Defense, which is going to defend the workers, for when they get class conscious they very often get into trouble. (laughter and applause). The International Labor Defense is an organization formed to defend the workers throughout the entire country. In days gone by, each city would have its own defense council, and many cities had none. Last year a number of those organizations got together. They held a national convention and established the International Labor Defense. There are today over one hundred persons in jail in the United States who have been there for many years, and many of them will have to remain many more years. These prisoners are in jail because they put up a fight in the interest of the working class. Our organization is looking after these men, and in many cases is taking care of their families.

In addition to that we have a big case in Ziegler, Illinois, defending the miners.

I am, indeed, glad that your convention went on record in favor of those men. There are also many cases of deportation, especially in New York, to which city, men and women are sent from all over the country, and we often get telegrams at New York that so and so is going to be deported, and in order to stop the deportation we have to take out habeas corpus proceedings and sometimes have the people taken off the boats. In many cases the attorneys of this organization have been able to stop the deportation and also have the deportees set free when the matter goes before some of the New York judges.

In addition to that, we have one case in New York which must be defended to the utmost, and that is the case of Benjamin Gitlow. (Applause). You all know about his case. It is a disgrace to the United States. He was sentenced to prison for from five to ten years under a law that was passed many years ago and which did not apply to his case. This law was passed after the assassination of President McKinley and had nothing to do with Gitlow's case, but you see what the capitalist class does. As soon as they want to send a class-conscious worker to prison they take up some old law that probably was never

used before, just as they are doing in England today, where they are sentencing the members of the working class on laws that were passed one hundred years ago, and convict them under them. I appeal to the delegates, when you return to the different parts of the country, to give us moral and financial support to carry on our work. (Applause). I also appeal to the convention to make a donation which will go to the New York section in order that we may carry on the fight for the class war prisoners all over the country.

We are making an effort to liberate Gitlow from prison, and I appeal to this convention to see to it that a donation comes to the New York section and that the delegates, when they return to their respective cities, will also take up this question and help us morally and financially. I thank you one and all. (Applause).

Delegate Rubin: I move that this appeal of Comrade Cosgrove be incorporated in the minutes, and that this convention donate \$1,000 to his organization. (Applause).

President Sigman: Your first motion will be entertained. The second motion is a matter to be considered by the Resolutions' Committee.

Delegate Hochman: The Resolutions Committee has two or three resolutions on this matter.

Upon being put to a vote, the first motion was unanimously adopted.

President Sigman: The Committee on Union Labor Life Insurance, Labor Banking and Unemployment Insurance will now submit its report.

Delegate Fannia M. Cohn, chairman of the Committee, read the report as follows:

Report of Committee on Union Labor Life Insurance, Labor Banking and Unemployment Insurance

Your Committee on Union Labor Life Insurance, Labor Banking and Unemployment Insurance, has given careful consideration to the subjects discussed in

the officers' report, and desires to present the following report:

At the outset it must be stated that your committee has approached the questions of Union Labor Life Insurance, Labor Banking and Unemployment Insurance, as all our important problems of a general nature must be approached, from the point of view of furthering the interests of our members, strengthening our International Union and contributing to the general labor movement. That these problems are at the present time of importance to Labor in general and to our International Union in particular, in the opinion of your committee, there can be no doubt. Labor is no more on the defensive only. Labor organizations no more only protect wages and working hours from the encroachments of the employers. Organized Labor seeks and makes new conquests; organized Labor seeks and obtains more power; organized Labor seeks and assumes more responsibilities. It is our belief and hope that, notwithstanding occasional setbacks, the march of Labor will be triumphant. In this triumphant march Labor is reaching out into every branch of human collective endeavor. Our International Union is, perhaps, the most striking example of the progress of the labor movement. Health and sanitation as exemplified by our Joint Board of Sanitary Control and Union Health Center in New York; research and education as demonstrated by the activities of our Educational Department; play and recreation, as offered by the Unity House of the International and that of Local 89; credit and banking, as shown by the numerous labor banks, including our own International Union Bank—are no more a monopoly and privilege of the ruling class and no more a mystery to the advanced ranks of Labor, for Labor is marching on. New problems arise, new fields of endeavor open. Your committee has analyzed these problems and has surveyed these fields to the best of its ability in the time allotted to it.

Union Labor Life Insurance

1. *A few facts and figures concerning life insurance:*

Your committee has examined the por-

tion of the officers' report dealing with Union Labor Life Insurance (p. 174) and presents for your consideration a few facts and figures concerning life insurance. It is estimated that about 70 per cent of the trade union members of the United States carry some sort of life insurance. In other words, 30 per cent of all the trade union members have no insurance at all unless their unions provide some death benefits. Of the organized workers that carry insurance, 40 per cent are insured for less than \$500. More than 90 per cent of the insurance carried in the public companies by members of unions and their families is in the form of what is known as industrial policies, on which weekly collections of premiums are made. Your committee is informed that a third of all the premiums paid to the insurance companies is used for overhead expenses and that the cost of operation of industrial insurance is still higher. We are also informed that there are about 54,000,000 policy holders in the United States who carry over \$72,000,000,000 worth of insurance.

2. *Insurance Companies:*

It is evident from the few facts and figures presented that the insurance companies are of great influence in the economic and all other branches of public life of this country. Consider that the total invested assets of these companies amount to more than \$11,500,000,000; that less than three hundred life insurance companies have more assets than thirty thousand national banks, state banks and trust companies combined. Consider also the fact that these assets and additional premiums paid by millions of policy holders, workers included, find their way to Wall Street. It is quite natural that these insurance companies exercise so much control over the industrial life of this country. It is also natural that the profits derived by the private insurance companies are large, while the cost of insurance, especially to the workers who carry mostly industrial policies, is so high.

3. *Workers and Insurance:*

We hold that the workers, who create the wealth of society, are entitled to a

decent living in their old age, when unable to work. We are also of the opinion that the family of a worker who lost his life is entitled to decent support. But the cold, ugly facts are different. The fact is that a worker, reaching an age when he is unable to work, has no means of support. The fact is that a widowed wife and the orphaned children of a worker are often left helpless. Unions are in no position to maintain their aged members or the widowed wives and children of their deceased members. Under the present system, unless a worker has some savings, he is, in his old age, forced to apply to charity institutions. Analyze the hundred neediest cases as published by the New York Times each year and you will see that most of these objects of charity are widows and orphans of workers. This is the position of the present-day worker in the present-day community, unless through saving he has provided for himself and his family in case of his death. But a worker is seldom able to save unless through compulsory insurance, and we have seen that the amount of insurance carried by the workers is very small. At the premium rates set up by the private insurance companies, the worker can not afford to carry insurance. He and his family are, therefore, quite often objects of charity.

4. *Early Labor Unions and Insurance:*

The early trade unions in this country, as well as in other countries, were instituted largely for relief purposes. This form of labor organization was largely dictated by the laws of that time, that declared all other trade union activities illegal and considered any attempt by these organizations to interfere with wages of workers and other working problems as a conspiracy. The recognition of the right of trade unions to legislate for their own members through their organizations in matters of wages and working conditions, the relief and benefit systems, which had been the original purpose of these unions, were in most cases shoved to the back-ground. Labor became engaged in the struggle for the protection of the wages of workers and of the working conditions. It is natural that those of the workers who desired to provide for old age and for

their families in case of their death, had to do so through private enterprise, through the private insurance companies, with the result that we have already described.

5. *The Union Labor Life Insurance Company.*

In order to meet the requirements of the workers for life insurance, the American Federation of Labor has organized a Union Labor Life Insurance Company. Over fifty international trade unions have participated in the formation of this company. It was started under the laws of the State of Maryland, and it is about ready to venture into a campaign of selling its stock to international unions, local unions, state and city federations of labor, district councils and other forms of trade union organizations, as well as to individual trade union members. Its charter provisions require that at least three-quarters of its directors shall at all times consist of trade unionists, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, leaving one-fourth of its directorate to be filled by representative trade unionists not directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It is further provided that the stock shall be sold only to trade unions and trade unionists, and that stock cannot be transferred without the consent of the company itself. To insure a democratic control and decentralized power, provision is made that no international union can hold more than eight hundred shares; local unions and other forms of trade union organizations are confined to eighty shares, and individual members of unions cannot obtain more than ten shares each. To be representative of organized Labor, provision is made for an advisory board consisting of fifty representative trade unionists whose function it shall be to help guide the destinies of this trade union insurance enterprise. The shares of stock are to be sold at \$25 each, plus \$25 as a surplus, thus making the total purchase price of one share \$50. The investment of an individual member of a union is thus limited to \$500, the investment of a local union to \$4,000, and the investment of an international union to \$40,000. Arrangements will be made with the individual trade unionists for the gradual payment of whatever shares they may

subscribe for, so as to encourage members of unions to invest in this company and become the real owners of this new labor undertaking. The earnings on stock and surplus are limited to 6 per cent per year, as the company is organized not for profit, but for service to the workers and labor organizations.

It is the purpose of the Union Life Insurance Company to issue all forms of insurance policies, but it will also concentrate its efforts on the working out of a form of policy that will be best adapted to the needs of the workers. It intends to enter the industrial insurance field and issue what is known as industrial policies, but of course at lower cost to the workers. It aims also to sell group insurance to labor unions, a form of insurance that until last year has not been sold to labor organizations, but only to employers who would insure their workers and thus have a firm grip on them. In other words, the purpose of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company is to sell insurance to individual workers at cost without profit, to sell insurance to whole organizations of workers, thus strengthening the organizations and weakening the hold of the employers on their workers through group insurance.

Your committee had before it Mr. Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the A. F. of L., and President of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, who has volunteered all possible information as to the details in this recent venture of organized Labor. After a careful study your committee is impressed with the importance of this new undertaking of American Labor and with the opportunities presented to our workers. We heartily endorse the decision reached by over fifty international trade unions to form the Union Labor Life Insurance Company. We are gratified to make mention of the fact that our President, Brother Morris Sigman, is a director of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company and that he has participated in the work of this company from its inception. We recommend approval of his acceptance of a membership on the directorate of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company and urge continuance of active participation in this capacity.

Your committee has no hesitancy in

recommending full approval and endorsement of participation of our International Union in the Union Labor Life Insurance Company to the full extent permitted under its charter provisions. To that end it was recommended that authority be given to the incoming General Executive Board of our International Union to purchase our allotted share of stock in this company, if and when in their opinion our financial conditions are such as to make the investment wise, expedient and helpful. We also urge all our affiliated local unions to give earnest consideration to this proposal and recommend that they participate in this Union Labor Life Insurance Company so far as their financial conditions permit. We also call upon our entire individual membership to utilize this opportunity in participating in this new labor co-operative undertaking in order to make it a success.

With reference to the matter of group insurance in our International Union or its local unions, your Committee wishes to state that it realizes the difficulties entailed at the present moment in making any definite recommendations, as the question of rates and the details of the operation have not yet been worked out. We do recommend, however, that the incoming General Executive Board be authorized to study the problem of group insurance for our entire membership to confer with the officers of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company and if satisfactory terms and conditions are obtained to make arrangements for such group insurance for our members as may be recommended by them and approved by our general membership.

Delegate Fannia M. Cohn: I move that this part of the report on Union Labor Life Insurance be approved by the Convention.

This motion was duly seconded.

Delegate Zimmerman: I just want to make a few remarks on this matter. I think that this labor insurance plan will serve a very useful purpose. Up to now when certain officers in the union who happened to be defeated for re-election had to go out and become insurance agents selling insurance it took them some time to become experienced. Now,

when we organize our own insurance company, they will be experienced insurance agents, and will be able to go out and sell insurance to the workers. (Laughter and applause). So from this point of view, for some of these business agents and some of the other officers who expect to be defeated, the insurance plan will serve a very useful purpose, and I think we ought to support it for this reason alone.

But discussing it seriously, I think the purpose of our Union is not to look for patent medicines to solve our problems, but the purpose of the Union is to improve the condition of the workers, to fight for the interests of the workers rather than serve the interests of the employers or give the workers patent medicines. If we go into this life insurance business, we will forget that we have to fight the employers, we will forget that we are a labor union and we will not accomplish anything so far as the workers are concerned. We will become merely a business institution; we will become everything under the sun but a labor union organized to protect the interests of the workers against the bosses. Therefore, I say that we ought to reject this whole proposition and instruct the General Executive Board to attend to only one thing, and that is to fight the bosses, the manufacturers, and to fight them directly and not through any patent medicines. (Applause).

President Sigman: Delegate Hochman.

Delegate Hochman: I fully appreciate the humor of Brother Zimmerman. I am surprised, however, that he doesn't mention the fact that sometimes very prominent business agents have gone into the silk business selling silk instead of insurance.

President Sigman: You are wrong. It wasn't silk; it was cotton.

Delegate Hochman: You have heard Brother Zimmerman tell you that the trade union movement should stick to only one thing: to attend to the interests of the workers. I wish he practiced what he preaches. (Applause). I want to say that Brother Zimmerman knows

very well that the local with which he is connected and has the honor to represent, is doing a few things that don't directly fall in that category.

The question of general insurance, while it may not be a problem before our union now, is gradually becoming so, and is a great problem before the American Labor movement. I want to tell you that I am surprised to find that nobody found it necessary to introduce a resolution dealing with group insurance and company unions. I think that this insurance plan is for the benefit of the whole Labor movement of the United States and for the benefit of our international, and therefore we should concur in this report.

Delegate Wolkowitz: I want to speak against this life insurance proposition. The problem of our union is not to go into the life insurance business and compete with the capitalist class, but a question of organization. When a question of politics is touched upon in our movement, the officers of the American Federation of Labor state that we are not yet 100 per cent organized, and yet they want us to go into the business of establishing insurance companies and banks to compete with the biggest companies in the United States. Lately we have seen that our officers are devoting more of their time and attention to this field than to the actual work that we are organized for. Now we are in the banking business, the life insurance business, and later we are going to build houses and build railroads. I would not object to this plan if I were of the opinion that we will be able to combat the capitalist system with such a plan. Our problem is organizing the shops, and we should be interested in everything that the shop is concerned with. This is a problem for our organization. This insurance field means competition with big business, and I don't think the Labor union is capable at this time to compete with the big companies. (Applause).

Delegate Halperin (Local 66): I oppose this proposition from the point of view of principle. I regret that remarks were made at the very outset about our doing this and not doing the right thing.

Brother Hochman stated that we are not against unemployment insurance. That is true, but we say specifically that we want the employers to pay for unemployment insurance and not the workers. (Applause).

President Sigman: Delegate Halperin, the unemployment insurance question will come before the house later, we are not discussing that now.

Delegate Halperin: I just mentioned it because Brother Hochman brought it up. I want to say that so far as insurance is concerned we ought to be protected in our daily lives by the government. I have always maintained that insurance is not the business of a private concern. Insurance is a business that should be the concern of all the people, and from that point of view I say that we ought not have anything to do with insurance. And when we talk about principles, there is something else we ought to have in mind. The American Federation of Labor has a mighty business on its hands in organizing the industry. There are 400,000 white collar slaves in the City of New York. What has the American Federation of Labor done to organize these unorganized workers?

President Sigman: Brother Halperin, tell us your point of view on this project, labor life insurance.

Delegate Halperin: I want to take up this question from another point of view. There are a number of insurance companies in the United States. Some of them are very well known to you, the New York Life, the Equitable, the John Hancock and various others. From the point of view of business, we could never compete with any of the great insurance companies which are in existence at the present time in the United States. We can't compete with them, and we ought to stick to our own business of being a labor union and solving the great problems that confront us.

Delegate Ninfo: I am for the recommendation of the committee. I am very much surprised, though, to hear that the objection from the radical end is on the ground that the insurance project presented by the committee is a business

and that the union should not interest itself in business. And yet, Sister Wolowitz and Brother Zimmerman, you, in your own speeches and in the policies which you advocate, try to tell these delegates that you, the workers, must be the owners of the world. By your own policy you try to instill in the workers the theory that the workers are entitled to all the profits of labor. So, if the workers are entitled to the entire profits of labor, then you want everything in this world to be the property of the workers. You want the railroads to belong to the workers, you want the houses to belong to the workers; then you should also want the insurance companies to belong to the workers (applause), and yet you come here and say that it is a business and as such the union should have nothing to do with it. I believe that if this assembly were to build railroads and houses for the workers, you would call it a business and oppose it because it didn't come from your side (applause). Don't simply throw mud in the air because it will only come back and fall upon your own faces.

Delegate Nagler: Of course I am for the recommendation of the committee: I merely want to say that it is a habit of those who call themselves progressives to get up on the floor at every opportunity that presents itself to mention the capitalist class, class struggle, etc. As far as this insurance proposition is concerned, individuals will get up here and say that they themselves have insurance policies, but they would rather take them from the Morgan controlled insurance companies rather than from the American Federation of Labor insurance company. Fifty-four million people carry insurance policies in this country. Of this number the various insurance companies in this country hold \$15,000,000,000 of the workers' money.

I ask those "progressives" whether they really mean what they say when they say that the workers must manage industry in due course of time. If such a time ever came, they wouldn't have the slightest knowledge what insurance means, and when you "progressives" take over the government, and you, Brother Zimmerman, expecting to be the

Secretary of State, wouldn't you in due course have to know something about insurance? (Laughter).

So I say to you, delegates, don't be misled on these questions. We are being accused of neglecting the work of the convention or of prolonging the work of the convention, whereas, as a matter of fact, these so-called progressives have nothing to do and have done nothing except to argue on questions of minor importance.

The previous question was called for and carried.

Delegate Zack: A point of information, Mr. President.

President Sigman: What is your point of information?

Delegate Zack: I would like to know whether our Brother President keeps a political blacklist of the members of this convention. I have gotten up several times and you don't seem to even want to look this way at all to recognize us.

Delegate Amdur: I want to say that there were several members on this side of the floor who have tried to get the floor, but weren't recognized, and yet they haven't seen fit to make such a statement.

Delegate Halperin (Local 66): I would like to ask a question.

President Sigman: What is your question?

Delegate Halperin: I would like to know whether everybody has the privilege of becoming a policy holder or whether it is only for the workers.

President Sigman: The chairman of the committee will answer that.

Chairman Cohn: The answer to your question is simple. The life insurance company will try to insure the workers only, but it may be instructed by the government that we have no right to reject an outsider. It doesn't intend to compete with the big insurance companies, and it isn't interested in protecting the outside public. Its main interest is in the trade union members.

Now, as far as the so-called progressives are concerned, I somehow couldn't understand what it means to be a progressive, and I wouldn't like to be classified as such because it is a middleclass term. You may call yourselves progressives, but I am a radical. What we are suffering from is not a lack of ability. When we speak of the English Labor movement, I have had the privilege of being associated with them and have written on that movement, and I have come in contact with some of the leaders of the English Labor movement. The English Labor movement is now radical. The English Labor movement is functioning in the industrial field through its trade union organization, on the political field through the labor organization, and on the economic field it is functioning through the co-operative movement. In America, Sister Wolkowitz, if you study the American co-operative movement you will find that it doesn't amount to anything. You say our main purpose is to be a trade union, and yet it was the progressives who said we must extend the activities of the trade union movement. Some of the speakers have tried to give the impression that taking out insurance is only a social function. Most of us are very well acquainted with the Labor movement in New York. I am sorry that Brother Zimmerman doesn't seem to know the labor movement outside of New York. A worker holding an insurance policy feels that his future and that of his dependents is pretty well protected in case of adversity, and for that reason they will be better members of the union and work more in harmony with the union. I therefore ask you delegates to approve the report of the committee and concur in its recommendations.

Delegates Kraisman: I want to ask whether this insurance is only for the workers.

President Sigman: Only labor unions will be able to secure this group insurance for their members in this labor institution.

Delegates Kraisman: Does that eliminate the right of the employers?

President Sigman: We are not going

to eliminate the rights of employers to get group insurance. We cannot pass such a law; but so far as this insurance is concerned, we are not going to solicit group insurance from employers' organizations or employers of labor.

Delegate Hochman: Who is going to control the entire insurance company?

President Sigman: Its directors and its advisory board must consist only of union men.

Upon being put to a vote, the recommendation of the committee was adopted, 135 for and 108 against.

The Committee thereupon proceeded with its report as follows:

Labor Banking

1. **BANKING AND THE SOCIAL ORDER.** With reference to labor banking, discussed in the officers' report on page 151, we wish to state the following: The system of credit and banking is the heart of the modern social order. It feeds all the undertakings of capital and makes the existence of modern capitalism possible. Through the system of banking, the position of the employing class is constantly being strengthened in this country. Through the system of banking the meager savings of the workers as well as the large investments of the rich find their way to China, Mexico, Europe and other parts of the world for the purpose of exploitation. Because of the importance of banking to the present social order the rulers of the world have kept its operations sacred. To the workers, banking was a mystery. The god of Mammon would suffer no interference; the sacred temple of banking would admit no outsiders.

2. **GROWTH OF LABOR BANKING** The World War and revolutionary upheavals that followed have taken off the veil of mystery of many institutions which the ruling class had considered sacred. One of these institutions was banking. Only five years ago the International Association of Machinists established the first labor bank in the United States, a small bank with a small capital, started at a time of post-war industrial depression. And it is a highly significant

fact that in only five years it has been possible to develop at so rapid a rate institutions whose greatest asset is the confidence of the public in them. There are at present thirty-five labor banks in the United States, with total resources exceeding one hundred million dollars. Consider that the greatest financial institution in the world, the National City Bank, has total resources of one billion dollars, and you will realize the significance of the growth of labor banking. These labor banks are now to be found in seventeen states, under the control and auspices of a highly diversified group of trade unions.

3. **THE REASONS FOR THE LABOR BANKING MOVEMENT.** We have already stated that the greatest asset of banks is the confidence of the public in them. The growth of labor banking, if anything, has proven that the workers have confidence in these labor institutions. Whatever banking the worker has to do, he prefers to do it through his own bank, where he receives fair treatment and prompt attention. Again, labor organizations after the war found themselves with resources that, if not for labor banking, would have to be, as they always have been, deposited with the large banking corporations, privately owned and controlled. Again, if labor is to acquire power and assume responsibilities it must do away with the mystery of banking; it must go to the heart of the social order. The establishment, growth and operation of the labor banks have shown that labor through its representatives, can operate the mysterious banks with the same efficiency as the employing class.

4. **THE INTERNATIONAL UNION BANK.** The International Union Bank, organized by our organization in the latter part of 1923, with the co-operation of the International Fur Workers' Union, the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers International Union, the International Pocketbook Workers' Union and the Forward Association, had a capital and surplus of \$500,000. The resources of the bank at present are over four million dollars. These resources are made up largely of deposits of our own members as well as of other workers. The bank, during the

short time of its existence, has been of considerable assistance to a large number of our members, giving them aid and advice in whatever financial transactions they had to make. In the spring of 1925, the bank undertook, together with a co-operative group specially organized for that purpose, to carry out a plan of co-operative housing for members of the International Union and other affiliated labor organizations. This plan, if carried out, would certainly be of great assistance to the workers. However, in view of the internal situation in our International Union, the plan had to be given up.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS. Your Committee had before it, Mr. Philip Kaplowitz, cashier of the International Bank, who gave us all the information obtainable in so short a time. We have considered the subject of labor banking as fully as possible, and we are of the opinion that while labor banking is still in its experimental stages, it has already proved its usefulness. Your Committee believes that labor banks should be encouraged and that every possible support be extended to them. Your Committee also urges our local unions to consider the organization of credit unions which can be of material help to their membership, if conducted on a co-operative basis and not for profit, but for service to their participants.

Delegate Zack: It is a peculiar fact that many of the largest unions, including our own, are losing in membership while they are being kept busy with banking ventures and all sorts of other businesses. This policy keeps us from concentrating our efforts upon the class struggle. Some of you want to take over the entire structure of society, with houses, banks and all sorts of business institutions. You are trying to buy up capitalism. Labor owns only 5 per cent of the total wealth of the United States, and you certainly cannot buy out the other 95 per cent. The money you invest in bonds and stocks, etc., you are only taking away from our organization work. The time and energy you devote to these things could much better be utilized for the purpose of organizing the workers and improving our conditions.

We are not in a position at this time to concentrate our energies on banking. We should concentrate on fighting our employers and should not divide our energies on banking and business. (Applause).

Delegate Otto: It seems to be the policy of the "lefts" to oppose us on any question, regardless of what it may be. I thought there could not possibly be any opposition to the report of the committee. They spent thousands of dollars in organizing a militant group to break up the organization; it seems they are in favor of this or that policy when it suits them and they oppose it, regardless of its worth, when it does not.

What is there about insurance and banking that anyone need oppose? I suppose it is a question of evolution, and they oppose it because it is not revolutionary enough. They assume the position of a military power that is opposed to all organizations that seek to bring about peace since they make a living out of war. They are a militant group and they fear that, if we accomplish the same aims and purposes that they are after through evolution, their power will be taken away from them. I believe that every delegate should support the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Steinzor: In the report it is stated that the four millions of dollars in our bank represent the deposits of our members and other workers. Is not it a fact that tens of thousands of dollars represent the deposits of manufacturers?

President Sigman: You did not hear the report. Read it in the proceedings.

Delegate Fannia Cohn: Brother Steinzor said, "Is not it a fact that employers have money in our bank?" I'd rather want them to deposit their money in our bank than have our members deposit their money in capitalist banks. (Applause). I said that most of the four million dollars in our bank comes from our members, not all of it.

If we are getting the confidence of the public to deposit their money in our bank even in time of strikes, it means that we are getting a standing in our

community. I don't believe it is a question of convincing anybody. I think they are against it on principle. It is not a question of logic. If we can bring it about that the financial power of the workers shall be in their own hands, I say let us have it.

Upon being put to a vote, the recommendation of the committee was carried, 135 voting for and 105 against.

Miss Cohn thereupon proceeded with the report as follows:

Unemployment Insurance

1. *Unemployment.* One of the strongest indictments against the present social order is the unemployment of workers who are able and willing to work. We have simultaneously overproduction and underconsumption, resulting in disastrous and violent crises which bring in their wake intensive and disastrous unemployment of workers. But it is not only the unemployment due to these crises that affect the workers. In our industry the workers suffer not only from cyclical unemployment but from seasonal unemployment. Statistics have shown that in New York, the largest market of ladies' garments, the majority of the workers have an average slightly over thirty weeks of work during the year. It is quite natural that the unemployed, in their search for work, are often tempted and quite often forced by circumstances, to seek and accept employment on conditions below the union standards. Aside from the effect it has on the individual workers themselves, this condition has a tendency to lower the union standards in the shops which the union aims to maintain.

2. *Unemployment Insurance.* Your committee is of the opinion that in the present social order unemployment of workers can not be fully prevented. Unemployment is a direct result of the present social order. But the suffering of the workers from unemployment and the effect of unemployment on labor organizations can, in a large measure, be diminished by various methods of combating unemployment. One of these methods is unemployment insurance. There are at present seven countries which have

state compulsory unemployment insurance: Great Britain, Italy, Austria, Russia, Queensland (Australia), Poland and the Irish Free State, and nine countries which have voluntary unemployment insurance supported by government subsidies: France, Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, Finland, Spain, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland. There is no compulsory unemployment insurance in the United States, nor is there any voluntary unemployment insurance supported by the State. The worker, when unemployed, is left to himself. It is because of this condition and also because of the realization that the present social order is responsible for unemployment that our International has undertaken to fasten the responsibility for unemployment of its members upon the industry in which they work.

3. *The Creation of the Unemployment Insurance Fund.* We have considered the part of the officers' report, page 138, dealing with the Unemployment Insurance Fund, and beg to submit the following:

The Unemployment Insurance Fund of the cloak, suit and skirt industry of New York was created in the summer of 1924. The first payments into the fund began in August of that year. The workers contributed 1 per cent of their earnings and the employers an amount equal to 2 per cent of the workers' earnings. The Board of Trustees, in addition to its chairman, Mr. Arthur D. Wolf, consists of representatives of the employers and of the Union. The representatives of our organization are President Morris Sigman and the general manager of the Joint Board, Louis Hyman. On February 3, 1925, the Board of Trustees, of the fund adopted rules for the payment of unemployment benefits to our members. It was decided that the official season periods for benefit payment purposes would be fixed from February 1 to July 31 for the spring season, and from August 1 to January 31 for the fall season. According to these rules, seventeen full weeks constitute a working season, and members working that many weeks shall not be entitled to benefits. Eligibility for benefits was based upon the member's belonging to the union for at least one

year and his employment in the New York market for at least one year. The amount of benefit was fixed at \$10 per week for a maximum of twelve weeks during the year—six weeks in the fall season and six weeks during the spring, making a maximum of \$120 per year.

4. *The operation of the fund last season.* In accordance with these rules the office of the fund in April, 1925, began preparations for the payment of unemployment benefits. Information on employment and unemployment was tabulated to determine the eligibility of each worker. Later, in May, the registration of workers who were unemployed was started. As the time for paying insurance benefits approached, it was found that the records of the office were incomplete, shop reports were missing. However, on the 8th of June the payment of benefits was begun, at the same time every effort was made to get the missing reports. The results, however, were not satisfactory, and the payments in some instances had to be made on the assumption basis and not on the basis of records. Close to eleven hundred thousand dollars were paid out in benefits to 28,934 of our members. In other words, practically the same number of workers that contributed to the fund received benefits.

5. *The difficulties of the fund.* Notwithstanding this large number of workers who received benefits, and the large amount paid out in benefits, the workers seemed to be dissatisfied with the methods of payment. This was due to the fact that (a) the number of registrants proved to be unexpectedly large and the workers had to wait in line; (b) the system of issuing benefit checks to each worker separately brought all the workers to the payment office; (c) the payment of benefit checks weekly, which meant that a worker had to appear in the office of the fund several times; (d) the weekly payment of \$10 did not enable the unemployed worker to satisfy his major needs, such as the payment of rent; (e) occasional waiting until the records of the worker were obtained through the shop reports which were missing at the time when the payments were begun.

6. *Changes in the methods of payments.* Your committee is informed that the rules and regulations pertaining to payment of insurance benefits have been changed so as to afford best service to the members entitled to benefits. Your committee is also informed that in addition to Mr. James A. Corcoran, in charge of the Collection Department, Mr. Morris Kolchin has been placed in charge of the registration and payment office of the fund. This will undoubtedly result in higher efficiency of the office of the fund. Every effort is being made and will be made in order to obtain the shop reports showing employment and unemployment of the workers regularly. The seasons have been changed so as to enable the workers to receive the unemployment benefit at a time when they most need it, that is, at the time of unemployment. Payments will be made only on the basis of shop reports. The workers that are employed or are attached to some shops will not have to come to the office of the fund for payments, but checks will be delivered to them in their shops. There will be no weekly payments but one lump payment for the season, so that the worker will be enabled to pay his rent if necessary at the time of unemployment. The workers who are totally unemployed will be paid in the office of the fund, and definite days will be designated to each local separately so that only members of that particular local will have to come to the office for their checks. The same method will apply to registration of the unemployed. In other words, the changes in the rules and regulations that have been made will do away with most of the confusion in the fund, and the dissatisfaction of the workers. And while it is expected that during the next payment there still may be some difficulties, they will not be as many and as large as they were last season. Your committee realizes that unemployment insurance is a new venture and that it could not be run with the highest degree of efficiency from its inception. Your committee also realizes that in a difficult market, such as New York, with so many shops and with employers that do not always keep records, the operation of the office of the fund is a difficult task.

7. *Unemployment Insurance Fund in Other Trades and Markets.* Your committee has dwelt on the unemployment insurance in the cloak and suit industry of New York for the reasons that this is the most important organization in our Union, and that the New York cloak and suit fund has already operated as far as payments of benefits are concerned. We are gratified to report, however, that in the agreement between the Union and the dress manufacturers and jobbers of New York, provision is made for the establishment of an unemployment insurance fund similar to the one in the cloak and suit industry and that payments into the fund already started last season; also, that an unemployment insurance fund has been established for the Chicago cloak makers, which is soon to begin its payment of benefits to the unemployed workers. Provision for the establishment of an unemployment insurance fund is also made in the agreement covering the cloak and suit trade of the Boston market. A similar provision is made in the agreement between the Union and the employers of Baltimore. We hope that these organizations, in the markets enumerated, will learn from the experience of the operation of the Unemployment Insurance Fund of the New York cloak and suit industry. We are of the opinion that our International officers should insist that the payment of benefits in the markets enumerated start as soon as possible.

8. *Recommendations.* Your Committee in reviewing the operation of the Unemployment Insurance Fund of New York in the first year of its activity is of the opinion that notwithstanding the difficulties encountered, unemployment insurance is, and will be of benefit to our members and to our organization. Our members must be compensated for the time that they are unemployed through no fault of their own. We fully realize that the benefit for unemployment as paid in New York is insufficient to compensate the employed workers for the loss of work. But, we also realize that the amount of benefit can be increased in time. Endorsing fullheartedly the principle of unemployment insurance, and realizing the beneficial effect

it will have upon our members and upon our organization, we recommend that our general officers use every effort to introduce the system of unemployment insurance in all markets and in all branches of our industry. We also recommend that the general officers use every effort to increase the unemployment benefits to our members through the increase of payments into the fund by the employer. We are of the opinion that the responsibility for unemployment must be fastened on the employers who employ our members, 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 register, can be successfully utilized for the creation of a labor bureau through which the employers shall be obliged to employ union members only.

We desire to state in connection with the preparation of this report that Brother Charles Jacobson, of the Unemployment Department of the New York Joint Board, was sent by Delegate Hyman of the Joint Board to offer information as to the workings of the Unemployment Insurance Fund.

Your Committee has examined the three subjects referred to it and the report presented is the result of a conscientious survey within the limited time allotted.

We present this report for your consideration and approval. We are proud of the fact that our International Union is among the few pioneers in every progressive movement and in every new field of activity for the interests of our membership and of Labor in general.

Respectfully submitted,

The Committee on Union Labor Life Insurance, Labor Banking and Unemployment Insurance.

Fannia M. Cohn, Chairman.
B. Horowitz, Local 36.
Dorothy Jasinska, Local 57.
L. Nulman, Local 61.
Sam Cipes, Local 64.
A. Broth, Local 37.
Hyman Green, Local 93.
Frank Comunale, Local 48.
David Harris, Sec., Local 141.

Delegate Cohn: I move that the report of the committee be adopted as a whole.

This motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Polakoff: I'd like to have the permission of the convention to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 178

Introduced by Sol Polakoff.

WHEREAS, an active campaign is now being waged under the leadership of the Secretary of Labor, Mr. James J. Davis, and Congressman Johnson the Chairman of the Congressional Committee on Immigration, for the passage of a law providing for the registration of aliens.

WHEREAS, this law proposes such methods of identification, as finger printing and photography for the foreign born, methods now being employed to identify criminals, and law breakers.

WHEREAS, these methods will be employed in cases of deportation resulting from strike activities and loss of naturalization papers for participation in strikes.

WHEREAS the passage of such law violates the time honored American tradition of freedom.

WHEREAS, such a law will introduce into our country methods of espionage and oppression associated with Czaristic tyranny in Russia but abhorrent to freedom loving Americans.

WHEREAS, such a law imposes such absolute power upon the administrative bureaus of the government as to lead to abuse, with its attendant evils of corruption.

WHEREAS, the result of this law is to discriminate against foreign born workers and to make it impossible for them to participate in the struggle of foreign born workers against the open shop, and for American standards of living, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this convention register its strong opposition to the passage of such law, and that it instructs the G. E. B. to join in the campaigning for the protection of the foreign born workers, and be it further

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the coming convention introduce a resolution expressing our opposition to such laws and to speak and vote for it.

The permission of the convention was granted him to submit this resolution.

President Sigman: We will now have the report of the Organization Committee.

Delegate Jacob Halpern thereupon proceeded to give the report of the Organization Committee as follows:

Report of Committee on Organization

Your committee received the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 60

Submitted by Local 50, of Philadelphia, Elias Reisberg, Minnie Rubinstein, Aaron Einbinder, Clara Weiss, Philip Silver, Abraham Bloomfield:

WHEREAS, Many attempts have been made to organize the unorganized portion of the Philadelphia waist, dress and children's dress industry, resulting in only meager success; and

WHEREAS, The conditions of work in the open shops have a demoralizing influence upon the conditions of the workers in the union shops, thus making it harder and harder for our Philadelphia union to further exercise the proper influence in maintaining union standards; and

WHEREAS, The Boston convention in May, 1921, instructed the Incoming General Executive Board to lend its assistance to an organization drive which was carried on on a rather small scale; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse a general strike in the mentioned industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Incoming General Executive Board give its undivided attention in the progress of the campaign.

Your committee is aware of the bitter struggle the dressmakers of Philadelphia have undergone during the year of 1922. A general strike against the dress manufacturers of Philadelphia was called during the month of August of 1921 and lasted until March 1922, a period of twenty-six weeks. During these twenty-six weeks the dressmakers of Philadelphia have manifested a determination which cannot be excelled by any other group of workers. The strike, however, has been given up, and although the workers did not turn out to be triumphant, they, nevertheless, showed that they were full of vigor and ready to start a campaign of organization as soon as the opportune time would permit.

Nine months later, they again renewed their organization campaign and put their organization on a substantial basis.

We have a great deal of faith in the Philadelphia dressmakers because of the wonderful spirit they were always able to display in their struggles against their employers. And from the information your committee obtained from the committee that appeared before it, we learn that the Philadelphia workers are determined to bring into their fold all such workers as are not yet affiliated with the union.

Your committee therefore recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Delegate Riesel: I amend the motion to include the embroiderers.

The recommendation of the committee as amended was unanimously adopted.

Your committee received the following resolution:

Resolution No. 71

Submitted by Jersey District Council.
A. Rosenberg, delegate:

WHEREAS, The Out-of-Town Department started an organizing campaign in New Jersey towns, and we have made such progress that now we have a Jersey District Council composed of twelve (12) local unions with a membership of about fifteen hundred (1,500); and

WHEREAS, in the midst of organizing campaigns we were forced to discontinue operations due to the lack of funds supplied by the International Office; and

WHEREAS, Due to geographical conditions of the shops in the Jersey towns no mass organization work can be done, as is often done in large cities, thereby necessitating ample funds to carry on the organization campaigns; and

WHEREAS, Numerous ladies' garment shops are operating under non-union conditions, thereby jeopardizing not only the interests of the New York workers but even the existence of the union shops in Jersey districts; and

WHEREAS, The State of New Jersey is full of empty shops waiting for New York manufacturers to come there to manufacture coats, dresses and other ladies' wear; and

WHEREAS, as soon as the New York workers plan to better their conditions, the non-union shops in New Jersey begin to get busy; therefore be it

RESOLVED, At this Eighteenth Convention of the International held in the city of Philadelphia to instruct the Incoming General Executive Board to take special care of the organization work in the Jersey district; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That sufficient funds be provided to carry on this campaign successfully.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Delegate Rubin spoke in Yiddish, delivering a bitter attack upon the small amount of organization work that had been accomplished by the out-of-town department. He claimed that, according to the convention report, the International had spent \$120,000 on organization work and practically nothing had been achieved. He blamed the lack of success on the fact that the administration had refused the proffered help of the "lefts".

Delegate Greenberg also spoke in Yiddish in answer to Brother Rubin. She denied vehemently his charges of incompetency on the part of the administration and charged that in the strike in Camden, N. J., the "lefts" asked for \$75 a week each before they would cooperate, and when this was refused them they tried their best to break up the strike.

Delegate Amdur: From the statement of Delegate Rubin it appears that the Out-of-Town Department has spent a hundred and some odd thousand dollars, which according to his figures would mean that it costs about \$2,000 to organize a member. I want to say that in my own experience I happen to know some members in our union whom it has cost us more than that to organize, and they are calling themselves "progressives". So it doesn't matter how much it costs us to organize the members of our union as long as we do organize them.

Second, I heard a statement on the financial report that a strike in one city had cost the Out-of-Town Department \$80,000. Although I did not have direct charge of that strike, it has been stated that the Joint Board of Philadelphia took an active part in that strike, and I want to deny most emphatically that it cost us even \$40,000. I am willing to have Delegate Rubin prove it. It is only a malicious insinuation and he cannot prove it.

As to the question of the conduct of the strike in Camden, I wish to state that I confirm the statement made by Delegate Greenberg that all these "progressives" and revolutionists who tried to take a hand in that strike in the first or second week of its duration, after finding out that they couldn't get enough money out of it, gave it up, and it may have been due to them that the strike was not as successful as we wanted it to be.

Delegate Rosenberg: I am sorry that this accusation was not made in the English language since all these workers in these unions that were attacked speak English very well. Delegate Rubin mixed up the Camden strike with the

resolution which I have introduced. I have nothing to do with Camden, nor have I had. Camden is a separate territory, we have a different district. I can prove to Delegate Rubin that it was due to the members of Local 2 and 22 themselves that this organization campaign was impossible and ended in failure. The same applies to each and every town in New Jersey. Whenever there was a strike in Jersey, whom did we find there? New York dressmakers, New York waist makers, people from Brownsville, from East New York, and everyone claimed to be a member of the union. Now, whose fault is it, Brother Rubin, that the organization campaign was not successful?

Delegate Gingold: Mr. Chairman, I protest against the statements of Brother Rosenberg.

Delegate Rosenberg: I can prove those statements and I can substantiate them. I won't go any further, but I simply made that statement so that you would know the actual conditions as they exist in the small towns.

Someone said here that too much money was expended and we don't need the Out-of-Town Department. But Brother Rubin, before you were ever a member of this union the Joint Board of New York spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to organize the out-of-town territory and they never succeeded. Let the girls who are here and men who are here from those locals tell you their own story, whether their wages are not equivalent to the wages in New York. It is true, but you all know that there are a great number of our so-called good members in the New York locals who are working below the scale and doing piece work and working all kinds of hours and all holidays.

Delegate Rubin: Whose fault is that?

Delegate Rosenberg: Well, I could speak a long time myself on this subject, but I would rather have the members of those locals themselves tell you their stories, and you will be convinced that they are better union members than a good many who are sitting at this convention (applause).

President Sigman: The chair will not permit any further discussion along the lines that Delegate Rubin has started. I have permitted one or two of the delegates to reply to his statement, but the question before the house is a resolution that contains a definite request dealing with organization work in that portion of the State of New Jersey that the resolution refers to, and I will ask the next speakers to confine themselves to the subject matter contained in the resolution and the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Portnoy: I don't think any one of us here would have any objections to any money that it was found necessary to spend in organizing New Jersey. I rise to speak about certain statements that Brother Rosenberg made in regard to the organization of New Jersey.

President Sigman (interrupting): Now, Brother Portnoy, Brother Rosenberg has made a reply to one of the delegates who touched on this question and whom I did not want to interrupt and stop, but we don't intend to spend the balance of this session on a matter which is at this time not before the house. Now, confine yourself to the resolution which proposes that the incoming General Executive Board should institute a campaign to organize the unorganized ladies' garment workers in the State of New Jersey and that it should support such campaign morally and financially. The convention therefore has to act on this resolution.

Delegate Portnoy: Brother Chairman, I have a right as a delegate to discuss the subject as to how the campaign should be conducted and I don't think you have the right to deprive me of that privilege.

President Sigman: I think pretty soon we will need an impartial chairman.

Delegate Hyman: Mr. Chairman, in connection with the present resolution before the house, Brother Rosenberg made certain statements that in his opinion the obstacles in the way of organizing New Jersey are the members of Locals 22, 2 and 9, and of course the

rest of the New York locals. Don't you think that even if it is out of place, since you have permitted the discussion to divert into strange channels, that others have a right to make an answer to statements made by Brother Rosenberg that are absurd?

President Sigman: In discussing the proposition, remarks have been made by all the speakers that, in my judgment, have no relation to the subject matter. I did not correct Delegate Rubin when he made his statements, and I have my reasons for it. I have corrected the remarks made by Delegate Rosenberg not because the remarks he made were not correct, but because I have seen that a number of delegates are trying to misconstrue Delegate Rosenberg's remarks.

In labor unions you will always find a sufficient number of workers who don't understand their position in industry, nor the position of the labor movement and who don't understand the class struggle; and it will happen that not only in a Jersey shop but in New York shops and in Philadelphia shops, in fact, in any shop where a strike takes place, that not only unorganized workers will enter the service of employers against their own interest and the interest of their fellow workers, but even such as carry union cards. But the labor movement, or the local unions with which these members are affiliated, are not responsible for their misdeeds, for their lack of understanding. So in my judgment there is no need to continue discussion on this. Nor is it proper to indulge in these methods or tactics of organization. This will be a separate item on the floor of this convention. This time we are to pass upon a request of a number of local unions dealing specifically with organization work and with a request for assistance for such organization work from the International Union.

The previous question was called for and carried.

Delegate Perlmutter: I believe that so far as the resolution in itself is concerned it is very specific, it is very clear. Everybody can understand it. It simply calls for the conducting of an organiza-

tion campaign in the State of New Jersey.

Some speaker on this floor has expressed the opinion that rather than conduct an organization campaign, which necessarily implies funds, they would have the entire organization department eliminated. As a New Yorker, I know the danger that faces the workers of New York. If we don't make it our business right now to start an organization campaign and a very forceful one, we don't want union conditions to exist right in New York. There are a number of jobbers in New York City, such as probably are in control of the cloak, suit and dress market of that city, who for the past few years not only have encouraged the establishment of markets in the State of New Jersey but to a great extent are even financing them.

They establish shops of their own, although they go under different names; yet we know as a matter of fact that they are the direct owners of those shops. I say that those who stand on this floor and criticize the activities of the Out-of-Town Department, particularly in New Jersey, don't know what they are talking about. It seems to me that they never had any experience in conducting organization work not only in the State of New Jersey, but even right in the heart of New York, where the cloak and suit and dress market are 90 to 95 per cent unionized. Even there we have a pretty hard task when it comes to organizing new shops. I don't think it will be necessary to stand on this floor and try to convince the delegates of the necessity of doing everything in their power to help to maintain the organization work in the State of New Jersey. I think there is no division of opinion except on the part of those that try to discourage it simply because they have at this time an opportunity to get up and sling mud. Any one who has the organization at heart cannot vote against this resolution.

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

Chairman Halperin continued the re-

port of the Organization Committee as follows:

Resolution No. 151

Introduced by M. Amdur, M. Shur, A. Eaton, M. Kaiser, J. Blouin, L. Nulman, F. Goodman, A. Abramson, A. Cooper, A. Friedman.

WHEREAS, the I. L. G. W. U. has recently conducted an organization campaign in Canada to organize the cloak and suit makers in the city of Toronto and Montreal and has been successful in establishing a basis of organization in the above mentioned cities; and

WHEREAS, there is still a large number of unorganized workers to be organized and the unions have used all their efforts to bring these workers into the ranks of our organizations but were not successful until now due to the unprecedented dullness that has existed in the trade for the last seven or eight months; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention instructs the incoming G. E. B. to give its moral and financial support in order to complete the organization campaign that has been started about a year ago and bring about a strong and powerful organization in the cloak and suit industry in the cities of Toronto and Montreal.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 61

Submitted by Local 76, of Philadelphia:

WHEREAS, The Custom Dressmakers' Union of Philadelphia controls but a very small fraction of the industry; and

WHEREAS, The little membership of the local has stuck together, improving their conditions in the few union shops in their trade, but cannot make any further demands of their employers since organization work did not extend to the numerous open shops; and

WHEREAS, The field for an organization drive is more ripe at this time than ever due to the low wages and the long hours of work imposed upon the workers in the industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED That this convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board to look into the matter and see what can be done to organize the entire custom dress-making industry of Philadelphia.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Delegate Pulancia: I offer an amendment to include ladies' tailoring and custom dress makers.

The recommendation of the committee as amended was unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 77

Introduced by Sol Polakoff, Max Amdur, Julius Hochman, A. Cooper, Alex Friedman, N. Shur, Albert Eaton, Max Kaiser, J. Goldman, delegates of Montreal and Toronto:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is launching a strong and wide campaign among the unorganized workers in the different industries in the Dominion of Canada, to begin January 3, 1924, for a period of three months; and

WHEREAS, This campaign will be conducted through the channels of the labor movement of Canada and under the auspices of the Trade and Labor Council of the various cities; and

WHEREAS, These unorganized Canadian ladies' garment workers are working under the most miserable conditions, thus having a demoralizing effect on the industry, there being great competition to the organized workers of Toronto and Montreal; and

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of this campaign of organization for all workers in Canada it might be possible to reach the attention of the unorganized Gentile workers in the ladies' garment industry; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia instructs the incoming General Executive Board to assist morally and financially in the campaign of organization being launched by the A. F. of L. in the Dominion of Canada; be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board shall be authorized if necessary to send one or more organizers to the cities of Toronto and Montreal during the campaign to help in this organization work.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 72

Submitted by Local 60, of Chicago, Benjamin Dolnick, delegate.

WHEREAS, Considering the large number of Polish workers in the ladies' garment industry who are unorganized, and the majority of whom cannot speak or understand the English language; and

WHEREAS, Better results could be obtained if our organizers would converse with the unorganized Polish workers in this city in their own language; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia, instruct the incoming General Executive Board that the future organizers for the City of Chicago shall possess a knowledge of the Polish language.

Your committee, taking into consideration the fact that about thirty-five per cent of the workers engaged in the ladies' garment industry of Chicago are of Polish descent and speak the Polish language, therefore recommends that the

incoming G. E. B. be instructed to make a serious attempt to secure an organizer who can command the Polish language, if possible.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 51

Introduced by Israel Feinberg and Ben Gilbert, Local 78, St. Louis.

WHEREAS, The workers engaged in the manufacture of dresses and waists in the city of St. Louis are totally unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The conditions in these trades are unbearable, long hours of labor, impossibly low wages, the worst kind of oppression prevailing in these trades; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to conduct an organization campaign among these workers and do its utmost to help them establish for themselves humane conditions and fair wages.

Your committee took into consideration the earnest efforts made by the St. Louis workers to maintain their organization, having only recently increased their dues to seventy cents per week, a spirit which cannot be found in any other local affiliated with the International. It therefore recommends that the incoming G. E. B. do all within its power to aid them in every way possible in conducting an organization campaign for the purpose of organizing all those workers who are as yet not affiliated with the International. The committee further recommends that, until such time as the campaign is started, the G. E. B. assist them financially in order to maintain their organization.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 53

Submitted by delegates of Chicago Locals:

WHEREAS, Since the 1924 dressmakers' strike in the city of Chicago the International has conducted a systematic campaign for the rebuilding of the dressmakers' organization in that city; and

WHEREAS, In spite of the difficulties in the way of re-organization, because of the demoralizing effect that the lost strike has had on the members of the Union in particular and the industry in general, the work was crowned with partial success; for numerically as well as morally the dressmaker locals are in very good condition at this time; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board shall continue with the organization work among the dressmakers in the city of Chicago and that the organizers who will be assigned to conduct this work shall prepare the field for the complete organization of all the dressmakers employed in the shops in this city; be it further

RESOLVED, That if necessary a general strike shall be called at the most opportune time for the purpose of effecting an agreement with the manufacturers in the dress industry.

Your committee in discussing this resolution was reminded of the heroic strike which the dressmakers of Chicago conducted during the year of 1924. This strike will be remembered as one of the greatest battles conducted by our International Union against the manufacturers of Chicago. Never before have the members of our International Union been called upon to strike under such severe injunctions and police persecutions. All the darkest forces at the command of the manufacturer were employed to crush our dressmakers in Chicago. Over 2,000 arrests were made during the strike, and 93 of our members are still awaiting the results of the appeal against sentences ranging from ten to ninety days. Some of those members in addition to jail sentences were also given money fines. After 18 weeks of struggle the strike was called off. Since then the dressmakers have done everything in their power in recent months to rebuild their organization.

Hundreds of thousands of circulars were distributed around the open shops. Volunteers, members of all the dress locals, carried the message either by circular or word of mouth to the non-union workers, urging them to join the organization. The members have also worked in the locals to make a larger number of members participate in the actual work of the organization, as a result of which the dress locals are in a better position at this time to take up a strike for recognition of their union, than at any other time before.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The session adjourned at 7:00 P. M. to reconvene Tuesday, December 10, 1925 at 9:30 A. M.

Tenth Day—Morning Session

Thursday, December 10, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 10:00 A. M.

Secretary Baroff read the following telegrams which were received with applause:

New York, N. Y.

Am sending you my hearty greetings. Hope that at this hour of your supreme effort to maintain the dignity of the I. L. G. W. U. you will remember that, as hateful as war may be, a shameful peace is still worse. Long live the International Ladies' Workers' Union

MEYER PERLSTEIN.

New York, N. Y.

We, the workers of the cloak shop of Kestoff and Wolk, New York, congratulate the 18th convention of the I. L. G. W. U. and hope that the question of proportional representation will be acted upon and adopted according to the understanding made at the shop chairman meeting in Cooper Union.

SAM SABINSKY, Shop Chairman.

New York, N. Y.

Delegates International Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention.

Greetings. We are proud that we helped build the strongest, most effective, most important and most powerful local not only in our International but in the industry as well. May your deliberations help keep it so in our International and we will help keep it so in the industry.

CUTTERS OF AARON GOLDSTEIN.

A. Casper, Chairman.

New York, N. Y.

President International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

We send you fraternal greetings. We and our comrades in the prisons of Soviet Russia are with you in the struggle for the emancipation of the wage earners and complete removal of wage slavery.

RELIEF SOCIETY FOR SOCIALIST PRISONERS AND EXILES IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

New York, N. Y.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention.

The New York Joint Board of the Furriers' Union sends greetings to the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, with sincere wishes for success in your deliberations. Your problems are very much in common with ours. The Furriers are therefore much concerned with the manner in which you will solve your problems. We hope that the broad interests of your workers and of the working class

movement as a whole will be given due consideration, and that the solution of your problems will be in accordance with the militant and class-conscious spirit that imbues your workers. The condition of the needle trades industry and encroachments of the capitalists demand a unified labor movement. Amalgamation of the needle trades is a necessity if the interests of the workers are to be properly safeguarded. We hope your convention will take steps to effect the amalgamation of the needle trades into one powerful militant class-conscious organization.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD FURRIERS

R. Gold, Manager.

New York, N. Y.

International Convention.

We the proletariat singers greet you in whole hearted wishes. Anxious for harmony and success in this important convention.

FREHEIT SINGING SOCIETY.

J. Goldkopf, Gen. Organizer

President Sigman: We shall not be able to hold our afternoon sessions in this hall. The Arrangements Committee has secured the hall across the street, where we will hold our afternoon session and also a night session. The Committee on Officers' Report and the Law Committee will have a partial report ready this afternoon, but we won't take up the report of this committee until tomorrow morning, when the report will be discussed in this hall, because the hall across the street is not large enough to accommodate many visitors and it has not the conveniences of Lulu Temple. In the meantime we shall proceed with the reports of the other committees.

The following resolution was referred to the Resolutions Committee:

Resolution No. 179

Introduced by delegations of Locals 2 and 48.

WHEREAS, the introduction of button-sewing, felling and basting machines in the cloak industry deprives many workers of the opportunity of earning a living, and greatly increases unemployment in our craft; and

WHEREAS, the I. L. G. W. U. though not opposed to the introduction of improved machinery, is interested to see that improved machinery shall serve not only the interests of the employers, but chiefly those of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The manner in which these machines are now introduced into the cloak industry tends to serve the interests of the employers and not the workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in favor of instructing the incoming

G. E. B., Joint Boards or interested locals where there is not a Joint Board to see that in all agreements that are to be concluded with the employers in our industry, no firm shall be permitted to operate any of the above mentioned machines unless they employ at least six finishers; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the employer shall be permitted to operate those machines only at such times when the finishers employed in his shops are supplied with a full week's work; and be it further

RESOLVED, that finishers only shall be permitted to operate those machines and should receive the same scale of wages as an operator.

President Sigman: The Organization Committee will continue its report.

Delegate Halpern thereupon continued to report for the Organization Committee as follows:

Resolution No. 80

Introduced by delegation of Local 6:

WHEREAS, The New York Swiss embroidery makers, organized in Local 6, are practically controlling work conditions in their shops of that city, and

WHEREAS, The bulk of the embroidery industry is located in New Jersey, where, despite many attempts by the International Union and by the local itself the workers will remain unorganized, and are therefore competing with the New York workers and preventing them from gaining better conditions, and

WHEREAS, A fresh and aggressive campaign among these workers in New Jersey would probably at this time prove successful; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board give utmost and full consideration to this field, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That an organizing campaign be started in New Jersey as soon as conditions appear to warrant it.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 161

Introduced by Local 62 Delegates.

WHEREAS, there are thousands of workers employed in the factories who are engaged in the manufacturing of silk and muslin ladies' underwear in the city of New York and who are not yet under control of the Union in spite of the many efforts made by Local 62 to organize these workers; and

WHEREAS, the conditions under which the workers are laboring in the non-union shops are different from the working conditions in those shops now under control of our Union, therefore making the task of maintaining our union conditions more and more difficult, and

WHEREAS, our experience in the past has definitely proved that an organization campaign against individual shops doesn't meet

with the desired results regardless of how effective such campaign may be; be it therefore

RESOLVED that this convention instruct the incoming G. E. B. to immediately make arrangements with Local 62 for the purpose of carrying on an intensive general organization campaign in the city of New York which would eventually bring all the non-union workers in the ranks of Local 62, and thereby establish such working conditions in the non-union shops as prevail in the shops now under control of our Union.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 84

Submitted by G. Halperin, George Triestman, Rose Auerbach, S. Halperin, Nathan Riesel, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, It appears that embroidery departments are operated on non-union basis in the dress and cloak shops in the City of New York, while other departments in such shops maintain union standards and conditions; and

WHEREAS, It is in the best interest of the workers of such shops that there be no distinction between one department and another with respect to union standards and conditions; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. shall take the necessary steps in co-operation with Local 66 to effect the unionization of all non-union embroidery departments in their respective shops.

Resolution No. 85

Submitted by G. Halperin, George Triestman, Rose Auerbach, S. Halperin, Nathan Riesel, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, It is in the interest of all workers in the embroidery industry that the other branches allied to theirs be organized as union workers; and

WHEREAS A condition exists that because of such lack of organization, those working on hand embroidery are in competition with those working at machine embroidery, to the detriment of both; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. take the necessary steps in organizing the hand embroiderers.

Resolution No. 86

Submitted by G. Halperin, George Triestman, Rose Auerbach, S. Halperin, Nathan Riesel, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, This convention deems it advisable for the best interest of labor that embroidery workers in out-of-town localities should be organized as union workers; and

WHEREAS, The out-of-town department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has heretofore confined its work to the dress and cloak industry; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming General Executive Board see to it that the out-of-town department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union shall make every effort to organize embroidery workers in localities outside of the City of New York.

All of these resolutions are of a similar nature. Your committee recommends concurrence in these three resolutions.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 152

Introduced by Delegates of Local 38.

WHEREAS, the Ladies' Tailors and Custom Dressmakers Union, Local 34, has made many attempts to organize the 3,000 workers engaged in that industry and did not meet with success; and

WHEREAS, the 400 women workers who belong to the union have the greatest difficulty in maintaining the conditions in the union shops due to the fact that the greatest number of factories in the city of New York are unorganized and conditions among them are much inferior to those obtaining in union shops; and

WHEREAS the inferior working conditions in the non-union factories, the lower wages, the longer hours, and the general treatment of the worker is bound to have and has had an adverse and demoralizing influence upon the conditions in the organized shops; and

WHEREAS, the ladies' tailors employed in the tailoring department of the same employers cannot maintain union standards due to the competition of the unorganized women workers; and

WHEREAS, the convention assembled in Chicago in May 1920, in Cleveland in May 1922 and again in Boston in May 1924 instructed the incoming G. E. B. to carry on an organization campaign in the custom dressmakers' trade; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 18th convention of the I. L. G. W. U. assembled in Philadelphia instructs the incoming G. E. B. immediately after the adjournment of the convention to start an intensive campaign to organize the Custom Dressmakers, Ladies Tailors and Theatrical Costumers; and be it further

RESOLVED, that this convention authorizes the incoming G. E. B. to appropriate the necessary funds to make such a campaign a success.

Your committee recommends that this be referred to the incoming G. E. B. for action.

Delegate Lefkovits: I am in favor of this resolution but it is worthwhile to inform the delegates that the last G. E. B. carried out the decisions of the previous conventions. We made a drive in the private dressmaking industry. There are 8,000 workers employed, of different nationalities, mostly American-born women. It is a very hard element to organize. We had special organizers en-

gaged through the District Council to carry on the drive, and they were organized under Local 90. Since then Locals 90 and 38 have been united into one local. We had special organizers, American-born, who spoke English fluently, but who were unable to succeed in our work. Thousands upon thousands of leaflets were distributed to them and we tried to get them together. There was another obstacle in the way: in the largest establishments in New York, such as Bendel and Stein & Blaino, where the ladies' tailors have an agreement, there are many unorganized girls working, for instance in Bergdorf & Goodman there are 18 union ladies' tailors working under union conditions, but the non-union girls there number about 200 or 250, and these girls are very hard to organize. We came to the conclusion that it would be a waste of money, time and energy if we should start a campaign and not be able to finish it, because we could not get the ladies' tailors out on strike at that time before their agreement expired. We came to an understanding with the ladies' tailors union that in the future we would arrange for the private dressmakers jointly with the ladies' tailors, and, when the ladies' tailors will be called out on a general strike, we would also call out the girls working with them in the same shop. Therefore I fully agree with the recommendations of the committee that the incoming G. E. B. shall give its aid and help so that when the agreement with the ladies' tailors expires the campaign shall be jointly carried on for both trades.

Delegate Wisniefsky: I would not have asked for the privilege of the floor if it were not for the statements made by Brother Lefkovits. It is true that some attempts were made to do some organization work; but, considering that the unorganized workers in the dressmaking trade number between 8,000 and 10,000, the one organizer who was sent to us for a few weeks could not successfully do that work. The former Local 90 and Local 38 did whatever they could, but what could be accomplished through such small locals? This work of organizing the unorganized dressmakers is tremendous. The G. E. B., it is true, had a few organizers, but those few organ-

izers were busy with the organization drive and strike in Locals 62 and 91. The work involved in organizing these workers was to organize them on a larger scale, and for this we would have to have an organization committee; we would have to send organizers into the shops. One organizer sent for a few weeks could not accomplish this work. I agree with the Committee and I agree with Brother Lefkovits, but I do not agree with his statement that the G. E. B. did its utmost in furthering this work.

President Sigman: With the permission of the Convention, I will make a few remarks on this particular question, and I hope that Delegate Wisniefsky and other members of Local 38 and former Local 90 will substantiate my remarks.

I fully agree that the General Office of the International did as much as it could. On many occasions I received committees of these two locals, sometimes together and sometimes individually from each local. Whenever I took up with them the question of the organizing of the private dressmakers, I explained the difficulties which the organizers encountered in this particular trade. Time and again I proposed to these two organizations that they should enroll the services of the active members of these two locals in a joint organization committee and, with the aid of an organizer sent by the International, whom they would suggest, a constant and steady campaign should be conducted among these many thousands of men and women workers. If my recollection is correct, it took at least one year's time before they finally agreed to have such a joint organization committee. I explained that it would be impossible, the way that trade was situated, to meet the requirements of organization with paid organizers.

The private dressmaking trade is scattered all over the City of New York. You find shops that employ 3, 4, 8, 12, 15, 25 and 300 workers and you have to cover a very large territory. These suggestions and the advice, Brother Wisniefsky, very likely could not have been carried into effect because probably it was impossible to enroll the services of

a sufficient number of active members to do this work. Then, when this didn't work out, when I got the impression that there were other difficulties that existed between Local 90 and Local 38 due to the fact that one local represents a membership of women workers and the other local represents a membership of men workers, I began presenting the idea to the private dressmakers to merge the two locals into one, with the thought that, after they were merged, a stronger desire to do this work would be created. The merger took place, and now as you know we have one local. But during that time, at the request of the two locals even before they were merged, the District Council assigned an organizer who was quite satisfactory to them.

It is therefore unfair to overlook the complications and difficulties that exist in the conduct of such an organization campaign, and to think that all that is necessary is to throw it off on somebody else. I expected that those delegates to this Convention who were confronted with similar difficulties in organization work would at least find it advisable to inform this Convention of the actual difficulties and complications with which they were met, and not try to seek opportunities to throw the blame for their non-accomplishment on another group or on a group of officers, although this seems to be quite the recognized style.

I say that everything possible has been done, and I want this Convention to know that, if you pass upon a resolution to institute such a campaign, this campaign, no matter how forceful and vigorous and extensive it may be, will not bring the desired results in 24 hours.

Delegate Wisniefsky: The question of merging the two locals was always raised at conventions by the delegation of Local 38. It was raised at the last convention by the same delegation and it was not our fault that we could not succeed.

The previous question was called for and carried, and the recommendation of the Committee, upon being put to a vote, was unanimously concurred in.

Chairman Halperin of the Organization

Committee continued the reading of the committee's report as follows:

Resolution No. 62

Submitted by Local 91:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of workers employed in the making of children's dresses, bathrobes and house-dresses in the city of New York who are not yet under the control of the union, in spite of the many efforts made by Local 91 to organize these workers; and

WHEREAS, Conditions under which these workers are laboring in the non-union shops are inferior to the working conditions now established by the union, making the task of maintaining our union conditions more and more difficult; and

WHEREAS, Our experience of the past has definitely proved that, in order to organize these unorganized workers the campaign must be launched on a very large scale; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board that immediately after this convention a conference shall be called of the executive boards of Local 10 and Local 91 to work out plans through which the industry can be organized; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the General Executive Board give all its financial and moral support to such a campaign.

Your committee recommends that the incoming G. E. B. stand instructed to take up this matter, in conjunction with Locals Nos. 10 and 91, and help them in every way possible to make the general strike a success, if a general strike will be decided upon.

Resolution No. 63

Submitted by Local 91:

WHEREAS, The workers employed in the making of bathrobes in the city of New York have been partly organized through a general strike in that industry in the year 1923 that was conducted by Local 91; and

WHEREAS, There are still hundreds of workers employed in the making of bathrobes in the city of New York working under the most impossible and inhuman conditions, and by working so compete with the union shops; and

WHEREAS, The organized workers of the bathrobe trade in Local 91 have decided to call a general strike in the year 1926 for the purpose of organizing the industry completely; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board that in the event of a general strike in the bathrobe industry, Local 91 be given all financial and moral support in this strike.

Resolution No. 64

Submitted by Local 91:

WHEREAS, The convention in May, 1920, and in May, 1922, instructed the General Ex-

ecutive Board of the I. L. 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 workers employed in the making of ladies' garments, and such an Eastern Organization Department has been arranged by the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U.; and

WHEREAS, The activity of this 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 Philadelphia, December, 1925, instruct the incoming General 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.

Your committee recommends that we concur in the request contained in Resolutions 63 and 64.

Resolution No. 163

Introduced by Sophie Kniznick of Local 91.

WHEREAS, the bathrobe industry is growing very rapidly; and

WHEREAS, only a few shops of the bathrobe industry in New York are under the control of Local 91; and

WHEREAS, no organization work was done in this trade since the last strike of 1923; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the 18th convention of the I. L. G. W. U. in Phila. instructs the incoming G. E. B. to launch a special campaign in 1926 for the bathrobe makers of New York.

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the incoming G. E. B. for investigation and action.

Delegate Greenberg: I want to point out some of the difficulties that Local 91 was confronted with in organizing the workers and to answer some of the statements made about the inactivity of Local 91. In the month of August, 1923, Local 91 organized the bathrobe workers in the City of New York, and I want to inform the delegates to this Convention that it was through the activities of the bathrobe workers that the children's dress and house-dress makers were brought together. Our difficulties were that they are not of the same element and calibre. The majority of the workers are Italian, who never before had any knowledge of trade unionism. Up to that time the bathrobe industry was considered a luxury instead of a necessity. However, we have succeeded in estab-

making the 44-hour work week, with all legal holidays, and we also succeeded in making the employers deposit security for the faithful performance of the agreement. The bathrobe industry is an industry that is not active throughout the year. The season commences about the 25th of August, and about the 25th of December every shop in the industry closes down. Many of the workers leave the industry and go to another trade, and our difficulty is to re-organize them after they come back. Nevertheless, our union in the month of August succeeded without a general strike in getting the employers to sign an agreement establishing a minimum of 45 weeks' work in the bathrobe industry, and I feel that, with the assistance of the Incoming General Executive Board of our International, we will be able to report that the bathrobe industry in the City of New York is completely organized.

Delegate Kniznick: I want to say something about the last resolution dealing with out-of-town workers. The last resolution reads that resolutions were passed in 1919 and 1920 and that nothing has been done during those four years. I will ask Brother Halperin, who was the chairman of the Out-of-Town and Eastern Organization Department, to see that at this time the resolution will not only be put on the record, but that it be put into effect.

With reference to the bathrobe industry and the bathrobe workers, I think that our manager, Brother Greenberg, this morning showed himself as the best example of what kind of members there are in Local 91, when he made the statements that he did. I am one of the active members in the union and I guess I don't know what is going on in the bathrobe industry. If I don't know, I would like to know who does. Secondly, I don't want these delegates to be bluffed about the wonderful work that Brother Greenberg is doing and about the guarantee of the 45 weeks' work. Since 1923 our membership, instead of growing, has diminished.

President Sigman: Sister Kniznick, let me interrupt you. How long have you been a member of the Executive Board?

Delegate Kniznick: For the last six years.

President Sigman: Did your Executive Board or your membership at large decide upon a certain policy with regard to the bathrobe workers that has not been carried out by those who were supposed to carry it out?

Delegate Kniznick: Brother Greenberg has been maneuvering so.

President Sigman: Never mind his maneuvering.

Delegate Kniznick: We seldom met together with the children's dressmakers, except on the occasion of a general strike of the children's dressmakers. Usually we would not come together. For the last few months I made it my business to attend the meetings of the bathrobe makers.

Delegate Yankelovich: I want to make the statement that if Local 91 does not succeed in its organization work, it is not due to any neglect of ours. Our manager, Brother Greenberg, has always been the first one to go on the picket line whenever a strike has taken place.

Delegate Yankelovich: I want to state the fact that Sister Kniznick, in the last few weeks went around and saw the bathrobe makers, but she does not know the internal situation of the bathrobe makers. I, as one of the representatives of the bathrobe makers in Local 91, know the situation. In 1923, a handful of people got together and we went out and declared a general strike, without the assistance of Sister Kniznick or anybody else of her group and in less than two weeks we organized over 65 per cent of the trade. But what happened? Right after the season in December, conditions were such that the shops closed down. The season was very slow and things did not start to pick up until September, about seven or eight months later; and that is the reason no organization work was done. Each and every one of the shops had to be re-organized because new people came in. It is not a trade like the cloak or dress trade. Any longshoreman can be a bathrobe maker and you have to keep at

them all the time to keep them organized.

Furthermore, I want to say that our agreement specifically states that every member is to have equal division of work. You understand, Sister Kniznick, that if I work in a shop before August 1st and you come in after October, it is understood that the firm cannot give you forty-five weeks. (Applause). Furthermore, I'd like to state that the bathrobe industry is made up exclusively of Italians, but not of the type that we know. I have been in the organization for the past thirteen years and I have never met such an element of workers. One day they are with you and the next day they are with the contractors. You have to keep after them day after day in order to hold them together.

At the last meeting of the bathrobe makers we determined to launch a campaign, and that is why we introduced this resolution. Sister Kniznick introduced a resolution; who gave her the authority but herself? Herself? We have introduced a resolution coming from our members and that is the resolution that we want to have carried out. We ask the convention to endorse our resolution and to see to it that in 1926 we receive your moral and financial support in organizing the bathrobe makers.

Delegate Halperin: I was somewhat instrumental in helping Local 91 in the general strike some three years ago. At that time, there was no disagreement between Delegate Kniznick and Delegate Greenberg. They were saying that Delegate Greenberg was a wonderful man, one of the best managers they ever had. Vice-President Halperin, too, was a very able and a good man. I took care of their situation at that time.

It is not a question at this time of the Organization Committee disagreeing with Delegate Kniznick. We should like to do all we can, but we had to take into consideration the fact that anyone can be a bathrobe maker, and it is not a question here of inventing some revolutionary way how to organize them. I will ask Brother Amico who is not at present a "right" delegate to tell you about the difficulties in the Harlem Dis-

trict, in the Bronx District, etc. We are only too eager to concur in this resolution offered by Local 91. We ask that the G. E. B. be instructed that a conference be called between Locals 10 and 91 in order to do all that can be done to help them organize. If this convention would not decide now to help Local 91, what are you here for? We are here to devise ways and means to better the conditions of the workers, organize them wherever it is possible, wherever the ladies' garment workers are being employed and exploited. I strongly urge you to adopt our recommendation.

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 162

Introduced by Delegation of Local 62.

WHEREAS, there are numerous shops in the different cities and States other than New York who are employing thousands of workers for the manufacture of silk and muslin underwear and the conditions that prevail in these out-of-town shops are such that they are becoming an absolute menace to the existence of the union shops in the city of New York; and

WHEREAS, the International is maintaining an out-of-town department for the purpose of organizing workers in the various branches of the ladies' garment industry in every town, and while many of these out-of-town shops are owned and operated by the employers who own and operate factories in the city of New York as well, some of whom are under contractual relations with our Union; be it therefore

RESOLVED that the incoming G. E. B. instruct the out-of-town department to give particular attention to these out-of-town shops now making silk and muslin underwear, that they organize locals of white goods workers, thereby helping Local 62 maintain its conditions and also prevent New York manufacturers from opening out-of-town shops for the purpose of evading dealings with the Union.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 81

Introduced by delegates of Locals 33 and 34:

WHEREAS, The corset workers are one of the most exploited industries in the ladies' garment industry due to lack of organization; and

WHEREAS, After much effort, we succeeded in retaining our organizations in the face of considerable difficulty; and

WHEREAS, Because our two locals of op-

ditors and cutters in Bridgeport are the only two locals organized in the corset industry; and we feel the responsibility for the tens and thousands of the corset workers who work under the most exploited conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention held in Philadelphia requests the incoming General Executive Board as soon as possible to start an organization campaign among the corset workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 66

Submitted by Local 75, Samuel Spiegel, president:

WHEREAS, There is in Worcester a great field for organizing work in the needle industry; and

WHEREAS, The cloakmakers of Worcester appreciate the necessity for such work; and

WHEREAS, Previously we had to depend on a New York organizer; and

WHEREAS, Although money and time were spent for organization work, the results were not successful because of the fact that the Boston organizer could not spend much time on the Worcester organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International be asked to send a man to Worcester immediately and help us financially to keep the workers steady, to do the organizing work, and to manage our business properly at the same time.

Your committee recommends that the incoming G. E. B. be instructed to take up this matter immediately after the convention for the purpose of waging a campaign in Worcester and helping to organize the workers who are as yet not members of the Union.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 153

Introduced by Delegates of Philadelphia Cloak Joint Board, Locals No. 40, 47, 53, 69, 71.

WHEREAS there are a number of jobbers in the city of New York who are sending out work to Camden, N. J., which is being made up in non-union shops under the action system; and

WHEREAS, the shops are a great menace to our Union in New York and are also becoming a menace to our union in Philadelphia; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention instructs the incoming G. E. B. to carry on an organization campaign in Camden, N. J., in order to establish union conditions in the locality.

Your committee received information that in 1923 a shop by the name of J. Leff & Co was operating in the city of Camden, N. J. The Joint Board, together with the Out-of-Town Department, declared a strike in this shop on May 10, 1923, which lasted for a period of fourteen months. Immediately upon declaration of the strike, the Union was confronted with an injunction issued by the authorities of Camden. But, notwithstanding this terrible handicap, the workers of the Philadelphia locals and also the girls who were working in this particular shop have continued picketing the shop.

The entire police force was lined up against us and arrests were made without cause. Some girls, who were not even members of our Union, were so active that they were arrested fifteen or twenty times during the strike and fines against them were imposed ranging from \$15.00 to \$50.00 whenever such arrests were made. At certain times we had fifty thousand dollars in bail funds with the National Security Co. On a number of occasions the girls preferred to go to jail rather than have the Union pay fines, an action which should be admired by any one affiliated with a labor organization. After a period of fourteen months of hard struggle and sacrifice, the Union was obliged to call off the strike temporarily.

Your committee learns at this time that, as a result of the defeat suffered by the Union in the Camden strike, the firm of J. Leff & Co. is taking even more advantage of the workers than before, and, in addition to this, a few more shops were established in that city that employ five and six hundred workers on cloaks and skirts. Your committee, taking all these facts into consideration, recommends that this matter be referred to the incoming G. E. B. for investigation to the end that we may again stimulate the morale of the workers in Camden and in order to check the increasing menace that faces the workers of Camden and which is also a bad example and a threat to union conditions in the New York market.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 59

Submitted by Local 51, of Passaic, N. J., Mrs. E. Bramberger, Helen Bramberger:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been conducting an organization drive among the dress workers in Passaic, N. J.; and

WHEREAS, These drives have brought considerable results; and

WHEREAS, There are still a large number of unorganized workers and new shops continuously moving in from New York; and

WHEREAS, It is for the benefit of the Passaic workers, as well as the New York workers, to have the Passaic shops organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention assembled in Philadelphia instruct the incoming General Executive Board to continue this organization work; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the General Executive Board be instructed to call a strike of all the dress shops in Passaic at the opportune time.

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the incoming G. E. B. to continue this organization campaign in Passaic, N. J., at the first opportune moment.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 150

Introduced by the Delegates of the Canadian Locals and Joint Boards, S. Polakoff, S. Kraisman, A. Friedman, J. Hochman, A. Cooper, M. Shur:

WHEREAS, the city of Toronto houses the largest cloak factory in the world, employing over two thousand workers in the manufacture of ladies' garments, namely the T. Eaton Company, and

WHEREAS, this shop was once under the control of the Toronto union and was lost after one of the greatest struggles our International has ever conducted against such a large manufacturer, a strike which lasted twenty-four weeks, and

WHEREAS, this firm at the present time employs mostly girls, paying them low wages and operating on a system of sectional work, therefore constituting a dangerous competitor to the conditions and workers of all other shops in the ladies' garment industries of Canada, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board stand instructed to take up this question as soon as possible and make a study of possibilities of organizing this shop and that it use every effort at its disposal to unionize the ladies' garment workers of the T. Eaton Company.

The firm of T. Eaton & Co., which employs 2,000 ladies' garment workers, was at one time under the control of the Union. This firm, however, in order to

evade union control has resorted to all sorts of schemes, and it introduced a section system of work under which it does not have to employ mechanics. The system adopted there is such that any girl with very little experience can fully comply with the requirements of that factory. As a result of this condition, the earnings of the workers in that shop are so meager that they stand out as one of the greatest competitive factors in the cloak and dress market of Toronto.

A committee consisting of S. Polakoff, S. Kraisman, A. Friedman, J. Hochman, A. Cooper and M. Amdur informed us that, as a result of the miserable conditions existing in the shop of T. Eaton Co., it is their opinion that the workers would be ready to respond to a call of the Union.

Your committee therefore recommends that this matter be referred to the incoming G. E. B. to make a thorough investigation and act in accordance with the spirit of this resolution.

Delegate Polakoff: I just wish to say a few words to enlighten the members of the International and the delegates at this convention. The T. Eaton Company is the largest concern in Canada. They have created in the last few years conditions in their shops where cloak-makers, who used to earn a decent wage, are now compelled to seek work in contractor shops. The fact of the matter is that the earnings in the smaller shops are greater than in this company's shops. This company is growing larger every day. It is enlarging the departments where ladies' garments are made and filling the places of men with girls. But even the girls are now ready to listen to the ideal of unionism. The Toronto Joint Board is unable financially and otherwise to conduct a campaign against the Eaton Company, and we therefore ask that the incoming G. E. B. study the question and devise ways and means for organizing the ladies' garment workers employed by that company. Even the cutters working in that concern are working piece work. It is up to you delegates not only to vote for this resolution but, later on, to help financially and morally the Toronto Joint Board in

carrying on a campaign to organize these workers. (Applause).

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 54

Submitted by Cleveland delegates:

WHEREAS, The workers engaged in the ladies' garment industry in the city of Toledo are totally unorganized; and

WHEREAS, Conditions prevailing in unorganized centers are inferior to those existing in the organized centers and thereby threaten to undermine the union standards, which were acquired through many years of bitter struggle; and

WHEREAS, Several attempts were made in the past by our international to organize these workers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the incoming General Executive Board to start a new movement towards organizing the garment workers in Toledo and bring about permanent organization in that city.

Your committee has taken up the question of Toledo, and, after thorough consideration, has found that it is in perfect accord with the General Executive Board as expressed in its last report, particularly in reference to the paragraph on page 108: "It is clear that Toledo, if it is to become a union market, will have to be taken by a drive in which money will prove no obstacle. The organizing of Toledo can only be considered with this thought in mind, and a mere expression of wish or a pious resolution will not help in the least in this direction." Your committee recommends that the incoming General Executive Board make a serious effort to help launch a campaign in Toledo as soon as opportunity and conditions will permit.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 55

Introduced by Cleveland delegates:

WHEREAS, There are hundreds of unorganized workers, working on ladies' garments in the city of Cleveland; and

WHEREAS, The unorganized state of these workers is a cause of constant irritation creating cut-throat competition and reacting unfavorably on the welfare of the organized workers of this industry; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention of the International instructs the incoming General Executive Board to station a permanent organizer in the city of Cleveland to help the Joint Board of that city organize all the unorganized workers

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the incoming General Executive Board with instructions that they give all the assistance necessary to Cleveland whenever the opportunity calls.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 65

Submitted by Local 18:

WHEREAS, There are at present a great many cloak shops in the small towns and cities surrounding Chicago which operate under non-union conditions; and

WHEREAS, The employers of these shops determine their own conditions of labor and make living impossible for their workers; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions create wrongful competition in the industry and demoralize our union members; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union go on record to render the city of Chicago every possible assistance in organizing the outlying districts surrounding this city.

Resolution No. 74

Submitted by delegates of Chicago Locals:

WHEREAS, The cloak and dress industry of the Middle West which was previously situated in the larger cities, is at present locating in smaller towns for the purpose of taking advantage of the cheaper market of labor in those communities; and

WHEREAS, The majority of workers employed in those small town factories are women who are working for every meager wages and very long hours; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions are creating a very keen competition between the organized workers of the city and the unorganized in the small towns; be it therefore

RESOLVED, By this Eighteenth Biennial Convention that organizers be permanently assigned in the Middle West for the purpose of unionizing all the workers in the smaller towns, with headquarters established in Chicago.

Both resolutions are of a similar nature, and your committee recommends concurrence in both resolutions.

Resolution No. 53

Submitted by J. Melsack, chairman; S. Liberman, secretary, Local 13:

WHEREAS, The dressmaking industry in the city of Montreal is largely developed and is employing a great number of dressmakers under very poor conditions, and the necessity of organizing them is urgent; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention of the International instructs the General Executive Board to give us financial and moral support to carry through a campaign for this purpose.

Resolution No. 54

Submitted by J. Meisack, chairman, S. Liberman, secretary, Local 12:

WHEREAS, The working conditions in the Montreal cloakmaking trade are very poor, and in order to win union control in the shops an organization campaign must be carried through; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we request the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. to instruct the General Executive Board to support us financially and morally in the above-mentioned campaign.

Resolution No. 78

Submitted by Sol Polakoff, Max Am-
dur, Julius Hochman, A. Cooper, Alex
Friedman, N. Shur, Albert Eaton, Max
Kaiser, J. Goldman, S. Kralman, Mont-
real and Toronto delegates:

WHEREAS There has developed a large industry of dress manufacturing in the cities of Toronto and Montreal; and

WHEREAS, That industry is completely un-organized; and

WHEREAS, The great majority of the work-ers engaged in the dress trade are French-Canadian women who are working under the old sweatshop conditions, low wages, long hours, etc; and

WHEREAS, The non-union conditions pre-
vailing in the dress industry must affect the
cloak trade because the existing work con-
ditions in the cloak trade are far superior to
those in the dress industry; and

WHEREAS, With the recent trade devel-
opments by which both industries overlap each
other in the making of ladies' garments, the
working conditions of one industry must af-
fect the other; and

WHEREAS, There is a tendency in the cloak
and suit trade of introducing the making of
dresses in the same establishment, which will
ultimately bring together both trades under
one management; and

WHEREAS, The difference in working con-
ditions in the dress industry must eventually
affect the cloak trade and will drag down the
cloak trade to a lower level if the dress in-
dustry is not organized; and

WHEREAS, The cloakmakers' unions in To-
ronto and Montreal are financially unable to
undertake this great organization work, be it
therefore

RESOLVED That the Eighteenth Conven-
tion assembled in the City of Philadelphia
instruct the incoming General Executive Board
immediately after the adjournment of the con-
vention to take proper steps to start a cam-
paign of organization among the men and
women engaged in the dress industry in To-
ronto and Montreal; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention au-
thorizes the incoming General Executive Board
to appropriate the necessary funds for mak-
ing such campaign a success.

The substance of Resolutions No. 53
and No. 54 is incorporated in Resolution
No. 78.

Your committee in discussing this res-
olution was mindful of the fact that
there are at present approximately 15,000
workers engaged in the ladies' garment
industry in the Dominion of Canada.
The vast majority of these workers are
women and native Canadians. They are
still subject to the influence of those who
are antagonistic towards the labor move-
ment. Therefore it can readily be seen
that the task of organization there is a
difficult one. Not alone is our Interna-
tional faced with the problems of agita-
ting amongst workers to whom it is dif-
ficult to bring the message of trade
unionism, but there are also untold ob-
stacles put in the way of our Interna-
tional by the darkest forces who are
working in conjunction with the employ-
ers to make the efforts of the union to
organize the Canadian market futile.
The need, however, of organizing the
Canadian ladies' garment workers is so
essential for our International as a whole
that, notwithstanding all these obstacles,
an organization campaign must be de-
cided upon.

Your committee therefore recom-
mends that the incoming General Execu-
tive Board be instructed to make a
thorough investigation in the two cities
above mentioned to the end that an or-
ganization campaign may be started at
the first opportune moment.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 57

Submitted by Boston Joint Board, Ben-
jamin Kurland, chairman; Wolf Viner,
secretary:

WHEREAS, After the General Strike in 1921
in the waist and dress industry of Boston and
vicinity, which was only partially success-
ful there remained a great portion of shops
unorganized; and

WHEREAS, These unorganized shops are
controlled by the largest manufacturers of
dresses in the city of Boston, who are doing
all in their power to undermine union con-
ditions in the shops, which situation is becom-
ing a menace to the welfare of our industry
as a whole; and

WHEREAS, The agreement which we have
with the Dress and Cloak Manufacturers of
Boston expires February 1, 1925; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorses
a general strike for the cloak and dress in-
dustry of Boston, and empowers the General
Executive Board to call such a strike at the
opportune time.

Resolution No. 58

Submitted by Boston Joint Board, Benjamin Kurland, chairman; Wolf Viner, secretary:

WHEREAS, There are a number of shops in Boston and vicinity engaged in the manufacture of cloaks, suits, skirts, waists and dresses, employing a large number of men and women who are still outside of the ranks of our union; and

WHEREAS, There are a number of shops engaged in the manufacture of wrappers, kimonoes and children's dresses in Boston and vicinity, which are not yet 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, The General Executive Board at its session held in Chicago last spring decided to appoint an Italian organizer for the city of Boston; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. assembled in Philadelphia, Pa., instruct the incoming General Executive Board to appoint such an organizer for Boston and vicinity immediately, and to start an immediate campaign to organize all the ladies' garment workers in Boston and vicinity.

Resolution No. 67

Submitted by Local 80, Joseph A. Morabito, chairman; Salvatore Miceli, secretary:

WHEREAS, The last general strike in the dress industry left the workers of the city of Boston disorganized and discouraged; and

WHEREAS, The present deplorable conditions in some of the unorganized shops tend to break down, destroy conditions and the prestige of our organization; and

WHEREAS, The dominant number working in the unorganized shops are ex-members of our organization, and of Italian extraction; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we ask the Eighteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union assembled in Philadelphia, Pa. that for the welfare of our organization and to stimulate the morale of our present membership, this convention instruct the incoming administration to appoint an Italian organizer for the city of Boston and vicinity.

All these resolutions dealing with Boston are of a similar character and there are two specific requests,—one, the indorsement of a general strike, and the other for the appointment of an Italian organizer and general assistance in conducting an organization campaign.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the part of the resolutions that calls for the indorsement of a general strike, if a strike will be found neces-

sary. As to the other part of the resolution, referring to the inauguration of an organization campaign, your committee recommends that this be referred to the incoming General Executive Board for investigation with the idea that all assistance possible be given to the Boston locals.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 75

Submitted by delegates of Local 20:

WHEREAS, The raincoat industry for the last few years has passed through a depressed period, a few locals having been given up and these now in existence being in most cases very weak; and

WHEREAS, One of the reasons for this condition is that the raincoat industry in late years has changed to the making of gabardines, which fact has brought it into jurisdictional conflict; and another reason is that there have been few organization campaigns in this industry and these have been on a very small scale; and

WHEREAS, The raincoat industry, though one of the crafts over which our International has jurisdiction, has not received sufficient help to do organization work in the country; and

WHEREAS, The case of Local 7 of Boston illustrates how little attention has been given by the International to the raincoat industry, inasmuch as Boston is a city of raincoats and at this time we practically have no union there; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Local 7 of Boston be revived and that a lively organization campaign be undertaken in the Boston raincoat industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That similar organization campaigns be undertaken in all centers where raincoats are made to bring about a strong organization in this trade

Resolution No. 82

Submitted by David Gingold, Meyer Polinsky, Sam Saroff, A. Weingart, of Local 20:

WHEREAS, The largest number of workers in the most important centers of production of waterproof garments still remain unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The raincoat makers' Local No. 7 of Boston and vicinity, which is one of the most important centers in this industry, was given up because of financial reasons; and

WHEREAS, The understanding with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, to whom the membership of Local 7 was transferred was that in case the waterproof industry picks up again the I. L. G. W. U. will consider it its duty to organize the workers in this city, and

WHEREAS, Massachusetts is at present producing a great part of waterproof garments with non-union help; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the incoming General Executive Board to revive

Local 7 of the Raincoat Makers of Boston, and that an intensive campaign be started to organize the workers of Massachusetts, as well as of all other centers where waterproof garments are being produced.

Your committee received information that the waterproof garment industry disappeared from the market some few years ago and was replaced by the manufacture of gabardines, with the result that most of the members of Local 7 were engaged on gabardines which are under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The workers then came to us and asked to be transferred to the Amalgamated and temporary arrangements were made that as soon as the waterproof trade will revive Local 7 would be reorganized. The delegation of Boston claims that the waterproof garment trade is reviving and in their opinion the local should now be reorganized.

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the incoming General Executive Board for investigation, and, if conditions in that industry will warrant the reorganization of the local, to so act.

Delegate Horowitz: There is not enough of a field for a local of the International in Boston for raincoat makers, because, at the time Local 7 existed, most of the work was done by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and as a result we were in constant friction with them. We should be careful about giving the raincoat makers a charter at this time. At any time the industry revives and such an organization is needed in Boston, we will then take the matter up. At the present time there is no room for such a local. It is merely an excuse to give some officers new jobs. That is what they are interested in and nothing else.

Delegate Gingold: Although I am a New Yorker, I am better acquainted with the situation in Boston than the delegate that has just spoken here from Boston, as far as the raincoat making situation is concerned. I have some data here, having been in Boston several times and having investigated the situation. I found this season there are 300 workers in Local 150 in Boston under the Amal-

gamated working on ladies' raincoats and there are about two or three thousand workers in Boston or its vicinity who are unorganized, also working on raincoats. I have a list of the shops here that make only raincoats and not topcoats.

The question of gabardines was raised at the 1914 convention, and it was decided that since the gabardines were being made by raincoat makers, and as we had a charter under the name of raincoat makers, the name be changed to waterproof garment makers in order to give us the jurisdiction over the making of gabardines.

As to disagreements with the Amalgamated, we in Local 20 have had the same conflicts and we convinced the Amalgamated that this jurisdiction question should not be stressed, because, by giving the raincoat local an opportunity to work on the gabardines, we did not do any harm to the Amalgamated and it gave the raincoat makers an opportunity to have a union and to keep up the conditions of the trade. We further convinced the Amalgamated that the raincoat makers under our jurisdiction would have better conditions than under their jurisdiction, and Brothers Schlossberg and Hillman agreed to help us to control gabardines under the jurisdiction of Local 20.

If these workers remain under the Amalgamated, they will be in direct competition with the workers of Local 20, New York, the local in Chicago and elsewhere, for while we have the 44-hour week, the minimum scale of wages, etc., the raincoat workers under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated in Boston have no scale of wages or conditions whatsoever.

This past season was the best we have had in the last twelve or fifteen years and the industry is coming into its own again. There are two local unions in Boston today because the charter of Local 7 was never withdrawn, and if these workers are to be organized, it should be under the auspices of Local 7. I appeal to the delegates to instruct the incoming General Executive Board to see to it that those workers who are en-

gaged in making raincoats should join Local 7 immediately and such arrangements should be made with the Amalgamated. (Applause).

Delegate Horowitz: The brothers of Local 20 are putting up a fight for the existence of Local 7 in Boston. It seems to me that they are interested in having as many locals as possible, whether it benefits the workers in that industry or not. When Local 7 was in existence, the President knows that the members paid 75 cents a week dues, and \$20 and \$30 a year assessments, and the International spent thousands of dollars in the fight that they carried on without any results. The raincoat industry in Boston comes and goes like a mushroom. The employers that make raincoats don't go out of business. When they cease making raincoats they make gabardines and men's coats, and the Amalgamated has been taking care of these shops, and they have had constant fights with Fred Mononsson on the jurisdiction question. It is not to the best interests of the International or of the industry in Boston to have the local, even though it may meet with the disapproval of the delegates of Local 20. We in Boston know best what is for the interest of the workers in Boston.

Delegate Morabito: I also come from Boston and I know what went on in Local 7. There was internal strife there between the "rights" and "lefts". The other locals in Boston did not have that internal strife. Finally, the so-called progressives succeeded in overthrowing the administration and, as soon as they took charge, the local went to smash. The raincoat makers of Boston do need a local. This season we had a very bad season in the cloak trade and our cloak-makers made raincoats. A friend of mine told me that he worked very hard and I don't know how many hours and at the end of the week he received \$35. The raincoat makers should be assisted and a local established in Boston. In conclusion I want to say this, God help this organization if our "progressives" will get hold of it. (Applause).

Delegate Polinsky: I do not intend to exercise my lungs here and I did not intend to speak, but since the resolution

was introduced by our local, I must take the floor. It is not a question of "left" or "right" with this resolution. It is a question of life and death to our small locals in New York. The bitterness against Local 7 is not because it is a raincoat local, but because there was a vice-president in it who is now a contractor in the same industry. The local was left without a cent and with many overhead expenses to pay up. For instance, there was an item of \$2,000 for attorney's services for four years. It seems to me that it is impossible at the present time to organize all the workers in the raincoat industry, but if we did we could have an International of our own. Our local is well organized in New York. I worked twenty-two weeks this season. It is a substantial trade. As we need cloaks, so also we need raincoats. New York has a good local, but if Boston will scab on New York we will go to pieces and we want to prevent that. If Mononsson left the local two years ago, it would have been better for us and better for the International.

I want the General Executive Board not to listen to the delegates of Boston, but the convention should take up this matter in a proper way. We need a local in Boston, and I appeal to the convention to accept this resolution, and I hope that not only in Boston but all over the United States the raincoat industry will be completely organized.

Delegate Matthews (Local 91): I would like to ask Delegate Polinsky who paid the expenses for the raincoat shop in Long Branch, and I would like to know why Delegate Polinsky applauded Brother Rubin when he knows that we, the out-of-town people, did the work and the out-of-town department paid the expenses.

President Sigman: I would like to make a few remarks on this matter. I am very well acquainted with this Local 7 situation, the raincoat situation in the City of Boston. One of the delegates made a remark that this local has gone out of existence because of financial difficulties, because of a lack of funds. I wish to emphatically deny that assertion. That was not the trouble with the raincoat workers in Boston. This was the

situation: The raincoat trade in the last three or four years had very poor seasons and there was hardly enough work to employ the raincoat makers in its leading market, which is New York. The employers in the City of Boston who engaged in the raincoat trade have gradually gone into the men's garment industry. As a result of this, these shops have reorganized themselves so that their methods of production are the same as in the men's garment industry. Workers in the men's garment industry have gone into these factories and the largest as well as the smallest shops have turned into men's garment factories. The bulk of the workers in most of the shops were members of the Amalgamated and the Amalgamated began taking care of the working conditions and standards in these factories. The raincoat workers who were members of our International wanted to keep the leadership in these shops, and time and again they would come to me to ask that I do something so that they should be a recognized factor and prevent the Amalgamated from entering into agreement with these men's garment manufacturers. One of the reasons advanced by them was that they, as raincoat makers, have had better working conditions than the Amalgamated organization can give them. The second reason was that they did not like to give up their identity as raincoat makers as well as leaders and supporters of an organization, and because of this they asked the International office to supply them with sufficient money to be able to keep up their manager and office until the raincoat trade should return to the Boston market. I told these brothers and the manager of that local who was on the committee, Monahan, that in my judgment they were entirely wrong and that it would be unjust for the International to supply them with money to keep up their office and officers under the circumstances in which they, as workers found themselves. I advised them that the proper thing for them to do, inasmuch as they worked on men's garments and inasmuch as the bulk of the workers in those shops were members of the Amalgamated, was to join that union. I also explained to this Boston committee that it was absurd that twelve shops in the City of

Boston which were once engaged in the raincoat industry and now manufacture men's garments, should expect to keep up the standards that the raincoat makers had in that city above the existing and recognized standards of the labor union of men's garments in that locality. I told them that the desire could not be accomplished with 300 raincoat workers when thousands of men's garment workers work under different standards.

It was on this basis that I urged these men to join the Amalgamated. Then Local 20 came in and they said, "We'll at least keep up the so-called jurisdiction over the raincoat makers in Boston." Those members remained. They were ready to pay dues in the Amalgamated as well as in the International, so that the disappearance of the local in Boston should not have a damaging effect upon our New York local. Then the committee of Local 20 and the committee of Local 7 agreed that this should be the procedure. They went back and I understand went to the Amalgamated. The peculiar thing was that the very members of that committee who came to ask me to maintain this local on an artificial basis were the ones who always advocated the necessity of amalgamation whenever they had an opportunity.

I expect that the Committee on Officers' Report will probably deal with this question because they called me before them and asked me what I knew about the raincoat industry. There are waterproof garments; there is such a product in existence. But this convention will have to first acquaint itself with conditions in this industry, who controls it, where the largest factories are situated and what efforts are required in order to have it unionized. However, I do concur in the recommendation that the committee makes, that is, that the incoming General Executive Board should go into this situation and, if the plans made by the delegation of Local 20 are practical and if conditions and circumstances warrant the organization of the raincoat makers in Boston and vicinity, an organization campaign be undertaken. Now we will put this question to a vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Sigman: This session now stands adjourned until 2 o'clock this afternoon, and the delegates are reminded that the afternoon session will take place in the hall across the street, the Eagles' Temple.

Whereupon, at 12:45 p. m. the session adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m. at the Eagles' Temple.

Tenth Day—Afternoon Session
Thursday, December 10, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 2:00 p. m. in Eagles' Hall.

Delegate Krytzer: I wish to register my protest against meeting in this hall. It was not meant for a convention but for a society. Do you want us to become consumptives? This is a disgrace.

President Sigman: Your protest will be recorded in the minutes. The Arrangements Committee could not get any other hall and so we will have to meet here this afternoon and tonight. Tomorrow we will again meet in Lulu Temple.

The Organization Committee will now proceed with its report.

Delegate Halperin thereupon proceeded to report as follows:

Resolution No. 83

Submitted by S. Zaslowsky, chairman of Local 55:

WHEREAS, The knitted garment workers' industry produces cloaks, suits and dresses, and therefore constitutes a part of the cloak and dress industry; and

WHEREAS, The workers employed in that industry number between thirteen and fifteen thousand, an overwhelming number of which are not organized, and are therefore a menace to the organized branches of the ladies' garment industry; and

WHEREAS, The long period of unemployment has weakened the knitted garment workers' Local 55 considerably and it is therefore not in position to start a serious organization campaign; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct the incoming General Executive Board to take all the necessary means to organize the knitted garment workers industry.

Your committee has learned that the conditions under which this industry is

operated are such that it makes it very hard to distinguish its proper jurisdiction. In the knit goods mills are employed two sections of workers, those who knit the actual material and properly belong under the jurisdiction of the United Textile Workers and those who work on sport wear and dresses. Your committee therefore recommends that this entire matter be referred to the incoming G. E. B. to make a thorough investigation and to decide as to its proper jurisdiction and advise the local accordingly.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Upon motion by Delegate Zimmerman the report and action on Resolution 76 was postponed pending the report on similar resolutions in the hands of another committee.

Delegate Halperin: We will complete our report tomorrow. The delegation of Local 59 is requested to appear before the committee right after the adjournment of this session.

President Sigman: We have received a credential from the General Defense Committee introducing Brother William Danton who will address you in behalf of that organization. (Applause).

Brother Danton, representing the General Defense Committee, addressed the convention in behalf of the cases of Richard Ford and Herman Suhr, who were convicted of second-degree murder in the Wheatland hop pickers' trial in California in January, 1914, and sentenced to life imprisonment. After serving twelve years in the penitentiary Ford was granted a life time parole only to be re-arrested and re-indicted for the murder of Deputy Sheriff Eugene Riordan. He described the conditions as they existed in August, 1913, on the Durst hop ranch, as unsanitary, disgusting and revolting, and that it was the demand of the hop pickers to rectify these conditions that caused the strike, riot and death of four men, and the subsequent indictment of Ford and Suhr for the murder of two officers. He said in part: "We maintain that Ford and Suhr are not guilty of the murder of District Attorney Maxwell. On the contrary, we maintain that

considering the conditions on the Durst ranch and the behavior of Durst, his assault on Ford and his wanton resort to violence, Ford and Suhr so far from being the aggressors and murderers, were in reality pacifiers and moderators. Ford and Suhr were put in prison because they fought for better conditions for the hop pickers."

A Delegate: Why doesn't the General Defense join the International Labor Defense? I think you would be much stronger to defend these cases.

Brother Danton: We have asked the General Labor Defense to defend this case, the Civil Liberties Union and everyone else that we possibly can get. The General Defense cannot go ahead and put the defense into the International Labor Defense without the sanction of the entire membership of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Delegate Polakoff: I move that a committee be appointed to consider the request of this brother.

This motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

President Sigman: The Resolutions' Committee will now proceed with its report.

Delegate Dubinsky thereupon reported for the Resolutions Committee as follows:

Resolution No. 131

Submitted by Benjamin Dolnick, delegate of Local 60:

WHEREAS The official publication of our International Union is written in three different languages, namely, English, Jewish and Italian; and

WHEREAS, There are a large number of Polish members in our International who cannot read any of these languages; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth Biennial Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to have articles on the problems of the General Labor movement, as well as news pertaining to our organization in particular, published in the Polish language, such articles to be made a part of the English edition of the Justice.

The Committee recommended concurrence.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No 132

Submitted by Benjamin Dolnick, delegate from Local 60:

WHEREAS, There are a large number of Polish-speaking workers employed in the various branches of the ladies' garment industry; and

WHEREAS, It is difficult for those workers to read any other language than Polish; be it therefore

RESOLVED, By this Eighteenth Convention to instruct the incoming General Executive Board to have the constitution of our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union printed in the Polish language so that our members may read it and get acquainted with the by-laws of the organization.

Committee recommends concurrence.

Recommendation unanimously adopted

Resolution No. 44

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Mirenda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, In the previous conventions our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have gone on record demanding a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, convicted of murder in the first degree by a biased jury under instruction of a prejudiced judge in the State of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, its locals and joint boards have repeatedly raised a voice of protest and have helped to their utmost the defense of these two innocent victims of class struggle; and

WHEREAS, practically the entire labor movement of this country joined in the demand for a new trial; and

WHEREAS, five and a half years have passed since the men were first arrested, four and a half years since their original trial and more than a year since the trial judge tardily denied their application for a new trial during all of which time they have languished in prison and the wife and two children of one have suffered outside; while the appeal for a new trial which will cut short their sufferings by freedom or death, is dreadfully pending before the State Supreme Court; and

WHEREAS, their indefinite imprisonment pending the outcome of their case and the danger of undeserved death at the hands of executioner constitutes a ghastly miscarriage of justice; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in its Eighteenth Biennial Convention, assembled in the City of Philadelphia, hereby reiterates its demand for a new trial for these defenseless victims of race and national prejudice in order that they may have an opportunity to present the incontrovertible evidence of their innocence, and that the honor and fairness of the American people may be preserved untarnished before the eyes of the civilized world; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be

sent to the Governor of Massachusetts and the President of the United States and the press.

We wish to reaffirm our previous decision at former conventions and therefore recommend the adoption of this resolution.

Recommendation unanimously adopted

Your committee has received Resolution No. 11, dealing with the question of legalizing the First of May:

Resolution No. 11

Introduced by Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, the first of May has been dedicated by the workers of the whole world as their holiday and the symbol of their emancipation from the capitalist yoke; be it

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at its Eighteenth Biennial Convention, assembled in the City of Philadelphia, Pa., recommend to the incoming G. W. U. that in the future in collective and individual agreements with the manufacturers, May 1st should be included as an obligatory holiday and that the workers be paid as well as other legal holidays.

Your committee heartily concurs in the first part of the resolve, asking for the introduction of a clause in our agreements with the employers in the industry, making the First of May a legal holiday, on which day the factories shall be shut down so that our workers may participate in the celebration of the International First of May holiday. But your committee does not see the advisability of asking that the workers be paid for this day. In so far as we consider the First of May a labor day, we believe that the spirit of the First of May will best be displayed when our workers will be educated to an appreciation of its significance, so that they may be willing to celebrate this great International labor holiday without receiving remuneration for it.

We therefore recommend the adoption of the above resolution with the modification as herein explained.

Delegate Steinzor: We submitted Resolution No. 143 on the same question. How did the Committee act upon it?

President Sigman: Your resolution is a different one and has been referred to the Committee on Law.

Upon being put to a vote, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously carried.

Labor Party

Resolutions Nos. 24, 25 and 26, received by your committee, dealing with the question of the formation of a labor party in the United States, read as follows:

Resolution No. 24

Submitted by Local 5, Chicago; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, the employers, through their control of government federal state and local, are interfering more and more in the functions of the labor movement, through injunctions, arrest of organizers, speakers and pickets; and

WHEREAS, it is imperative that we protect our rights against the interference of government on the political field: be it therefore

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the Convention stand instructed to favor the formation of an all-inclusive Labor Party, capable of embracing all the forces of labor, political and economic.

Resolution No. 25

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, the employers, through their control of government, federal, state and local, are interfering more and more in the functions of the labor movement, through injunctions, arrest of organizers, speakers and pickets; and

WHEREAS, it is imperative that we protect our rights against the interference of government on the political field: therefore, be it

RESOLVED that our delegates to the convention stand instructed to favor the formation of an all-inclusive Labor Party capable of embracing all the forces of labor, political and economic.

Resolution No. 26

Introduced by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9. G. Halpern, of Local 66; Bessie Helfand and J. Krooglick, of Local 62; J. Prokop, of Local 15; M. Shur, of Local 14; B. Soll, of Local 5; D. Wishevsky, of Local 38; B. Stein, of Local 100; A. Weisman, of Local 104. J. Goretsky, of Local 35; P. Hauser, of Local 100; V. Miletsky, of Local 41:

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 workers directly, but also the government through all its agencies, anti-labor legislation, Daugherty injunctions, Railroad Labor Boards, use of troops and police in strikes; and

WHEREAS, the entire history of the struggles of the working class shows that so long as the powers of the government are allowed to remain in the hands of the capitalist class, as at present in the United States, just so long will these powers of government be used against the workers; and

WHEREAS, it is necessary, in order for the workers to develop the political power of their own, a labor party which will draw the millions of workers into political activities and organize them for political struggles against the capitalists; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International herewith favors the formation of a labor party based upon the trade unions and including as affiliated sections all other political organizations of a working class nature upon a local state and national basis; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International stands instructed to support actively the formation of such a party.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the above resolutions.

President Sigman: At two of our previous conventions we had similar resolutions and the recommendation of the committee, in my judgment, reaffirms the action and decision of the previous conventions.

Upon being put to a vote, the recommendation of the committee was unanimously approved.

Military Training

Resolution No. 29 received by your committee, dealing with the question of military training, reads as follows:

Resolution No. 29

Submitted by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; S. Domblatt, of Local 3, and D. Wishevsky, of Local 38:

WHEREAS, the Citizens' Military Training Camps are an instrument run jointly by the bosses through the Military Training Camps Association and War Department for the purpose of bringing military training to those young workers in the shops, mills and mines who will be expected to make up 90 per cent of the army in the next war; and

WHEREAS, the Military Training Camps Association is composed of large "open-shop" employers, including such infamous labor haters on its advisory board as Richard Croker, Cyrus McCormack, Frank O. Lowden, and through the Pullman Corporation is connected with the war-breeding House of Morgan; and

WHEREAS, these open-shop employers are

contributing large donations so as to bribe these young workers with a free vacation and attract an even greater number of workers each year, so as to give them a military training and prepare them as cannon fodder for another slaughter; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention goes on record in favor of joining all other working-class organizations in a campaign against the efforts of the Citizens' Military Training Camps, which are attracting the young workers by the slogan of "One month's vacation with pay," and that a campaign be undertaken under the slogan, "Down with all imperialistic war"; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the A. F. of L. convention be instructed to raise the question at the next convention of the A. F. of L.

Your committee recommends adoption of the above resolution and also amends the above resolution to include the expression of this convention against the militarization of our youth in the colleges of the country, and that our convention is fully in sympathy with the present movement now going on among the students in some of the leading colleges of the country against military drills and military discipline and training.

Your committee looks upon this movement in our colleges as a hopeful sign that our youth in the educational institutions is awakening to the abhorrence of war and all its terrors.

We believe that this anti-militarism movement deserves encouragement and congratulation on the part of this convention.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Your Committee on Resolutions has received resolutions No. 18, 19 and 20, asking for the endorsement of the International Labor Defense Council, which resolutions follow:

Resolution No. 18

Submitted by Local 5, Chicago; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, as a result of interference of the government in labor activities labor organizers speakers and writers have been and are being arrested for their activities and opinions, under various criminal syndicalist and criminal anarchy laws, for their activity during strikes and against injunctions, throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, a general defense organization composed of leading progressive and representing labor and political organizations of various shades of opinion has been formed in Chicago called the International Labor Defense; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we endorse the Labor Defense Council (Eugene V. Debs, Upton Sinclair and Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, are on the Council.)

Resolution No. 19

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, as a result of interference of the government in labor activities, labor organizers, speakers and writers have been and are being arrested for their activities and opinions, under various criminal syndicalist and criminal anarchy laws, for their activity during strikes and against injunctions throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, a general defense organization, composed of leading progressives and representing labor and political organizations of various shades of opinions, has been formed in Chicago, called the INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we endorse the Labor Defense Council (E. V. Debs, Upton Sinclair and Roger Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, are on the Council.)

Resolution No. 20

Introduced by Sarah Hurwitz, of Local 46. I. Steinsor, of Local 2; A. Kravitz, of Local 3; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; G. Halperin, of Local 66; Bessie Holfand and J. Krooglick, of Local 62; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; Sam Saroff, of Local 20; J. Prokop, of Local 45; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; J. Molsack, of Local 13. M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; P. Hauser, of Local 100; D. Wishevsky, of Local 38; B. Soll, of Local 5, and V. Miletsky, of Local 41:

WHEREAS, the prosecution of labor leaders, organizers, speakers, writers and other "active spirits" in the labor movement through imprisonment, deportation, injunctions and through all other proceedings under the various criminal syndicalist and criminal anarchy laws, is nothing but a very important part of the open-shop campaign of the capitalist; and

WHEREAS, such prosecutions are not limited to one single organization but on the contrary are international in their character; and

WHEREAS, the capitalist class in all countries such as Italy, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, England and America has gone to the point of brutal murder, assassination and imprisonment of thousands of workers; be it

RESOLVED that we declare ourselves in favor of one solidified general International Labor Defense organization composed of leading representatives of progressive labor and political organizations of various shades of opinion; and be it further

RESOLVED that we endorse the International Labor Defense Committee, composed of different economic and political organizations, and which also includes Eugene V. Debs, Upton Sinclair and Roger Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union.

These resolutions claim that the International Labor Defense Council is composed of leading progressive men and women representing different labor and political organizations of various shades of opinion. Your committee has not been able up to this time to verify this statement.

The resolutions also claim that this International Labor Defense Council is endorsed by Eugene V. Debs, Upton Sinclair and Roger Baldwin. In looking over the stationery of this organization your committee has found the names of Upton Sinclair and Eugene V. Debs, but failed to find the name of Roger Baldwin on its national committee.

What is more, your committee is aware of the fact that the object and purposes given as the reason for the existence of this organization are the same object and purposes for which the Civil Liberties Union was formed.

Your committee is thoroughly in accord with the need for a centralized organization to defend all prisoners who are persecuted by the government for their political opinions and beliefs. Your committee, therefore, recommends that the Incoming General Executive Board be instructed to make an investigation as to whether the International Labor Defense Council is fulfilling the claims made for it in the above-named resolution and as to whether this organization is not duplicating the work of the Civil Liberties Union. And if the General Executive Board finds that the claims made for the International Labor Defense Council in the above resolutions are true and there is a real need for its existence, the General Executive Board shall be empowered to endorse this organization and give it moral and financial support.

Delegate Wortis: When the Resolutions Committee first reported, the committee pretended to adopt a liberal attitude. Now we see it was all hypocrisy. By this recommendation we see the committee in its true colors. I was present as a visitor at the Boston convention, and I know that on every occasion when organizations defending political or industrial prisoners came before the con-

vention, we did not send committees to investigate whether they were really fulfilling their functions. Twenty-three locals of our International have signed this resolution and for that reason, if for none other, you should support it and not dodge the issue. If you don't want to support this resolution, vote against it like men and let the membership know you stand on it instead of trying to dodge the issue (applause).

Delegate Zack: I want to amend the recommendation that we approve the resolution. I don't believe that even the reporters for the committee have any doubt whatsoever that Debs and Sinclair are on this committee. I don't think that you would dare to insinuate that Eugene V. Debs would permit the use of his name in any organization that he did not believe was created for the purpose of defending those who were railroaded to jail for their activities.

You say you don't find the name of Baldwin on the committee. Even if you don't find this name on the committee and he is part of the committee, the names on the committee are of sufficient character and prestige that if you really want to defend those who are in prison you should endorse this resolution. It seems, however, that what you want to do by your maneuver is not to defend those who go to prison if they disagree with what you think of the Labor movement, and that is why you discriminate, that is why you use parliamentary tricks of referring these resolutions to somebody else. I think you are secretly in agreement that communists and others who do not agree with your views should go to prison (applause), and that is the attitude you take.

Delegate Polakoff: I protest against this. You should be ashamed of yourself.

Delegate Zack: I am glad to hear one of the delegates who does not agree with my views otherwise disapprove of the idea of having workers that are Communists go to jail even if he disagrees with them.

Delegate Feinberg: Are the movers of this resolution in a position to state

whether the Civil Liberties Union was not taking care of all class war prisoners, including Communists? What was the reason for the creation of the so-called International Defense Council?

Delegate Wortis: I believe it is the duty of the workers to defend their class-war prisoners and not to depend on liberal-minded people to contribute out of charity to defend the workers.

Delegate Nagler: I want first to answer Brother Zack's charge that we are interested in keeping some people behind the bars. This was answered very plainly by Sister Wortis when she herself stated that she would not depend upon liberal people to see that these prisoners get out of jail. I want to say that Sister Wortis has mentioned on the floor that she believed the Resolution Committee was fair in its previous report.

Delegate Wortis: I said it was hypocrisy.

Delegate Nagler: But she has realized that it is merely camouflage because the report of the committee is not to her liking and therefore she realizes the true color of the committee. But let me tell you by the time we get through you may not like other reports we bring in (applause). The reason we question this organization is because we have had good experience in our movement. The organization that you represent, the Workers' Party, has made it its business, from time to time, wherever there was a substantial organization anywhere, to organize a new opposition organization in order to break up the old one. The first was when the Amsterdam International was formed, you come in with the Red International to break the Amsterdam International, second, when the Civil Liberties Union took it upon its shoulders to defend men of the type of Eugene V. Debs when he was behind the bars, you had to form a defense committee of your own. I say, if it was good enough for Debs surely it is good enough for Communists who may be behind bars. (Applause). In our own union you could not stomach the fact that the organization was powerful and you immediately created an opposition union, for I still maintain that the Trade Union Educa-

tional League sprang up because you wanted to break up our organization.

President Sigman: You are entirely out of order.

Delegate Nagler: I had it on my chest and I am glad to get it off my chest. (Laughter and applause). I want to say that the recommendation of the committee is the only one that we can adopt, and I believe that all those who are not imbued with the progress of the so-called progressives will vote for the recommendation of the committee.

(At this time there arose a commotion in the hall which grew to such proportions that President Sigman was compelled to call a recess of one-half hour before proceeding with the convention.

At the expiration of the recess the sessions continued).

Delegate Zimmerman: I rise to protest against the mud slinging of President Sigman. You are the one who is always expelling the rank and file from the convention hall. You are constantly slinging mud while you are pretending to ask for fair play and provoking the progressive delegation to answer you when you keep on insulting them. We are not going to stand for your policy of provoking, we are not going to stand for your policy of expulsion. This is not Boston. This is Philadelphia. (Applause).

President Sigman: I do not find it necessary to reply to your attempt to insult the chair, which has been the steady course and practice with you. I only ask the delegates and the visitors to notice that when a "right" delegate rises to speak there is always disturbance and tumult among the "left" delegates and among their sympathetic visitors, while when a so-called progressive speaks the "right" delegates, the regular trade unionists, are quiet and do not create any disturbance. Watch for yourselves what occurs—that is my reply to Delegate Zimmerman.

Delegate Antonini: Well, Brother Chairman, it seems to me we are off the track entirely. After this ten minutes' picnic let us proceed to discuss this ques-

tion sensibly. The question that was before the house was a report of the Resolutions' Committee. There are some people here who claim that they are honest, that they are sincere. But why are you claiming that for yourselves when you disclaim it to others? I strongly believe that there is no one here that really desires someone else to be in jail; and when some of our delegates say, "I would hang all the Communists," I suppose the Communists say the same thing, "I would hang all the Socialists." But that would simply be an expression of this brotherly love that we have for each other; yet when a time comes that any one of us is thrown into jail it will and should make no difference whether he is a Communist or Anarchist or Socialist. I don't care if there is one organization here, another there and another on the other side; I believe that for the interest of all there is necessary only one defense organization.

It is easy to say: We want our organization to free these political prisoners, and that's all there is to it. But it is a different matter to actually get them out of jail. You are only playing for your own popularity, because if you sincerely want to get them out of jail you have no right to step aside and not accept the help that the liberals of this country are trying to give you. The Labor movement in this country is not a big thing; the Labor movement can't compel the government to open the jails and let out these prisoners, and you know it. We need to incline public opinion to think our way.

I was present at the Joint Board meeting a few weeks ago. Local 2 came in with a resolution asking for the liberation of Gitlow. The resolution of Local 2 first asks Governor Smith to free Gitlow, and then it says that Governor Smith was compelled to free all the other political prisoners and they ask Governor Smith to free him too. It is ridiculous for us to ask Governor Smith for Gitlow's liberation and at the same time tell him that he was compelled to release other political prisoners.

You tell us that we should depend on our own strength, on the strength of our own organization for the liberation of

those prisoners. But I want to tell you, Brother Zimmerman, that you know of many cases where you wouldn't go to a Communist lawyer for defense; you'd rather go to a big Democratic lawyer (laughter) just as in the case of our Brother Marks. We have got to have big lawyers on such cases. Sister Wortis jumps up and says: "Show your colors". Everybody shows his colors here. What is the use of fighting each other on this question? I am telling you that, just because in your resolution you cite the name of Debs and others, this does not mean that you show your colors. Why do you put Debs' name on it? I say from the first to the last of this convention, I am inclined to believe in the good faith of people and even in your good faith. If you don't believe in the good faith of others, you don't believe in your own good faith. And I am telling you that there is no one here at this Convention that wishes to keep in jail any person for radical activities. For that reason I think that the General Executive Board has to follow the request of the recommendation.

Delegate Morgenstern: When this question was taken up here today and discussed here, there was another organization of the same kind mentioned, the General Defense Committee, and the question was raised on this floor as to why they don't combine. It was answered by the comrade from the I. W. W. that, so far they are doing the work because they have other cases and after they dispose of them, they will try to combine all the defense committees. I believe this should also be true of this defense committee. Brother Antonini has made a joke of the situation when he says that he believes in the good faith of the "left" delegates. But I want to ask, where is the good faith of the committee in not recognizing this defense committee that defends workers?

Delegates Antonini: In the report of the committee there is nothing said that these organizations should not be recognized.

Delegate Morgenstern: Your resolution found that Debs, Sinclair, Baldwin and the others also support this organization, and yet they found that only

Debs and Sinclair are mentioned there and Baldwin is not, and that is why it should go to the G. E. B. I want to ask you, what do you mean? Everybody knows who this defense committee is and what work they have done. It has the approval of people who are not in accord with everything that you say, and yet they have the endorsement of such men as Debs and Sinclair. Where is your fairness when such a defense committee comes here with the endorsement of 23 locals? And yet you are questioning it. Who are you to question it?

Delegate Ninfo: I want to ask a question of Sister Morgenstern. I have been informed, though I am not sure of it, that Eugene V. Debs has withdrawn his name from this committee, that he has repudiated being a party to that defense committee. Can you state before this body whether he is still a member of that committee or not?

Delegate Morgenstern: I don't know, but the committee itself has reported that instead of three, there are two names there.

Delegate Feinberg: I ask information with reference to the creation of the International Defense Committee in view of the existence of the Civil Liberties Union. I hope we shall show the Civil Liberties Union the decency of appreciating its efforts in defending political prisoners and workers who have been jailed on account of the struggles they have carried on against employers. We have been told that it is not advisable to seek the help of the so-called silk-stocking individuals.

Delegate Wortis: I did not say that we should not seek the help of those individuals, but I said the business of defending those prisoners is the affair of the workers and we should not depend on the liberals to do it.

Delegate Feinberg: You say that it should be the business of the workers, to which I agree; but at the same time they told the committee on resolutions that Roger Baldwin is a member of this committee. If it should be the work of the workers, why do you believe in Roger Baldwin and other of that type? Why

haven't you been fair with this committee? It only goes to prove that the recommendation of the committee was justified for the reason that it is advisable for the International Union, before it lends its aid and support to any organization, to acquaint itself with the working and necessity of such an institution. I really see no reason why there should be so many institutions. Why isn't it possible to create one institution to do the work of all? The comrade who was here from the I. W. W. said his institution has been in existence for nine years.

I am not at all disappointed by these brothers and sisters who said that they have realized the true color of the committee, because it is their theory that if you report favorably, you've got to be lynched, and if you report unfavorably, you've got to be lynched anyhow. So what's the use? You've got to be lynched.

A delegate: You are lynched already. (Laughter).

Delegate Feinberg: Exactly, and I am proud of the fact that I have permitted myself to be lynched rather than sell my convictions. (Applause). There was a remark made here by a very prominent delegate, so called, that we are in secret alliance with those that are opposing radical views and consequently trying, consciously or unconsciously, to keep them in prison. That is the most dastardly statement that has ever been made before a labor convention. Yes, you seem to believe that we here, or in other countries, are already practicing what your comrades are practicing somewhere else, where they keep Socialists and revolutionists in jail (applause).

"What do you mean," says one delegate, "how do you dare to question the advisability of 23 locals who sign this resolution?" I say to you, "How do you dare to get just as many locals at this convention to swallow something that they do not know anything about?" I say that the logical conclusion or recommendation that could be brought in by this committee was to investigate and find out if it is essential to have such a committee, and if it is, then give it its endorsement, and if not, to withhold it (applause).

A previous question was called for and carried.

Delegate Hochman: We received these resolutions, all of them claiming that the International Labor Defense is an impartial organization and takes care of all political prisoners. They mentioned three names, Baldwin, Debs and Upton Sinclair. In looking over the credential presented by one of their speakers who appeared before this convention, we found that the name of Baldwin did not appear, and so we thought it wise to investigate this organization. The Executive Committee of this organization contains the names only of a certain group of people with a definite opinion that are represented on it by a complete majority. We could not give this proposition a fair investigation with the conditions under which we are working now. We did not want to act hastily so we decided upon the course of action recommended in our report. To show you that the committee had every desire to be fair, in the very next resolution we are about to present, we ask for the endorsement of the action of the International Labor Defense insofar as it fights for Ben Gitlow. That is but one particular instance, but when an organization comes to us and claims it is impartial and that it represents every shade of opinion and mentions only three names out of a list of about 39 and it asks for our endorsement and financial support, have not we a right to investigate before we affiliate? Perhaps, we should like to be represented on such an organization to see that it is impartial.

It was claimed that Debs is on the list. You know I have as much respect for Debs as he is dearer to me than to many of you, because when he was in jail very few of you did anything to release him. (Applause). But I heard on the other side that Debs has repudiated his affiliation with that organization. It may or may not be true, but we have a right to investigate.

I believe the committee has made every effort to be fair and I will again read the recommendation of the committee.

(Delegate Hochman thereupon again

read the recommendation of the committee).

The vote on the recommendation of the committee was taken by a show of hands, 155 voting for and 106 against.

Your committee has received Resolution No. 21 dealing with the case of Benjamin Gitlow, which read as follows:

Resolution No. 21

Introduced by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; G. Halperin, of Local 66; J. Goretaky, of Local 35; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; Bessie Helfand, of Local 62; Jennie Kroeglick, of Local 62; J. Melnick, of Local 13; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; Philip Hauser, of Local 100; D. Wishevsky, of Local 38; V. Miletsky, of Local 41; S. Dornblatt, of Local 3, and Sarah Hurvitz, of Local 46:

WHEREAS, the conviction of Benjamin Gitlow, under the criminal anarchy law, has been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, the decision also declaring the law constitutional and thereby forging a powerful weapon of the capitalist class against the militant labor movement and the revolutionary political movement of the working class of this country; and

WHEREAS, this is a denial to the labor movement of the right of freedom of speech; and

WHEREAS, it is part of the general policy of using the courts and machinery of government against the workers in the form of injunctions against picketing and striking and of persecution of the militant leadership that is found at the forefront of our political and industrial struggles; and

WHEREAS, the sustaining of Gitlow's conviction by the United States Supreme Court supplies a precedent which will mean the railroad to long terms of imprisonment of many other well-known fighters in the ranks of the labor movement and will make easier the suppression by the capitalist controlled government of all and any working class organization which dares oppose their open-shop rule; and

WHEREAS, the solidarity of the entire working class is essential to its welfare and requires that those in the forefront of the struggle must especially have the support of all workers; and

WHEREAS, in freeing James Larkin and the others charged jointly with Gitlow for the same offense and under the same act, the Governor of the State of New York, Alfred E. Smith, stated that "they are not criminals and I can see no useful purpose that will be served by holding them in prison any longer," be it therefore

RESOLVED that we protest against the action of the United States Supreme Court; demand the repeal of the criminal anarchy law and will work to that end; record ourselves as in support of the International La-

bor Defense in fighting this case and call upon all other labor bodies and working class organizations of any sort to take the same stand; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that we demand of the Governor of the State of New York that he immediately free the defendant; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of the resolution be sent to the Governor of the State of New York and to the Labor press.

Your committee recommends adoption of the above resolution.

Recommendation unanimously adopted.

The attention of your committee has also been called to the case of Miss Charlotte Whitney, who has been sentenced under the Anti-Syndicalist Act in the State of California, and who, after a rejection of an appeal to the United States Supreme Court, is at present serving a prison term in the State of California.

Your committee recommends that this convention take action similar to that taken in the case of Benjamin Gitlow.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

President Sigman: We have with us a person who is very well known to us and to the labor movement in general. He needs no introduction. A good many know him as a poet of high standing in our community and the world over. He was for a time with our International in an official capacity. He is here on behalf of an Italian newspaper known as the New World which is carrying on a fight against the Fascist movement here and abroad. This newspaper is and will be of service to the labor movement in general, in addition to its main object in fighting Fascism. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you our good old Brother, Arturo Giovannitti. (Prolonged applause).

Arturo Giovannitti: Brother Chairman and fellow workers: This is the third time that I have the honor of appearing before the supreme assembles of the I. L. G. W. U. The first time was in the City of Baltimore when Brother Sigman was elected President; the second time was in the City of Boston and today it is in this historic City of Philadelphia. I beg leave of you and I sue for your indulgence if my remarks are to a certain extent not quite in-keeping with the ethics of a tolerated guest, as it were, if for

some reason or other I get off the track, as Brother Antonini said a while ago. Please, bear in mind that I am not very conversant with the ethics of diplomacy; I consider myself as much a part of your entire whole as anyone in this hall today. I was brought up in the great struggle and the great fights that were carried on by the I. L. G. W. U. I had my first skirmishes in its glorious battles, and I have won my spurs in the service of the ladies' tailors' board in New York and elsewhere, and therefore I think that I am a part of your official family.

I am here this afternoon for the single purpose of presenting to you in unity the good wishes and enthusiastic acclaim of all the Italian workers of the great Imperial City of New York and of all the hundreds of thousands of Italian workers throughout the length and breadth of this great and glorious land of ours, who expect to see as the outcome of your deliberations here more solidarity and brotherhood (applause). They have used whatever influence they could to inject the spirit of tolerance and moderation among you. I personally have wept bitter tears, and I sort of feel that they were wept in vain. I wept bitter tears when I saw the spirit of dissension eating like gangrene at the very vitals of your Union. At the convention in Boston I retired to my hotel room when I wept bitter tears to see the solidarity and brotherhood of your Union seemingly swept away temporarily when your brother delegates were expelled at that convention (applause). I am here like the character in Dante's book, whom he called displeasing both to God and to God's foes. Here I am between the upper and nether stones of this grinding mill, between those that want to rule and those that don't want to obey; here I am to proclaim once for all the insolubility of the working class, the unity of all interests of the working class, one creed above everything else, the creed of brotherhood, the creed of solidarity, the creed of tolerance, the creed of forbearance and unity, which is the only thing that can complete the task of your emancipation (applause).

We, the Italian workers, have been

standing with bowed heads while you were tearing at each other, inside and outside of the union, while this campaign of villification was carried on with eager animosity on both sides tearing aside this magnificent union which has been built up by the suffering, by the very blood of the working class.

Permit me to carry you back to the years of the past where we may truly say that everybody was a cavalier in the working class, where to be a member of a labor union was to be a hero and a martyr to the cause of liberty and emancipation, in the years of the past when every cloakmaker was a man who proclaimed a new dispensation on this land, when every dressmaker, every girl struggling in the streets of New York, was carrying a little further to the sun the banner of solidarity and emancipation of the working-class. We want to go back to those dreams. We have lost some of our spirit and we have lost a great part of our enthusiasm. In the last 20 years I have seen the cloakmakers rise to a position of standing and almost supremacy in the labor movement. We have grown powerful; we own great buildings; we have a large membership; we have a very large treasury, or at least did have. But that was the result of the spirit of mutual cooperation, the spirit of sacrifice, of an indomitable will to carry on against all odds; but I fear that that spirit has now disappeared to give room to this spirit of dissension. Pardon me, then, if I speak as one who, above every other consideration on earth, desires, before his eyes close upon the eternal darkness of death, to see this great, magnificent unity of all the exploited of the world against all the exploiters, for the elimination of the master class and for the liberation and worldwide supremacy of the working class. (applause). Speaking in behalf of the Italian workers, including the delegation here present, whether Left or Right, I will say that they all stand for unity above everything else. They stand for complete freedom of all political prisoners (applause). No better message could go out of these assizes of the I. L. G. W. U., than the message that we all stand together. We are all agreed that, when we know there is a man starving, we

cannot feel fed; and wherever there is a man shackled in jail, we cannot feel free (applause).

And now, to the message of this afternoon. It is a very hard message for me to bring to you, for I must commingle, with the high spirits that are practically holding me in their throes, something that smacks of the mercenary and the material; but so long as we are living in this capitalistic system, we have to appear before you and to appeal to the workers for assistance that no other group could give. Brother Sigman said I came here in behalf of a new Italian paper which is now published every morning in the City of New York for and by the working class. For over 20 years this has been the dream of all the Italian workers throughout this vast republic of the United States. Here is one thing that you Jewish comrades can realize and are able to grasp in its entirety. Regardless of the internal strife that may be going on within your ranks, you can present some kind of solid front before the master class in so far as the vehicles for the dissemination of your thoughts are concerned. You have a great metropolitan press in New York written in the Jewish language, and you have your press in Philadelphia, Chicago, and all the big industrial centres of the world. You have daily papers that practically represent every faction, every tendency, every policy of the great industrial struggle in which we find ourselves at present. But we, the Italian workers—be it said to our shame—have never had a daily paper for the last 20 years, with the exception of a newspaper which was published by the Workers' Party in Chicago for a little while, and which was compelled to cease publication almost immediately after. Now, this paper is a fact. Our dreams, our aspirations and hopes that seemed impossible of accomplishment only a few years ago, now have become a living and triumphant realization.

"Il Nuovo Mondo", which in English is "The New World", is issued every morning in the City of New York, carrying and broadcasting the message of class-solidarity, the class struggle of the workers throughout the world to all our

Italian fellow-workers. But you know this paper cannot rely exclusively and solely upon the daily pittance from those that buy it on the stands or those that subscribe to it. We are surrounded by numberless enemies all around. The Italian colony of New York can be more or less likened to a veritable jungle of wild beasts. We are not living in a civilized community. We harken back, so far as the Italian population of New York is concerned, to the dark Middle Ages, because of that dark pestilence called Fascism. Several days after this paper was issued, every advertisement that had been contracted for by any Italian firm in New York, metropolitan banks, business agents, manufacturers and exporters, was withdrawn, and the reason that they give is the most bestial and the most brutal that ever blackened the face of mankind and civilization. They said we are willing to give you those ads, we are eager to get the support of the working people, but the Fascist government in Rome, through the agency of the Italian consulates and the Italian embassy in this country, has notified all business men who have commercial relations with Italy that, if they give us those advertisements, the Fascist government in Rome will hold up all imports and exports of those particular firms to and from Italy, and is going to shut them down and they will be declared bankrupt. Can you imagine such a thing? The head of one of the most powerful nations of the world, Mussolini (cries of too), descends to these dastardly and infamous tactics, these black-hand tactics, and dictates to the Italian businessmen in the City of New York, all American citizens, mind you, all protected by the constitution of the United States, all protected, if need be by the American Navy and the American Army, and he says to them: "I am going to see to it that you can't import or export anything to and from Italy". The Italian press in New York is naturally very antagonistic to us. The most scurrilous campaign of vilification has been indulged in against us. News dealers have been intimidated. But we have overcome that and now our circulation is booming, is increasing daily by leaps and bounds. This is not a political newspaper in the narrow sense of the word. No press that has no

strong organization behind it can live, let alone prosper. So I am here in behalf of this paper to appeal to you to grant us as much as you can possibly spare, not a few hundred dollars, not a few thousand, but as much as it is possible for you to spare to carry across this message of solidarity out of this body to the great rank and file of Italian workers. This paper is not by any means committed to any political "ism". It does not stand for the Workers' Party. It stands for a united, solidified working class and for all parties together. When political campaigns are in order, something will be devised as to the proper way of defining the attitude of this paper. For the time being, permit me to state that upon the editorial staff of this paper, we have practically the best men that could be gotten from each political party. It presents daily news that is of universal interest to the workers. It combats all the enemies of the workers. It thunders every day a tremendous broadside against the Fascist government in Italy and the Fascist infiltration in this country. It is absolutely necessary to combat Fascism in the United States of America. Mussolini hasn't got one leg to stand on anywhere else in the world except in the United States. The representative of the government of Belgium, Emil Vandervelde, at the Conference of Locarno, refused to shake hands with Mussolini. (Applause). The government of Aristide Briand in France is opposed to the Mussolini tactics. So are all the other governments of Europe opposed to them.

While all this went on, the government of the United States, through the agency of J. P. Morgan and Company, granted this international cut-throat, who stands convicted red-handed of the murder of ten thousand Italian workers, another loan of one hundred million dollars. What chance have the Italian workers against these tremendous treasures? I appeal to you in this country to do all you can, fired by this holy crusading spirit of international amity and goodwill, to discredit this black-shirted, black-faced, black-hearted government, the scourge of the whole world, and dishonor it before the great American public opinion, and see to it that within a short

time there will be no room left in this country for the emissaries of Benito Mussolini. The day of the Italian Renaissance is soon at hand, and when that day comes, you, who will have helped us to carry on this battle, will be properly honored and recognized.

We cannot go back to Italy now, because we have been outlawed. Three or four years from now, we will be the ones who will rule the destinies of the Italian people in conjunction with all the working class of the world (applause). Mussolini has taken the Italian citizenship from all of us who have opposed Fascism. They have voted a new law which disposes and seizes and confiscates the property of every free voice that stands against this Black Scourge. A few days from now, before Christmas comes around, my father will lose his home, I will lose everything that my poor mother left me as a solace and as a remembrance, in spite of the fact that my two brothers have offered their youthful lives upon the so-called altar of war. We still will be completely disfranchised. Everything will be taken away and stolen from us, but, in spite of our lot, we will stand up like an incandescent, flaming torch against this foul regime, against everything that smacks of persecution to the workers, hailing the day when through the holy spirit, the holy fire of your class consciousness and your solidarity, we will throw back not only the hordes of Mussolini but all the black-guards and cut-throats the world over, and proclaim the universal republic of the working class. (Great applause).

It occurs to me, Brother Chairman and Brother Delegates, that we are not by mere chance met in Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love. I need not remind you that the City of Philadelphia is about to celebrate what is called the sesqui-centennial celebration of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. In this City of Brotherly Love about 150 years ago that greatest of all Americans, Benjamin Franklin, declared: "Either we hang together, or we hang separately". Well, they stood together. Within a short time thereafter, Washington crossed the Delaware and surprised the Hessians and cut them to pieces, and the

shot that was heard around the world was fired and a new principle was proclaimed among mankind, and a new dispensation was heralded throughout the four corners of the globe, and a new ideal, a new freedom, was hurled in every direction. A republic was born which sounded for the first time the death-knell of kings.

We also have signed our Declaration of Independence here, and we also ought to get together so that out of this hall today or tomorrow or before you adjourn, a new message might issue forth, soaring above all habitations of mankind, going throughout the earth for our brothers who are subjugated in misery and in slavery to hear, a message of brotherhood, of struggle and unflinching combat against every form of oppression, against every form of servitude, against every form of rulership which is not obeyed except by common consent of the workers.

I hope, with every fibre of my body, from the innermost resources of my being, with every heartstring of my life quivering, that you will get together and that you will forget your differences. And it is my earnest hope that this message will enkindle a wonderful flame which will spread throughout the world and become a mighty conflagration that will about above the winds, above the storm, above the tempest, above all the typhoons and cyclones, this great eternal truth that the workers are getting together, that the workers are marching forward, that upon the flaming standards only this message is written: One Union, One Flag, One Ideal, the Triumph of the working class, the mastery of the working class, the unity of the working class wherever any human being lives, wherever life is going on, so that man will forget forever the chain that binds him to the beast, and march forward eternally to the conquest of the stars. (Great applause).

Delegate Antonini: I move that the speech of Brother Arturo Giovannitti be incorporated in the minutes of our proceedings.

Delegate Shally: I move that his address also be printed in the press of our International.

Both these motions were unanimously carried amidst applause.

Delegate Hochman: We have just received the resolution pertaining to "Il Nuovo Mondo." I hardly believe that anybody at this gathering can find the proper words to show our appreciation for the inspiring and masterly address that Brother Giovannitti delivered. But I will go down to the material business for which he came and will read to you the resolution and the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee dealing with "Il Nuovo Mondo."

Delegate Hochman thereupon read as follows:

Resolution No. 45

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radostli, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, the Italian workers in the industries of America number nearly 4,000,000, with more than 500,000 of this number in New York City; and

WHEREAS, this great mass of workers is in a great number outside of the ranks of organized labor because the message of organization has not been brought to them; and

WHEREAS, to enlighten the Italian workers as to the aims of the organized workers in all industries it is necessary to establish an Italian labor press to clear their minds of the poison that is fed to them daily by the capitalist press; and

WHEREAS, it has been necessary to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in organization campaigns, yet in many cases it has been impossible to succeed in making the Italian element respond to the call of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, there can be little progress of the organized masses as long as millions of Italians remain poisoned with the falsehoods of a press that is controlled by the master class; and

WHEREAS, our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at the convention of Chicago of 1920 fully endorsed the publication of the Italian daily labor newspaper and contributed \$5,000 by buying shares; and

WHEREAS, finally after many efforts and great sacrifices this labor daily "Il Nuovo Mondo" was first published on November 16th, inst., and should receive the moral and financial support of the labor organizations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in convention assembled in Philadelphia, Pa., endorse the publication of said daily labor newspaper, "Il Nuovo Mondo," and instruct the General Executive Board to extend all the financial support our International can give, and call upon all local unions and joint boards to ask our membership to contribute a voluntary subscription, and also give all the help that this newspaper deserves.

Your committee held a hearing on Resolution No. 45. Brothers Sala and De Luca of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, together with Luigi Antonini, manager of Local 89 and delegate to our convention, appeared before it. After giving this matter careful thought and consideration your committee is satisfied that "Il Nuovo Mondo", as at present constituted, is a labor paper representing all shades of opinion in the labor movement and that this paper is so organized that it cannot fall into the hands of any private owners.

We believe that there is hardly any need to tell the delegates of this convention of the tremendous value an Italian daily paper is to the trade union movement. It is estimated that there are about 500,000 Italian wage-earners in the City of New York, and only a small fraction of this number are members of trade unions. There is not a city, in fact, that has not its proportionate share of Italian workers.

The organization of this large number of Italian workers is the great need of many of the labor unions of the United States. "Il Nuovo Mondo", as it is at present constituted and as it is now directed, is a paper which we can heartily approve.

This policy, if continued, makes this paper of inestimable value, not only to our union but to the entire labor movement. We have also been impressed by the information we have received from the committee that this paper has at present a circulation that is far beyond the expectations of its founders and which assures its ultimate success. The running of a daily newspaper is a tremendous undertaking and there is need for financial support to put "Il Nuovo Mondo" on a solid foundation.

Your committee therefore recommends that the Incoming General Executive Board stand instructed that, as soon as this convention adjourns, it call conferences of all the local unions affiliated with our International in the various centers of the ladies' garment trades and raise a fund of \$10,000 and invest this money in the corporation of "Il Nuovo Mondo".

Delegate Zack: What attitude does this newspaper take towards Soviet Russia, the question of amalgamation, shop delegates and the other progressive measures that are being advocated in the labor movement?

Brother Arturo Giovannitti: The policy of this paper has been in the process of shaping itself during the last two or three years. It has taken a terrific struggle to get it together and we have decided as a matter of general policy that the paper be entirely open and completely hospitable to all kinds of problems and questions that arise out of the working class. It does not stand committed to any particular policy of its own. It wants to meet the problems of the working class just exactly as they come along. In the matter of Soviet Russia the paper has been completely and entirely in sympathy with the struggle of the Russian workers from the time when the first shot was fired in the City of Petrograd in 1917; and from that time on, everybody that works on the paper has expressed the completest form of sympathy with the Russian masses and with the Russian Soviet Government. I don't know whether this is pleasing to some of the delegates or not. I hope it is pleasing to everybody because we surely want to help Russian workers to do the best they can there. (Applause). So far as the question of amalgamation, shop delegate system, etc., those are still moot questions. We believe that these are problems that should be discussed by working class assemblages and by labor unions proper. The paper is willing to take your leadership. It expounds and expresses your views. It wants to fight for the formation of those views. You stand much nearer to the working class and to the needs of organized labor than we do, but I assure you once and for all that this paper is not going to stand in the way of anything that spells progress and advancement for the workers. (Applause).

Delegate Antonini: We have thousands of our Italian workers who are still unorganized, who not only do not understand these questions but don't even know the meaning of a union. First let us teach them to join the union, then we can speak of these other questions.

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was adopted amidst great applause.

At 5:30 p. m. the session adjourned, to reconvene Friday, December 11, 1925 at 9:30 a. m. in Lulu Temple, it having been decided to postpone the contemplated night session for Friday owing to the poor accommodations of Eagles' Temple, and in order to give the Italian delegation an opportunity to hold a social gathering which had been planned in advance, as well as to give the "left" delegation an opportunity to hold a mass meeting which had been arranged.

Eleventh Day—Morning Session Friday, December 11, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 10:00 a. m.

The delegation of Local 41 was given permission to introduce the following resolution, which was referred to the Resolutions Committee:

Resolution No. 180

Introduced by Local 41.

WHEREAS, The Tuckers, Hemstichers and Platers' Union, Local 41, is conducting a strike for the past 14 weeks, caused by a lock-out made by the president of the employers' association, the owner of the Star Meatling Company of New York; and

WHEREAS, The said firm applied for an injunction to the New York Supreme Court which aims to prevent the strikers from bringing the struggle to a successful conclusion, and aims at the destruction of our local union, which has during the short period of its existence much improved the conditions of the workers of our trade; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming G. E. B. be instructed to do all in its power to help the strikers of Local 41 to defeat the pernicious injunction practices of the lockout firm; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the G. E. B. give all necessary financial assistance to Local 41 to defeat the efforts of the manufacturers' associations in our trade, to force non-union conditions on our workers.

Delegate Zimmerman was given permission to introduce the following resolution in reference to the Ku Klux Klan, which was referred to the Resolutions Committee:

Resolution No. 181

Introduced by Delegation of Local 32.

WHEREAS, Organized Labor finds as one of its bitterest enemies the secret organization known as the Ku Klux Klan, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has not taken a definite stand against this organization nor have they as a body fought against this anti-labor organization; be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the Ku Klux Klan as a menace to organized Labor and to the interest and welfare of the working class; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask President Green and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to initiate immediately a movement for the purpose of exposing the strike-breaking labor-crushing role of the K. K. K. and instruct our A. F. of L. delegates to fight for such a policy at the next A. F. of L. convention.

President Sigman: The Committee on Education will now report.

Delegate Wander thereupon reported for the Committee on Education as follows:

Report of

The Committee on Education

Your Committee on Education herewith submits the following report:

Your Committee on Education discussed the part of the General Executive Board report dealing with the educational work of our International. The report of the G. E. B. in the chapter devoted to the activities of the educational department for the last 18 months, cites this work in detail and brings out in full clarity how wholeheartedly and devotedly this work has been conducted.

This year marks the eighth anniversary of the establishment of the Educational Department of our union. Your committee appreciates the fact that the educational work was carried on uninterruptedly despite the difficulties our union had gone through during that period. The work was carried on with the aid of our active members as vigorously and as persistently as it could possibly be expected. Your committee is also aware of the fact that the International has, in addition to proving to our own membership the wisdom of workers' education and its importance to the union, also advocated the idea of labor education in the general labor movement of America

and the A. F. of L. has not only endorsed it, but has adopted a similar plan for trade union education.

Your committee recommends that the convention instruct the incoming G. E. B. to continue the educational work for the next term and that the same appropriation that was given to this department in the last two years be granted for its work in the future.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Your committee heartily endorses the activities outlined in the report of the G. E. B. It is our belief that, if the program outlined in the report is carried through fully, our organization as a whole, will be strengthened considerably because of the aid our members will receive in learning about the economic conditions of labor as a whole and our industry in particular.

Your committee discussed a plan for extending our educational activities outside of New York. We would recommend that educational centres be organized in the different localities, that these centres shall keep in touch with the educational department. This department shall render every assistance in carrying out the plan of education in the various centres. Your committee is of the opinion that there exists a strong desire on the part of our members all over the country for educational activities.

The recommendation was carried.

Pioneer Youth

The last convention decided to aid the Pioneer Youth movement in this country. In accordance with this decision, the G. E. B. participated actively in the development of the Pioneer Youth movement. This organization was the outgrowth of a determination to bring to the children of the workers recreational activities which would satisfy their needs and would also provide them with an enlightened working class atmosphere. It was felt that the children of workers must be made conscious of their position in society from the workers' point of view, and that activities be arranged in order to acquaint them with the social philosophy which is the basis of the labor

movement. Our G. E. B. assisted the Pioneer Youth of America morally and financially and has also decided to let this organization utilize part of the land owned by the I. L. G. W. U. in Otisville, N. Y.

Your committee heartily endorses the assistance given by our organization to this movement and recommends that the incoming G. E. B. continue to assist this organization in every possible way.

Delegate Morgenstern: At the last convention we also passed a similar resolution. We have many Jewish and Italian women who have children. The purpose of this resolution was to open a nursery to take care of these children but nothing has been done up till now.

There is a school in the City of New York, the City and Country School, that takes in children from the ages of 1 to about 12. I was there with my child but they told me there are about 200 applicants waiting to be taken in; 70 per cent of these applicants are members of our International. I believe we should do something to create a school in New York for the children of our workers.

President Sigman: We have no objection to your bringing in a resolution to that effect, but the matter before the house is something else, dealing with the Pioneer Youth movement, which was organized to combat the Boy Scout movement where the children are given impressions unfavorable to our movement.

Delegate Cohn: In answer to Sister Morgenstern, I desire to state that our last convention gave no instructions to open up a nursery for the children of our members; all that we were instructed to do was to assist in the work of the Pioneer Youth movement of America.

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

Your committee has received resolutions No. 92 and No. 152. The subject of these two resolutions is exactly the same and has been covered by our first recommendation. We therefore recommend concurrence in this resolution:

Resolution No. 98

Submitted by Anita Levitt, Local 76;
Beckie Stein, Local 69:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has conducted educational activities for eight years without permitting them to be interrupted by the various struggles and hardships that confronted it; and

WHEREAS, These activities organized by the Educational Department have been very successful in reaching thousands of our members who did not have the opportunities to gain the knowledge and training which they desired, imbuing them with devotion to their union and greater confidence in the ability of our organization to carry on various activities for the welfare of its membership; and

WHEREAS, We realize that such educational activities are of tremendous importance because they serve to strengthen the power of organized labor by enabling organized workers to use their economic strength with greater skill and intelligence, and because they enable our members to be of service to our organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we express our deep appreciation of the splendid achievements of the Educational Department of the International for the past eight years; and be it

RESOLVED, That we instruct the incoming General Executive Board to continue this admirable educational work on a larger scale, extending its activities in other directions so that they may reach and satisfy greater numbers of our members.

Resolution No. 158

Introduced by Delegates Dolnick, Merolla, Palancia, Chiarchiara, Schweitzer, Nagler, Solomon, Lipshutz, Greenberg, Resnikoff, Weiss, Fremed, Sherman, Grabher, Perlmutter, Rosenberg, Antouini, Atkin, Ralek, Gallagher, Rubinstein, Schneider, Reisberg, Lifshutz, Rudin, Sirota:

WHEREAS the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has conducted educational activities for eight years without permitting them to be interrupted by the various struggles and hardships that confronted it; and

WHEREAS these activities organized by the Educational Department have been very successful in reaching thousands of our members who did not have the opportunities to gain the knowledge and training which they desired, imbuing them with devotion to their Union and greater confidence in the ability of our organization to carry on various activities for the welfare of its membership; and

WHEREAS, we realize that such educational activities are of tremendous importance because they serve to strengthen the power of organized labor by enabling organized workers to use their economic strength with greater skill and intelligence, and because they enable our members to be of service to our organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we express our deep ap-

preciation of the splendid achievements of the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for the past eight years; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we instruct the incoming General Executive Board to continue this admirable educational work on a larger scale, extending its activities in other directions, so that they may reach and satisfy greater numbers of our members.

Delegate Rubin spoke in Yiddish. He criticized the type of lecture that the International had been conducting as being too highbrow and abstract for the members. He also accused the International of using these lecture courses as a sort of "hurrah" propaganda for the administration, and said that this explained the unpopularity of the courses given. He concluded by stating that if the courses were of a proletarian character which the workers would understand, instead of being abstract, they would be more popular with the membership.

Delegate Cohn: I remember a mayor of Chicago said about 10 years ago to a group of reporters who had been slandering him in the papers: "Slander me, accuse me of whatever you wish, but please don't ignore me." I am very thankful to Brother Rubin for the opportunity he has given me to say a few words about the Educational Department. I believe his intentions are good, but I regret that he never attended any of our classes. Anyone interested in workers' education should visit our Educational Department and read our literature and attend our classes. But perhaps Brother Rubin does not need it. He mentioned several courses that the Educational Department was conducting, when, as a matter of fact, if you look up our curricula for the past eight years, you will find that we have never had any such. He also stated we were employing teachers who had only a certain tendency. Our people have tendencies, have revolutionary ideas. You call yourselves progressives, you call yourselves radicals but we too are radicals. What we all need is enlightenment so as to be more capable of using our radicalism.

Our members need a better knowledge of economic conditions. We do not want a mutual admiration society. Our members should be capable of arguing out their ideas with people who disagree with

them. Locals 2, 9, 12, 35 and many other locals have all agreed to our educational activities as they realize that we do not utilize the classroom for any particularism. And that is why despite all difficulties, the Educational Department has been able to carry on its work. No teacher who comes to our classes is tolerated unless he agrees with the principles and sentiments of our members, in that they are fighting for a new social order. If we were to discharge tomorrow certain teachers on our faculty, the members of Local 9 would mob us. I am glad, Mr. Chairman, that Brother Rubin brought up this question because possibly many of our members were doubtful as to what we are doing. We welcome criticism and suggestions, but those who criticize must have a foundation for their criticism.

Delegate Yanisky: I am in favor of Workers' Education. I am in favor of the budget for workers' education; but when we speak of workers' education we have to bear in mind what sort of education we want and what we want it for. I think Fannia Cohn has stated here that we haven't any partiality for one side or the other, that we are trying to be impartial. I think that if our workers' education were to be impartial it would be the greatest crime we could commit. Fannia Cohn, I am glad to say, was not, however, altogether impartial. When we speak of workers' education we must bear in mind that we shouldn't try to only intellectualize our workers; what we want is to bring the message of unionism to the great masses of our workers. The Workers' University, I have noticed, has a group of girls and men who attend its classes, but who do not seem to take a very great interest in them. I have spoken to some of the teachers and they said that at the beginning the classes are very well attended, but as the end of the term approaches, there are only ten or five, or even two left. First of all, the subjects that are taught, are, in my opinion too intellectual. History is taught, the history of civilization, the politics of the union. If you are really interested in bringing all the points to the worker, you should bring down Olgin, and others. I believe workers' education should be carried on primarily for one purpose: for mass education and

not for small group education. When mass education is very well developed, then you can give the individual members who desire it the higher and more technical education, the subjects that they want. But you cannot have workers who work a whole day and a whole week come in on a Saturday morning and listen to a dry lecture and have them concentrate on it. You cannot inspire them properly and have them take it up seriously. If you are to carry on educational work that is really worth while, we will have to make it a mass educational movement, and not a small group educational movement. We want to have open forums, which I think will bring about a much better result and will instill much more interest. Therefore, I say that the convention should go on record to have mass education and mass education only, and that classes for the few should not be encouraged any longer, that we should encourage the open forum.

Delegate Hochman: Some delegate got up and advanced an argument against workers' education on the ground that we teach biology. I would like to have him find a school that doesn't teach biology. As a matter of fact, it is a very important and fundamental subject. Any student who wants a thorough knowledge of sociology and who wants to have a real understanding of the Labor movement, must have a general understanding of biology and evolution and everything that that implies. However, I think that Sister Yanisky has given some very constructive criticism.

The question of workers' education is a very complicated one. The whole movement, we may say, is yet in its infancy, particularly in this country. Even in England, where the movement is much older than in this country, where they have practically been the pioneers in workers' education, there are still many differences of opinion on the subject, and there is a constant fight going on in the Workers' Educational Association. We must realize first of all that we are a trade union, and if we give education to our members it must be primarily an education on trade unionism. When it comes to the specialized subjects, you will find, for instance, that the Social-

ists have their own school in the City of New York and the Workers' Party has its school in the City of New York, and anyone who wants to hear Olgin knows where to go, and anyone who wants to hear Lee knows where to go. Certainly, when you say that the workers' educational movement isn't partial, and you immediately suggest that Olgin teach there, you don't mean that this will make it impartial. The Educational Department has been criticized for giving so-called scholastic education. I don't know how Brother Rubin knows what education they give, but he says it is a scholastic education. However, our workers seem to be attracted to that kind of education more than to any other. You will find that the members that do go to our schools attend more eagerly a class in literature than a class in economics, and they would rather have a professor who has an acknowledged reputation than one who hasn't a reputation. On the question of mass education: while I believe in mass education—which, by the way is no education at all—you know very well that you cannot teach masses, you cannot teach people at a mass meeting. The main object of such an education, in my opinion, should be to bring our masses nearer to the leadership of our union under the inspiration of speeches conducive to such purposes. In so far as the Workers University is concerned, I have also been a student at this school, and unlike Brother Rubin, I have attended the classes, and I believe it has been trying to do its very best to accomplish its purpose. I believe that when you look over the curriculum you will find that it is of such a general nature that most of our members will find what they need and want. But, we are yet in an experimental stage, and I think we may feel proud of the fact that we have been the pioneers in this system of education and I hope that we shall further continue with the Manumit School and do all in our power to give our members a better education.

Previous question is called for and carried.

Delegate Hyman: Permit me to ask a question of the chairman of the Educational Committee. I want to know

whether there is such a thing as an impartial science that is fair to economics and sociology, whether we can consider science of this kind as being impartial?

Delegate Fannia Cohn: Sister Yanisky, I didn't say that we are impartial. I said that we try not to bring in or advocate one social philosophy, believing that our members believe in different "isms", and we say that no teacher can come into our school unless he is in favor of the labor movement and is in sympathy with our union.

President Sigman: Delegate Molly Friedman, the secretary of the committee, is now recognized.

Delegate Friedman: I will take only a few minutes in explaining a part of the report of the committee. There were various opinion expressed here with which I agree wholeheartedly. First, that educational work is but an experiment. One of my fellow-students in the Workers' University and the Unity Centers asked how long does an experiment last, — isn't eight years enough? Let me tell you that some experiments last a hundred years, and yet they do not carry out their purpose. I say that the report of the committee should be approved for the reason that there is a great necessity for workers' education. Workers' education may include a multitude of things, and when we read the report, I am gratified to see that every year and every convention the report is growing larger, not only in the number of pages, but in the number of suggestions. What are the subjects that are being taught in our classes? We find some of them mentioned on page 160 of the report of the General Executive Board: "Trade Union Policies and Tactics; Current Labor Problems; Economic Problems of Working Women; Women's Place in the Labor Movement; Labor Situations and the Basic Industries; The Place of Workers in History; A Social Study of Literature; The Development of Industry in Trade Union Movement." And then it goes on, dealing with every subject of which Labor is the backbone, a study of the position we have in the social order of today. As far as the question of a partial or impartial science is concerned, when Sister Yanisky wants

certain facts, she goes for them to Brookwood, and when she wants other facts, I am sure she would go for them to Columbia University. I say that for an experimental school, we are doing pretty well. I am also a great believer in mass education. Mass activity and mass education, I agree with Brother Hochman, cannot be scholarly or specializing. They can be of a propaganda nature and can be used, and should be used, for the purpose of bringing the workers nearer to the organization socially, and incidentally, to get an idea across.

How does the Y. W. C. A. keep so near its fold hundreds of thousands of young American girls? You will find that they come into the shops and they are getting control of those young girls with the aid of the employers, of course, who are the backers of that organization and who dictate its policies. How do they do it? I was interested enough to find out. They just give them the social life which they do not find outside the Y. W. C. A. or inside their homes, I thought it would be most advisable for us to do the same thing. We are confronted with an element in our industry that craves for social life. They don't have it in their homes, and instead of letting them go outside of the Union to get it, I believe it would be most advisable for us to create a social centre inside the union so that they will stay inside the union and get their social life there instead of looking for it outside. So, if we can, in our mass education, bring these workers nearer to the Union, I certainly favor this very much.

When it comes to the question whether we ought to study psychology or other subjects on this side, I say that they are just as important as the subjects that we may give in mass-education. There are a number of subjects, of course, that should be eliminated, but as a whole, the program proposed is constructive. I believe that this convention should adopt and encourage the work wherever it is good and discourage it wherever it is bad, and see to it that a larger number of our members utilize it, so that when we come to the next convention, we will have considerably more constructive criticism and suggestions to offer for im-

proving it. Incidentally I would suggest that some of the members go to the classes and find out what they are all about instead of coming here and criticizing without knowing anything about them.

President Sigman: We will now vote on this resolution of the Committee's report.

Upon being put to a vote, the resolution of the Committee was approved.

Delegate Wander, chairman of the Committee continued the reading of the Committee's report as follows:

Your committee has received resolution No. 99, submitted by the delegates of Local 80, Brothers Morabito and Micell. Brother Morabito appeared before the committee and explained the purpose of the resolution and its intent, namely, that our educational department shall assist our members in becoming naturalized citizens of this country. Your committee recommends the adoption of this recommendation:

Resolution No. 99

Submitted by Local 80, Joseph A. Morabito, chairman; Salvatore Micell, secretary:

WHEREAS, Our International has grown in the economic field second to none in the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, We must struggle and present a solid front to obtain a foothold in the political field in order to protect and ameliorate our present position in the economic field; and

WHEREAS, At present the majority of the membership of our International are not citizens of this country, and are not equipped with the ballot, and cannot exercise their rights of citizenship; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Convention of our International, assembled in Philadelphia, Pa., request the incoming General Executive Board to render all assistance possible to its affiliated locals, and request that the membership of our organization become Americanized; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention be instructed to introduce a resolution at the annual meeting that every worker must be in a position to fully exercise his political rights.

Your committee has received resolution No. 156, introduced by Sister Fannia Cohn of Local 34. We recommend concurrence in this resolution.

Resolution No. 156

Introduced by Fannia Cohn of Local 34.

WHEREAS, in accordance with the direction of previous conventions our Union published "The Women's Garment Workers" written by Louis Levine, which attracted a great deal of attention in America and Europe because of its scholarship and general excellence; and

WHEREAS, this book is a dramatic story of the struggles, successes and achievements of the men and women who made our union what it is today; and

WHEREAS, a large number of our members are deprived of the joy and inspiration which follows the reading of this book because they are not sufficiently acquainted with the English language to read and understand it; and

WHEREAS, we feel that every member of our union should be given an opportunity to read this inspiring book; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we urge the incoming General Executive Board to publish in our official organs a Yiddish and Italian translation of Dr. Levine's "The Women's Garment Workers."

Resolution No. 157

Introduced by Fannia M. Cohn for Local 34.

WHEREAS, Manumit School has been arranged especially as an experimental school where children of workers can benefit by most modern methods of education; and

WHEREAS, we are deeply interested not only in our economic welfare but also in providing the best spiritual environment for ourselves and our children; and

WHEREAS, it has been the policy of the I. L. G. W. U. to assist all experiments designed to provide our children with whatever will develop them into fine men and women devoted to the cause of labor; and

WHEREAS, the Manumit School is controlled by an executive board, which consists of representatives of organized labor as well as prominent educators; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we urge the incoming General Executive Board to continue our cooperation with the Manumit School and give it moral and financial support.

In conclusion your committee desires to express our gratitude to the Board of Education of the City of New York for the cooperation which it has offered to the educational committee of our International by assigning the very best teachers on its staff to conduct the classes, and for giving us the use of the school buildings wherever such buildings were required. We also express our gratitude and appreciation to the teachers who are not only employed by the Board of Education, but to all those who take such whole-hearted interest in our educational

work and are instructing the classes in such splendid spirit of cooperation and understanding. Your committee wishes also to express its thanks to Dr. George M. Price, the director of the Union Health Center, for organizing and carrying out a series of health lectures in New York City. Your committee appreciates the efforts of the educational committee, and especially of the secretary, Fannia M. Cohn, to carry out the educational program of our organization. We realize that without the generous efforts of the committee and its secretary, Sister Fannia Cohn, the work of education in the labor movement in general and in our organization in particular would not have made the progress that it has made in the past eight years.

Fraternally submitted,

Committee on Education for Adults and Recreation for Workers' Children.

Harry Wander, Chairman.
Molly Friedman, Secretary.
R. Esposito
Gladys Manuel
Pola Delmonaco
F. Rosnikoff
C. Morgan
Dora Friedman
Anna Radostl
Ella Kelcke

Delegate Wander: I move the adoption of the report.

This motion was duly seconded, and upon being put to a vote, was carried and the report of the Committee approved.

President Sigman: The Resolutions' Committee will now continue its report.

Secretary Hochman of the Resolutions Committee continued the reading of the Committee's report as follows:

Registration of Aliens

Your committee has received Resolution No. 178, introduced by Delegate Sol Polakoff, which reads:

Resolution No. 178

WHEREAS, an active campaign is now being waged under the leadership of the Secretary of Labor, Mr. James J. Davis, and Congressman Johnson the chairman of the Congressional Committee on Immigration for the passage of a law providing for the registration of aliens,

WHEREAS, this law proposes such methods of identification as finger printing and photography for the foreign born, methods now being employed to identify criminals, and law breakers,

WHEREAS, these methods will be employed in cases of deportation resulting from strike activities and loss of naturalization papers for participation in strikes,

WHEREAS, the passage of such law violates the time honored American tradition of freedom,

WHEREAS, such a law will introduce into our country methods of espionage and oppression associated with Czaristic tyranny in Russia but abhorrent to freedom loving Americans,

WHEREAS, such a law imposes such absolute power upon the administrative bureaus of the government as to lead to its abuse, with its attendant evils of corruption,

WHEREAS, the result of this law is to discriminate against foreign born workers and to make it impossible for them to participate in the struggle of foreign born workers against the open shop, and for American standards of living, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this convention register its strong opposition to the passage of such law, and that it instructs the G. E. U. to join in the campaigning for the protection of the foreign born workers, and be it further

RESOLVED that our delegates to the coming convention of the A. F. of L. stand instructed to introduce a resolution expressing our opposition to such laws, and to speak and vote for it.

The last Resolve of this resolution which reads:

RESOLVED that our delegates to the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to introduce a resolution expressing our opposition to such laws, and to speak for it.

seems to your committee to be superfluous, for the American Federation of Labor, at the 45th annual convention held in Atlantic City, N. J., from October 5 to 16, 1925, took up this matter.

We deem it advisable to inform this convention as to the exact nature of this particular subject and the stand of the American Federation of Labor upon it. The report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at the 45th annual convention reads as follows:

Registration of Aliens

A bill for the registration and finger printing of the 8,000,000 aliens now in the United States and all who come hereafter was in-

troduced in the last session of the sixty-eighth congress by Representative Ansell of Louisiana.

No action was taken upon it but it will be pressed in the next congress. The bill is based on pre-war German laws. Besides registering and being finger-printed all these aliens must register every year for five years. They pay a fee of \$10 when first registering and \$5 at the time of each of the other registrations.

Here are some of the provisions of the bill which are so objectionable that it is impossible to believe any American would sponsor such an un-American measure:

If an alien leaves the district in which he is registered, "he shall report at such times and places and give such information in regard to his movements as may be required by regulation."

Each registration of identification shall contain a photograph of the alien, his finger prints and other information.

If the alien is arrested or convicted for any offense such cases must be entered on the registration certificate.

In an emergency the President, in the interest of national defense may by proclamation require all or any part of the aliens registered to report at such time and places as he shall designate.

Whenever an alien changes his name or his physical appearance is changed materially, he must report it to the post office in the district in which he is registered.

Keepers of hotels, lodging houses or boarding houses must report any alien in their employ and in the case of new guests, lodgers or employees a report must be made within twelve hours after their arrival. This applies to corporations, partnerships and other associations as well as individuals.

An inspector may enter any place in which he has reason to believe an alien is present and demand of any person any information necessary to carry out the provisions of the act and to arrest or detain any person who refuses him entry or refuses to give such information.

If the alien after registering for five years can read, write and speak the English language understandingly and has complied in all other respects with the naturalization laws he can be admitted to citizenship.

Some of those who are supporting the measure contend that it shall include all persons in the United States. The law does not apply solely to adults as the bill provides that all aliens under sixteen years of age may be registered by their parent or guardians, but upon reaching the age of 16 years they shall register in person.

Protests were filed by the American Federation of Labor and no action was taken on the bill.

The report of the committee on legislation to which this matter was referred and which is recorded on page 169 of the proceedings of the 45th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor reads:

Registration of Aliens

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption page 46, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee heartily recommends the Executive Council for having so sharply and pertinently called public attention to this highly obnoxious measure which would if enacted into law, mean the adoption by our government of the spying practices of private detective agencies.

The potential danger of the principle embodied in this bill is very great. It has all the elements of a strike-crushing, union-breaking proposal.

It is inconceivable that the American Congress will seriously consider legalizing an elaborate system of espionage such as this measure contemplates; nevertheless we earnestly urge upon the Executive Council a continuation of its opposition so that this dangerous proposition, anti-union and anti-American principle, will not be written into law.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee is of the opinion that the expression of the American Federation of Labor on this matter is very clear and definite and therefore recommends that this convention adopt this expression on the question of registration of aliens and recommends concurrence in the above resolution.

The recommendation was carried unanimously.

Deportation of Aliens

Your committee has received no resolution dealing with the attempts to introduce laws in the Congress of the United States dealing with the question of deportation of aliens.

Your committee therefore desires at this time to call the attention of the convention to the expression given by the last convention of the American Federation of Labor which is to be found on page 169 of these proceedings. This expression reads as follows:

Deportation of Aliens

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 50, the committee reported as follows:

As the Executive Council points out bills of this kind are potentially dangerous because they can be frequently used by hostile interests to the injury and disadvantage of the labor movement.

We recommend that the Executive Council maintain its policy of watchful vigilance to defeat any measures of this kind that may be presented to the 20th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee recommends that the above be adopted as the expression of our convention on the question of deportation of aliens.

Recommendation of committee unanimously carried.

Recognition of Soviet Russia

Your committee has received the following resolutions No. 40, 41, 42, 43 and 168, dealing with the question of recognition of Soviet Russia:

Resolution No. 40

Submitted by Local 5; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, despite all the attacks from outside and counter-revolutionaries, supported and fostered by the exploiters from the inside, the workers have their power; and

WHEREAS, Soviet Russia has become a vital factor in world economy; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we favor the recognition of the government of Soviet Russia by the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, that our International at its convention elect a delegation representing all shades of opinion to study conditions under the Workers' Government and report their findings to us upon their return.

Resolution No. 41

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, the workers of Russia have overthrown Czarist autocracy and have established a government of their own class; and

WHEREAS, despite all the attack from outside and counter-revolutionaries, supported and fostered by the exploiters from the inside, the workers have maintained their power; and

WHEREAS, Soviet Russia has become a vital factor in world economy; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we favor the recognition of the Government of Soviet Russia by the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED that our International at its convention elect a delegation representing all shades of opinion to study conditions under the workers' government and report their findings to us upon their return.

Resolution No. 42

Submitted by Local 56. M. Shapiro, Chairman; Wolf Viner, Secretary:

WHEREAS, the workers and peasants of Russia succeeded in getting control of the government of that vast country, and are striving for the first time in history to establish a new order under which the toiling masses will get the full product of their labor; and

WHEREAS, we, the workers of America are

vitality interested in the success or failure of this colossal experiment; and

WHEREAS, the capitalist press of America keeps the workers misinformed about real conditions in Russia, and even our own press has to rely on capitalist news agencies for information about Russia; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Incoming General Executive Board be instructed to take the initiative in calling a conference of the needle trades unions for the purpose of sending a delegation to Russia, to find out about the real conditions of the workers in that country and report its findings to the large membership; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the majority of this delegation shall consist of workers from the shops; and be it also

RESOLVED, that this convention instruct its delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to introduce this resolution and try to see that it is carried through.

Resolution No. 43

Introduced by I. Steinsor, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; P. Starkopf, of Local 26; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; G. Halpern, of Local 66; B. Helfand and J. Krooglick, of Local 62; Sam Saraff, of Local 20; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; J. Melsack, of Local 13. A. Weisman, of Local 104; P. Hauser, of Local 100; D. Wishnysky, of Local 38; V. Milotsky, of Local 41; S. Domblatt, of Local 3; Sarah Hurwitz, of Local 46;

WHEREAS, the Russian Soviet Government has withstood, for almost eight years, all the attacks launched against it from the enemies within its own boundaries, as well as from the organized capitalist governments of the world, hostile to it and constantly carrying on fresh forms of struggle against it, and has demonstrated by its successful resistance that it has the support of the masses of Russian workers and farmers; and

WHEREAS, the delegation of the British trade unions to Russia has just published an extensive report pointing out the tremendous strides forward being made by the workers and peasants of Russia with their newly established society, and giving definite proof that while the workers of the rest of the world are suffering from a declining standard of living, those in Russia are constantly improving their standards of life and living; and

WHEREAS, the government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is a government of workers and peasants which is fighting the battles of the workers and peasants against the system of exploitation; and

WHEREAS, many European governments, in spite of their bitter opposition to the Soviet system of society, have been compelled to open diplomatic and commercial relations with the Russian government; and

WHEREAS, the present administration at Washington, D. C., has thus far failed to recognize Soviet Russia, thereby greatly injuring that country as well as the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that The Eighteenth Conven-

tion of the International declares its sympathy and support of the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and in favor of its full recognition, and for the establishment of full diplomatic and commercial relations between the United States and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we participate in the movement to send a trade union delegation to Soviet Russia.

Resolution No. 168

Introduced by Delegates of Local 26, 27, 37 and 42.

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.

All the above resolutions are primarily concerned with the recognition of Soviet Russia. Some of these resolutions deal also with the question of the sending of a delegation to Soviet Russia. We shall therefore divide these resolutions into two parts, and in so far as the question of recognition of Soviet Russia is concerned, your committee recommends that Resolution No. 163 reading as follows, be a substitute for all the above resolutions on the question of recognition of Soviet Russia, and recommends the adoption of this resolution by the convention:

Resolution No. 168

Introduced by Delegates of Locals 26, 27, 37 and 42.

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.

In so far as the sending of a delega-

tion is concerned, the last Resolve of Resolution No. 40 reads:

RESOLVED, that our International at its convention elect a delegation representing all shades of opinion to study conditions under the Workers' Government and report their findings to us upon their return.

The last Resolve of Resolution No. 41 reads:

FURTHER RESOLVED, that our International at its convention elect a delegation representing all shades of opinion to study conditions under the workers' government and report their findings to us upon their return.

The first and second Resolve of Resolution No. 42 reads:

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to take the initiative in calling a conference of the needle trades unions for the purpose of sending a delegation to Russia, to find out about the real conditions of the workers in that country and report its findings to the large membership; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the majority of this delegation shall consist of workers from the shops;

And the last Resolve of Resolution No. 43 reads:

RESOLVED, that we participate in the movement to send a trade union delegation to Soviet Russia.

You can see from the reading of these Resolves, dealing with the sending of a delegation to Soviet Russia, that the primary object of the sending of such a delegation is for the purpose of studying the conditions of the United Socialist Soviet Republics and reporting upon the findings. The primary object of such an investigation, according to our understanding, is for the purpose of helping to bring about a recognition of the Soviet Government by the Government of the United States.

In so far as the recommendation of the committee is that this convention demand that the Government of the United States give immediate and complete recognition to the United Socialist Soviet Republics, we cannot see the advisability of this convention sending any special committee to Russia.

But in so far as there is a movement on foot for the purpose of sending a delegation to Russia representing the labor movement of the United States, your committee is of the opinion that we empower

the General Executive Board that when steps for the sending of such a delegation are taken and the General Executive Board finds that such delegation is really representative of the organized labor movement of the United States, the General Executive Board is to participate in such a delegation.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Delegate Wortis: I believe that the report of this resolution characterizes the spirit of the majority of this convention. I believe that, in dealing with the question of Soviet Russia, we, as members of the working class, must not adopt a humanitarian attitude and call on the Government of the U. S. to recognize Russia for humanitarian reasons. We should demand the recognition of Soviet Russia because it is a government of the workers.

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously, amidst applause.

Delegate Hochman: Your committee does not demand that the American Government recognize Soviet Russia on humanitarian grounds. Your committee thinks that it is an expression of the citizenship that we represent here, and we demand—we do not ask or beg—we demand that the U. S. government recognize Soviet Russia.

Delegate Hochman continued to read the report of the Resolutions Committee:

Release of Political Prisoners

Your committee has received Resolution No. 166 dealing with the question of political prisoners in various countries which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 166

Introduced by Cleveland Delegates:

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'

German Workers' Union assembled in the 18th biennial convention in the City of Philadelphia, solemnly protests against the policies of persecution and imprisonment for political opinions and beliefs, and jointly with all the labor movements all over the world demands the release of such political prisoners in all countries where such conditions exist.

Your committee recommends adoption of the above resolution.

Delegate Wise: I am opposed to the recommendation of the committee to include the so-called political prisoners of Soviet Russia for the reason that they are counter-revolutionists. There are no men and women in Russia in prison for their political opinions. They are people who have participated in counter-revolutions against Soviet Russia. It is these men and women who made an attack upon the greatest leader of the working class in this century, Lenin (applause). As a result of it he died. It is these men and women who had received money from the Allies to do this counter-revolutionary work. It is interesting to know what the British Trade Union delegation visiting Soviet Russia has to say on this subject: (Delegate Wise quoted from page 48 of the report called "Russia Today.") as follows:

"The delegation, concerned as it was with restoring friendly relations between the British and Russian peoples, lost no opportunity in putting before those in authority the advantages that would accrue abroad to the present regime from a generous amnesty. It found an appreciation of its arguments, but an apprehension lest such clemency might lead to further bloodshed. It was given an opportunity of a free conversation with the most dangerous opponents of the present government now in prison—the Social Revolutionary leaders condemned to death two years ago and since then confined in Boutirka. The conversation was held with the prisoners in a body in the corridor to which their room opened and not within the hearing of any government official. It was evident from it that the prisoners would reject release on any condition restricting their future liberty of action.

"But the delegation did not feel, in the circumstances, that it could take the serious responsibility of pressing for the release of such irreconcilables.

Reign of Terror

"As to the persistent assertions in the press that the present regime in Russia is a 'reign of terror', the delegation would wish to put on record its conviction that this could not be honestly believed by any unprejudiced person travelling within the Union and talking to its citizens."

Delegate Wishevsky: It is interesting to note the attitude of some delegates on the question of political prisoners, especially those who have created political prisoners within the Union, in the last few years. What tender hearts you have for the political prisoners in Soviet Russia! When a man reports in favor of Soviet Russia, you call him a Communist. He ceases to be a plain unionist. No one in Soviet Russia is imprisoned for his political beliefs. They are people who have made holy alliances with the enemies of Soviet Russia.

Delegate Rubin spoke in Yiddish. He denied vehemently that there were any political prisoners in Russia, claiming that those prisoners in Russia were criminals and counter-revolutionists.

Delegate Krausman: I amend the resolution of the committee to eliminate the word Russia in the second Whereas, and in the last Resolved change it to read "the release of such political prisoners in all capitalistic countries".

It seems to me that as a body composed of working men, founded upon the principle of the abolition of the capitalist system, we should make a distinction between working-class Russia and capitalist Russia. (Applause). When the World War began and hundreds of thousands and millions of workers were thrown into the struggle to compete for capitalistic, mercenary objects, there was no hope. All the Socialists of every country lost their heritage, and were overwhelmed by the propaganda of the capitalist nations, and betrayed each other. There was no hope; and then out of chaos suddenly emerged a kindling flame which is shedding its light all over the world and that flame is Soviet Russia (applause). When I look at Russia and see the Red Army defending 130 million workers against the capitalists of the

world, I say she is deserving of our support. From the standpoint of the proletariat, from the class-conscious standpoint, we cannot help but make a distinction between the prisoners in Russia and those in other countries. Do you mean to tell me that 600,000 Communists are capable of deceiving 120 million people? It cannot be, it is not so. Those who are not in prison today are not there because of their opinions of the traitors who want to maintain capitalism and overthrow the Soviet Government. We cannot recognize the demand that the political prisoners of Soviet Russia are in the same category as the political prisoners of Mussolini, and the rest of the gang. I therefore am opposed to the alignment of capitalist countries on one side and Soviet Russia on the other, which is the only light shedding a glow and giving courage to the working class the world over (applause).

Delegate Kritzer spoke in Yiddish. He claimed that the prisoners in Russia were counter-revolutionists, and urged the adoption of Delegate Krausman's amendment.

Delegate Antonini: I cannot understand the attitude of those who deny that there are any political prisoners in Russia. I can understand that there are counter-revolutionists in jail in Russia, but why should anarchists be classified with them? Even the so-called yellow Socialists cannot be accused of working in cooperation with the bourgeoisie. These delegates are not consistent, they claim not to be members of the Workers' Party, and yet they come out with such arguments. They should join the Workers' Party and pay dues (laughter).

A statement was made. How can 600,000 members of the Communist Party rule 130 million population of Russia against their will? Several years ago I would not have believed this possible, but today in Italy, there are two hundred thousand Fascists who have put down 40 million people. I claim that every revolution is entitled to defend itself. At the beginning, when the Soviet Government was first established, there might have been some excuses for imprisoning these people for their opinions, but today, with Russia on a firm foundation, entering

into diplomatic and commercial relations with practically every other country except the United States,—they have even made a treaty with Mussolini and have a commercial attache in Rome, and their ambassador Tchitcherlin called on the king and shook hands with him—quite a revolutionary act — I say that to keep these people in prison now is a crime and you are simply camouflaging by opposing it.

Delegate Hochman: We have turned this discussion into a general discussion on Russia. If the pressure of time were not so great, I could easily prove that some of our over-anxious delegates are claiming for Russia a great deal more than the Government of Russia claims for itself (applause). But I will confine myself to the subject before the house: the release of political prisoners in every country. By political prisoners, we do not mean anybody except those who have been imprisoned for giving expression to their beliefs and opinions in a legal and open and honest way. People have stood up here and told us that there are no such people as political prisoners in Russia, and some of them have quoted documents. Not wanting to make a passionate speech I am forced also to quote documents, I have here a book just issued entitled "Letters from Russian Prisoners" and the people who sponsor this book are very well known to you: they are the Friends of Soviet Russia whom you all know to be impartial. Out of 40 of the most prominent people of this country who indorse these documents as being absolutely genuine are such men as Roger N. Baldwin, Clarence Darrow, Norman Hapgood, John Haynes Holmes, your own lawyer, Louis B. Boudin, Eugene V. Debs (applause), etc.

In the introduction of this book, it is stated:

Russia presents the unique spectacle of a revolutionary government based on working-class and peasant power imprisoning and exiling its political opponents in other revolutionary parties. Old comrades in the struggle to overthrow the Tsar, who served terms together in exile and prison are now split into hostile camps. The Bolsheviks in power send

again to a new exile and prison their former comrades in suffering under the Tsar.

It further says:

We have tried to exclude all references to prisoners who joined active counter-revolutionary movements of violence, as did a considerable number of those in the revolutionary parties opposed to the Soviet Government.

Here I will read you some of the documents. This is from a letter written by P. They don't dare give their names for obvious reasons.

From a Letter Written by P.
From Troitzk, 1924:

... A student, sent out from Moscow, has lately committed suicide, while a few days ago a 30-year fellow, who had left this place a short time ago shot himself. ... Had we had statistics, what a number of such victims of reaction could be counted over the length and breadth of the "Socialist" fatherland. I can just imagine the picture of a landslide in a mine in which workmen become asphyxiated, being cut off from the outside air. And now one, now another, out of despair, would kill himself, having no strength to await either salvation or inevitable death. ...

Here is another letter dated April, 1924, and I am using the latest letters:

Here are methods by which the "socialist wardens" fight against hunger-strikes: The Anarchists Prushtshuk, Kolossoff, Korotkoff and Lobe declared, at the end of November 192, a hunger-strike, demanding their release. After a few days' hunger-strike, the authorities of the House of Preliminary Detention transferred them to the Hansa Infirmary to be forcibly fed. They were placed there in a ward with a temperature at freezing point. With a view, no doubt, of increasing the sufferings of other hunger-strikers through the cold, all their clothes were taken away from them in spite of their protests and they were given, in exchange some underclothing and a thin blanket. It was so cold that the Anarchists arranged themselves in

twos and used the mattresses as blankets; but even this could not warm them. In addition, the co-inmates of this ward were syphilitics and suffered from other infectious diseases.

Here is another sweet little statement:

There were old men, women, youths. There were sick persons, insane people. There were almost children. ... Never were any of them permitted to speak their last word of good-bye. From the Communist point of view this was a "bourgeois prejudice." The Communists, of course, must not copy the methods of Tzarism.

And here is a document on Page 182 of this book of a massacre, signed by about 233 revolutionaries:

The Massacre (Summer of 1924)

Dear Comrades:

We, socialists, prisoners of the Bolshevik Government, thrown without trial into the Soviet concentration camp on the Solovetz Islands, cut off by the ice flows of the White Sea from the living world, appeal to you, socialists and leaders of the world's labor movement. We address ourselves to you in order to convey through you to the workers and socialists of the whole world the story of the unexampled bloody tragedy which was enacted on December 19, 1923, on the Solovetz Islands, and the truth of which the Bolshevik Government should like to conceal but shall not conceal from the workers of Russia, Europe and America.

It was not by accident that the northern camps were turned into prisons for socialists and anarchists. The past of these camps was well known to Moscow. They acquired their tradition in the circumstances of the civil war in the North, in the days of wholesale executions and the arbitrary rule of unbridled punitive expeditions dispatched especially to establish the communist power in the North. Here the Government sent thousands of prisoners condemned to inhuman torture, bloody punishment and shooting en masse. Thousands of Tambov peasants and Kronstadt sailors were exiled here for extermination.

And it was here to the northern concentration camps that the Government began to exile its most dangerous enemies—the socialists and anarchists.

Alongside of us are thousands of criminals, condemned to compulsory servitude, exhausted by hard, unbearable labor, subjected continuously to cruel torture, beating, and even murder at the hands of the uncontrolled, all-powerful administration which is afraid of nothing and no one.

We are under an administration composed, from the bottom to the top, with rare exceptions, of criminal elements who were sent to the Solovetz Islands to serve sentences for crime and who became here the masters of the lives and deaths of thousands of people, exulting their old crimes and winning pardon for themselves at the price of cruelty, inhumanity, and new crimes.

In the name of socialism we protest before the world proletariat against the policy of bloody terror being perpetrated on the socialists of Russia.

And we know, our protest will find a fraternal response in the heart of every honest workman, of every socialist.

(Signed) Socialist Community of the Savvatievo Cloister:

1. Group of Socialist Revolutionists.
2. Group of Social-Democrats.
3. Group of Left Socialist-Revolutionists.

Added signatures:

1. Social-Democratic Community of the Muksolm Cloister
2. Group of Socialist-Revolutionists.
3. Group of Left Socialist-Revolutionists.
4. Group of Social-Democrats in the Solovetz Kremlin.

The names of 233 imprisoned Socialists, Social Revolutionists and Anarchists on the Solovetz Island follow.

Here are a few excerpts from letters written by political prisoners:

Sokoloff (workman, tiler in the factory formerly known as "Retchkin", Anarchist from 1917; had lately spent two years in the Moscow concentration camp for distributing Anarchist literature) sentenced to exile to his native village for two years.

Mollie Steimer (since 1914 in the revolutionary movement; Anarchist since 1918, was, as such, arrested in New York; in 1918, was sentenced by an American court to 15 years' imprisonment for protesting against intervention in Soviet Russia; arrested twice by the Bolsheviks: (1) for helping the imprisoned Anarchists and for corresponding with comrades abroad, (2) for Anarchist propaganda, sentenced to be deported.

And here are extracts from a letter of a Communist to G. Miasnikov, one of the oldest members of the Russian Communist Party:

After having been imprisoned in Moscow for 20 days, I declared a hunger-strike in order to force a formal indictment and open court proceedings against me, or to secure my liberation. On the tenth day of my hunger-strike (which began on June 1, 1924) the "G. P. U." Commission attempted to subject me to forcible feeding. Everyone familiar with our revolutionary traditions knows how determinedly we always condemned and resisted the attempt to terminate a hunger-strike by force. Even Russian Tsarism resorted to such methods only on very rare occasions.

Only recently the "Pravda" characterized such treatment in Poland as a most barbarous and outrageous procedure. But that seems to refer only to the Polish bourgeoisie. When applied, however, in Tomsk it is not an outrage but the flower of proletarian communist culture.

Twice I resisted the attempt to feed me forcibly. I continued my hunger-strike—and then the Tomsk prison authorities and the local "G. P. U." acted in a manner that transcends anything done by the Polish executioners and sets a fine example for the Fascists of the whole world. On the thirteenth day of my hunger-strike, at 2 o'clock at night, they broke

into my cell where I lay unconscious, dragged me out of bed, and brought me to an insane asylum.

Indeed, such proceedings are not practiced even by the Fascisti of Poland. They have not gone that far yet, but here the motto is: Whoever protests is crazy and belongs to the insane. Particularly when he is of the working class and has been a Communist for 20 years. The Fascisti do not seem ripe yet for this kind of proletarian ethics.

It is obvious that these tactics are intended to stifle all political opposition. They brought me to Tomsk in order to hide their dark deeds . . . Vasslov, the chairman of the local court, declared to me: "If we were to act legally, we would have to release you, because your imprisonment is illegal." And another representative of the government, Mestcheriakov, sought to persuade me: "Recant! Say that you are sorry. It depends upon yourself whether you will be released or remain here."

When my revolutionary proletarian past, origin, and activities are considered, I am treated more cruelly than any of the counter-revolutionists and common criminals in the whole Tomsk prison. No one is permitted to speak to me, neither prisoners, wardens, nor keepers. Every counter-revolutionist is permitted to have relations with the outer world, but to me it is forbidden. . . . My wife and three children, the oldest of whom is four years of age, are in administrative exile. Her crime is more serious than mine, for she is my wife. And the babies are exiled too, because they are my children. . . .

Tomsk Prison, 1924. G. Misaanikov.

These letters have been submitted to a large number of outstanding intellectuals and leaders in the world of literature and art, and here is what some of them have to say about conditions in Russia and about political prisoners. Here is an extract from a letter from Georg Brandes, a great literary man and critic:

While reading Madame Emma Goldman's book and the letters of the Russian prisoners, I noted without astonishment

but with deep indignation that the Russian revolution had bettered nothing. Cruelty and contempt for right to liberty have remained the same. It has taken a century to break the arbitrary power of the Czars. That has been accomplished and in place of this power there is another, just as stupid and cowardly, a thousand times more hypocritical.

Will anything come of your efforts? It is for intelligent and bighearted Russians to make answer.

Georg Brandes.

Here is a letter from Capek, the celebrated author of R. U. R.

Do you who organize or carry on terrorism against human souls, have any belief in the soul, in conscience, in something which is good and wonderful in mankind? If you do not believe in these things then you have no right to be a people's rulers; if you believe in any moral order, and if, despite that, you continue to act in such a manner as appears from the weighty and desperate testimony given by these martyred people, then woe be unto you; for you have betrayed man in his historic struggle against brutal statism. You say that the world's bourgeoisie is against you; but a greater force than that is opposed to you, the conscience of the world is against you. And conscience is, and will be, more and more, a political and international factor; you have defeated your own cause by depriving yourselves of this ally.

KARL CAPEK.

Let me make a little review and conclude my remarks. It is not a question of people who have committed any crime, or of organizing counter-revolutionary movements, but of people who have dared to speak and write their convictions and distribute their literature. As Antonini said, eight years ago, or six years ago, when the Russian Government was not so certain of its power and control in Russia, it might have been all right to imprison these men, but today after they have celebrated the 8th anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the Russian Government is safe and solid and there is no power that can overthrow it,

Is there any reason why these men and women who worked together with them, who have spent years in prison and exile together with the Communists and have tilled the soil that made possible the revolution in Russia—is there any reason why they should continue in prison at the present time for their beliefs and the expression of their beliefs? If our friends are really friends of Soviet Russia, they should be the first ones to bring pressure upon the Russian Government to release these people, especially after they had released generals who fought against them in the Russian Army, and had released the White Guards.

Russia is seeking the sympathy and understanding of the Labor Movement of the world. Not everybody is a Communist as yet. There are Socialists, there are anarchists, and people with other beliefs. How can you expect to get the sympathy of the Labor movement when you jail people for having a different belief? You should be the first to adopt this resolution in the interest of Russia, in the interest of freedom that you proclaim so much, in the interest of true revolutionists who are now in jail, most of whom will not run away from Russia, unlike some of the present leaders in the Russian Government who spent most of their lives in other countries. If you have a conscience and if you are honest and sincere, I am sure that you will adopt this resolution unanimously. (Applause).

President Sigman: We will now vote on this amendment and on the original recommendation of the committee. "Yes" will be for the amendment and "No" will be for the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Wortis: A point of procedure, Mr. Chairman. Whenever an amendment is made, the amendment should be voted on for and against and then the report of the Committee voted on separately.

President Sigman: All right. We will vote for and against the amendment and then we will vote for and against the report of the Committee. The amendment is to ask for the release of all political prisoners in every country in the world except Russia. The original resolution proposes to ask for the release of political prisoners in every country where there are such, including Russia.

Now, all those in favor of the amendment to the resolution will please raise one hand.

All those against the amendment will please raise one hand.

We will now vote on the original recommendation.

Delegate Hyman: Brother Chairman, I think the proper procedure is to first announce the result of the vote on the amendment.

President Sigman: The result of the vote is: 90 for the amendment and 155 against the amendment.

It was decided to vote on the recommendation of the Committee by roll call.

President Sigman: I want to make an announcement. The proposed plan to have a group picture taken this afternoon will be postponed until tomorrow afternoon.

I have a further announcement to make. I have just received information that Governor Smith has pardoned Gitlow.

(This announcement was followed by loud and prolonged applause).

Delegate Nagler: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I move that this convention goes on record as thanking Governor Smith for freeing Benjamin Gitlow and stating that this convention was instrumental to a certain extent in accomplishing that end.

This motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

Delegate Marks: I move that this convention invite Benjamin Gitlow as a visitor to this convention and to address us.

This motion was seconded.

Delegate Nagler: I believe this question will require discussion and my amendment is that it be delayed until the afternoon session.

This amendment was seconded and upon being put to a vote was lost by a vote of 111 for the amendment and 123 against the amendment.

President Sigman: The amendment is lost, which means that the matter is to be decided now.

The motion to invite Benjamin Gitlow to address this convention was carried.

President Sigman: Now we will go back to the other amendment for the release of all political prisoners in every country except Russia, and to the original recommendation of the committee. The Secretary will announce the result of that vote.

Secretary Baroff: The result of the vote is: For the amendment 103; for the recommendation of the Committee 156; absent 4 and 7 abstained from voting.

President Sigman: The report of the Committee is therefore adopted.

This session now stands adjourned until 3:00 o'clock.

Whereupon, at 2:00 p. m. the session adjourned, to reconvene at 3:00 p. m.

11th Day—Afternoon Session

Friday, December 11, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 3:00 p. m.

Before proceeding with the business

of the convention President Sigman presented to Brother Plettl a beautiful gold watch, chain and knife attached, in behalf of the delegates as a memento of his visit to America, which had been purchased by money raised amongst the delegation.

Brother Plettl expressed his hearty thanks in German.

Delegate Wisnofsky presented the following resolution:

Resolution No. 182

Introduced by special permission of convention by delegates of Local 38.

WHEREAS, the theatrical costumers, members of Local 38 of the I. L. G. W. U., are on strike in the shop of the Metropolitan Opera Company of New York for the past six weeks, having been locked out by the manager of this company, and

WHEREAS, thousands of members of the I. L. G. W. U. are frequent patronizers of that opera and as such may be helpful in the struggle of the workers of that shop in bringing about a quicker settlement, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we call the attention of all the members of our international who patronize the opera that so far as Local 38 is concerned said opera is on the unfair list.

Upon motion duly made and seconded this resolution was unanimously carried.

President Sigman: We have spent almost two weeks in session but as yet we have not deliberated upon any of the vital problems that confront us. We have not been functioning here for the purposes for which our membership sent us here. With the report of the Committee on Officers' Report, the Committee on Law and the Appeals Committee we shall first begin to do the work which, in my judgment, deals with the real constructive propositions that this convention must act upon. Delegate Katovsky will now report for the Committee on Officers' Report.

Delegate Katovsky thereupon began the report, as follows:

Report of Committee on Officers' Report

Your committee has read the report of the General Executive Board of our International, has examined as closely as possible under the circumstances the wealth of material presented in it, and has considered the thoughts and suggestions it contains as carefully as was possible within the short time allotted to it.

We realize the responsibility placed upon us. We have been called upon to pass judgment on the work of the highest and most responsible officials of our organization. The responsibility is especially great at this time, when as the officers' report states, the purpose of this convention is to "save the organization from the impossible situation it is in today." The very existence of our Union is at stake. Ours, therefore, was not an easy task. We were, however, assisted in this task by the frank, candid manner in which our officers have chronicled the important events in our organization and have reported all their activities during their term in office.

For the convenience of the delegates and in order to expedite the deliberations of the convention, we have divided our report into three parts: (1) The industrial conditions and problems. (2) The internal situation in the International, and (3) The morale of our organization.

We realize, of course, that these three subdivisions are closely connected with each other, and often have the relations of cause and effect, as will be seen from our report. We do it, however, in view of the importance of each of these problems, as well as for convenience in presentation.

We shall now proceed with our report.

I. INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

The New York Cloak Industry. Your committee wishes to comment briefly on that part of the Officers' Report which presents a survey of the industrial changes in New York City. We do it for the reason that in our opinion the industrial conditions in New York, of necessity, dictate the industrial program, and are the key to the conditions in our organization. It is only after an analysis

of the industrial conditions that a definite program of industrial action can be adopted. We have read with care the description of the industrial changes in New York City. They are of a revolutionary nature. The industry has shrunk; large shops have practically disappeared; the industry has been pulverized and consists of very small units which are impossible of control; the advent of the jobbing system has eliminated responsible employers; there is a tendency of constantly lowering the union standards in these small sub-manufacturing shops, and there is a tendency of ever increasing the number of these small units competing with each other for trade with the jobbers.

Your committee fully agrees with the part of the report which states that the system of jobbing-sub-manufacturing has "won for itself a place of permanency in the women's wear market through some of the commercial advantages which it offers to the distributors and buyers. And once we recognize the permanency of the jobbing system in our industry, we must seek to place upon it the full obligation for labor conditions which it should assume as a most important and permanent employing interest in it." We are of the opinion that the program of industrial reforms outlined by the General Executive Board and presented to the employers in the New York market is the only possible solution of the problems confronting the New York organization as well as our organization in other markets.

We have examined the report of our officers dealing with the negotiations in the summer of 1924 as well as with the entire period from the summer of 1924 to date, and are of the opinion that the interests of our members and of our organization were safeguarded in a highly commendable manner. The demands presented to the employers of New York and later to the Governor's Advisory Commission were substantially the same as outlined in the report of the General Officers to the Boston convention and approved by it. We realize that only a small part of the program has as yet been carried out, though we are not inclined in the least to underestimate the

institution of unemployment insurance in New York, of the sanitary union label and the greater degree of responsibility for conditions in sub-manufacturing shops placed upon the jobbers as constructive measures of tremendous importance to our organization and to our members. Your committee realizes that the other major demands presented by the Union to the cloak employers, the demand for limitation of contractors and guaranteed time of employment, now pending in their final stages before the Governor's Advisory Commission, contain industrial changes of a truly revolutionary character and that when realized these reforms are bound to produce a far reaching effect not only on the work-conditions of our members, but upon methods of production in our industry as a whole. So while, as viewed from the point of the distressed condition of our workers, some may be inclined to regard the progress made by the General Executive Board towards the attainment of our entire program as slow and unsatisfactory, we cannot accept this attitude as sound criticism, as we fully realize that an industrial revolution of this kind requires time to mature and a complete mobilization of every available resource at our command to achieve. We are confident that we are now reaching the final stage in the development of this fight for our industrial demands and that its realization can no longer be postponed.

Your committee wishes to comment briefly on the method of negotiation as well as on submitting the demands of the Union to the Governor's Advisory Commission, after the negotiations have failed to bring the desired results. As a labor organization we must be interested in the obtaining of the conditions for our members that would be of benefit to them. We must be determined to obtain these conditions. In other words, it is the aims that are of importance to us and not the methods. We must be ready to fight for our demands, and the International has proven that it is able to fight, and does not avoid a fight if forced to it. However, your committee is of the opinion that a fight for a fight's sake is a detriment to our organization and to our members. If our program can be carried out and the necessary improve-

ments obtained without a struggle, it is the duty of our officers to avoid a struggle. And it is from this point of view that we commend the action of our full means in order to obtain the desired goal and use every honorable and peace-general officers and their submitting the demands of the Union to the Commission. Arbitration with us is not an aim but a means. A fight, a strike, with us must not be an aim, but a means.

In this connection we have considered Resolution No. 33, referred to us:

Resolution No. 33

Introduced by J. Goretzky, of Local 35; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; I. Steinhart, of Local 2; A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, in the bitter struggle going on in all industries between workers and employers over the division of products of labor, we have learned that in order to defend their interests the workers must have powerful trade unions following a militant policy and animated by a clear conception of the fundamental antagonism of interests between the workers and capitalists; and

WHEREAS, the present leadership of our Union, contrary to this fundamental conception of the aims of the labor movement, has followed the class collaboration policies of the leadership of the A. F. of L. by submitting the demands of the cloakmakers to the Governor's Commission of capitalists, which Commission has failed to make a single important decision in the interests of the workers and in all probability will issue decisions which will even tend to reduce the present deplorable conditions of the cloakmakers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention repudiates the policy of submitting our demands to a commission composed of individuals who, according to their social position and interests, belong to the ruling class and therefore cannot make decisions in favor of the workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we instruct the incoming G. E. B. to again place the following demands before the employers of our industry, and prepare for a struggle to obtain them:

1. 35-week guarantee of work.
2. 40-hour and five-day week.
3. Abolition of overtime.
4. Establishment of a labor bureau under the control of the Joint Board.
5. Limitation of contractors.
6. Jobbers to be made responsible for their contractors on the question of time guarantee of work and wages.
7. Right to investigate books of all employers.
8. A trial period of one week.
9. An unemployment insurance fund to which the employers shall be the sole contributors, and to be administered by the Union.
10. Legal holidays to be paid for, regardless whether there is work in the shop or not.
11. No provision in the agreement depriving the worker of the right to strike.

The resolution presents nothing new, as in substance it reiterates the demands which have already been presented by the International to the cloak employers of New York City, but in its second preamble and its first resolve it contains a repudiation of the policy of the G. E. B., explained by motives of militancy and by a disregard of every other element and factor in the community except the power of the organization alone. For the reasons that we have already stated, your committee does not approve of both the preamble and resolve above referred to. The acceptance of this resolution would mean that failing to agree in conference with the employer, the organization would be compelled to enter into a strike without the total membership having a say in a matter of such importance to them. Our organization, as well as any other organization, cannot afford to play with the livelihood of our membership. Our organization must obtain the demands of the workers through any method that is advisable and practical, whether that be negotiations, arbitration or a strike. But before entering into a struggle that may shake the very foundation of our organization and endanger the very livelihood of our members, all peaceful means must be utilized. Failing in these, the General Executive Board should refer the entire situation to a referendum vote of the whole membership to decide upon the final step to be taken, as only with the approval of the members has the organization a right to enter into such a conflict.

Your committee, therefore, after reviewing the part of the report of the officers dealing with industrial problems and policies, fully endorses the action of the General Executive Board.

Your committee is of the opinion that the incoming General Executive Board is to be authorized and instructed by this convention, in the event that the final recommendations of the Advisory Commission fail to meet the just demands of the Union, to use the full economic strength of the organization in order to realize the full program as outlined in the report of the general officers.

Chairman Katovsky: I move the adoption of this part of the report.

President Sigman: Does anyone wish to speak on this part of the report? Delegate Boruchowitz.

Delegate Boruchowitz, Local 2, spoke in Yiddish against the recommendation of the Committee.

President Sigman: Delegate Rubin.

Delegate Portnoy: A point of order. I want to make a motion that the report of the Committee on Officers' Report should be read as a whole, because I believe that the question of the New York situation depends upon the policies of the administration, and the policy of fighting the situation will depend upon the outcome of the policy of the administration. I really can't see how these delegates can discuss intelligently the question of the New York situation when they are not thoroughly acquainted with the report of the committee and its findings as a whole.

This motion was seconded.

President Sigman: Will Delegate Portnoy have any objection to wait with his motion until Delegate Rubin is through?

Delegate Portnoy: Yes, I do object.

Delegate Nagler: A point of order, Mr. President. The Chairman of the Committee stated that the report is divided into three parts. There was no objection made to that statement of the chairman, and since the first speaker has already spoken on the report I think we should continue along the same line.

President Sigman: I think it is up to the chairman to tell us why the Committee divided the report.

Chairman Katovsky: The reason your Committee divided the report into three parts is that we felt that once and for all we will have to confine ourselves to business and not permit anybody to play to the gallery on vital matters that pertain to our bread and butter. We believed that this was the proper policy for the convention to pursue because, if you combine the three parts as a whole and discuss them as a whole, you will never get through. One speaker will get up and speak on one question, an-

other will speak on the question of expulsion and another on the question of morale.

President Sigman: I don't care in what manner the Committee presents its report. I am satisfied that the proper way of procedure is to first discuss the industrial situation and the deficiencies or incompetence or treacheries that the General Executive Board has been guilty of, according to your opinion. It seems to me that if there is any criticism or condemnation that the General Executive Board deserves, you will, by having the report divided into three parts, have three chances to deliver the blows deserved by those who committed all those wrongs.

Delegate Zimmerman: A question, Brother Chairman. Isn't it a fact that the industrial situation depends a great deal on the strength of the organization, and the expulsion policy depends on the strength of the organization?

President Sigman: Not at all, because I believe I can show that the degradation of our industry is entirely due to certain industrial changes, for which no human being can be held responsible.

Delegate Portnoy: I want to ask whether on the first part of the report we are to confine ourselves to the cloak industry only or whether we discuss the dress industry also.

President Sigman: The Chairman of the Committee informs me that there are separate chapters that deal with the various industries.

Delegate Wortis: I thought that we were to hear the entire report as a whole and then to go ahead and discuss each question serially.

President Sigman: The mover of the motion proposes that the Committee on Officers' Report should read its entire report, covering every question therein, and then to have each item taken up and discussed separately.

This motion, upon being put to a vote, was lost.

Delegate Rubin spoke in Yiddish. He bitterly attacked Governor Smith's Medi-

ation Commission, as well as the administration of the officers of the International, and strongly urged the adoption of the resolution and the rejection of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Feinberg: I want to state at the outset to the members of this International that it is true that we have reached a stage in the International Union whereby you delegates today hold in your hands the destinies of more than one hundred thousand members composing this great International, and it is therefore imperative that your deliberations on the policy of the International Union as conducted up till now should be weighed and seriously considered before you enter judgment.

I am glad that we have agreed to confine ourselves to the part of the report of the committee dealing with the industrial situation. It is agreed by all sensible and informed people that industrial conditions, particularly those in the industry in which one is engaged, are and always will be entirely independent of disagreements between faction and faction in the union or upon differences of opinion between member and member with regard to political judgment or conceptions concerning future society. You must bear in mind that we are living in a capitalist state of society, and whether you like it or not, the capitalists have yet something to say about conditions, and because of that fact you must look into the true conditions of your industry; you must of necessity look into its commercial structure in order to be able logically and sensibly to so mould world conditions in it that it shall yield a livelihood to its workers.

Within a few years after the strike of 1910 we noted signs of transformation taking place in the industry. Brother Rubin says that for the last fifteen years the policy of the administration has brought back a state of ruin for the workers and that the employers do not fear the Union in the least. If that is a fact, what in heaven's name prompted those employers if, as he says, they have the officers and leaders of the International in their vest pocket, to gradually diminish their shops and bring them to the state in which they are to-

day? The officers and leaders of this union have not been aggressive according to his contention. The employers in the cloak trade of New York have enjoyed the privilege of dictatorship for decades, but I say to you that it was because of the spontaneous outburst of 50,000 workers in the year 1910 that they were compelled to retreat from the dictatorial position they had occupied. After two years, however, they began to plan and maneuver to bring about the condition in which we are today. What were these causes? It is not my fault and it is not Rubin's fault. It is not my contention that it has come about because Feinberg has acted in a treacherous manner towards the employers. I don't require your favor, nor your grace, nor your sympathy, from either side of the house.

I want to give you some information. I find that the development of the jobbing industry started in 1914. It is claimed here that the policy of arbitration has been the cause of the evils with which the industry is afflicted today. I am sorry that the speakers who have spoken before have, it seems to me, very little information about the conditions in the New York market; or if they have they simply ignore the facts. What are the facts? From 1910 until 1916 there was in existence in New York City what we at that time called a Protocol of peace. In 1916 when the Protocol of peace was abrogated, Rubin knows, and a good many others know, that we instituted a policy of "strike at will." If we didn't agree with the bosses there was no necessity of going to arbitration, conciliation or mediation. We could do just as we wanted, and I will tell you what happened. It is said that the late Professor Hourwich was once asked, "Why should the cloakmakers strike in a busy time?" And he answered, "Well, we have nothing to strike for in the slack period, so we might as well strike in the busy season." And that is what happened under the so-called policy of "strike at will." The workers would say to the Union, "What is the use of striking.—there is no work in the shop now? We might as well postpone that grievance when the season comes and then we get what we want." But while you can in-

duce workers at a certain time to strike, when they afterwards find out that, in the final analysis, the necessary improvement that they seek was not achieved through the strike, they will begin to realize that you have done them a great wrong. I am not saying this because I believe the statement of Brother Rubin that arbitration, conciliation and mediation became the goal of the International Union.

Let me confine myself briefly to the New York situation. The General Executive Board has worked out a program which consisted of a set of demands which in their opinion would ameliorate the conditions of our workers. The program suggested, as compared with conditions prevailing today, can certainly, in my estimation, be classed as above the ordinary. We came to the employers in the City of New York and presented to them this program. We proceeded in accordance with the requirements of our organization. The employers, the jobbers, stated that never will they accept that program. The Protective Association said that they wouldn't discuss certain parts of that program. And those demands were presented by the International Union in the most dignified, in the strongest terms that could be laid before the employers. After they refused we told them that we would not reconvene unless they withdrew from their position and agreed to consider every part of the program laid before them. After parleying for a number of weeks and not being able to reach an agreement, the policy to pursue, according to the contention of the opponents of the administration's policy, was to issue an order for war and get the workers down in the streets. That, of course, would be the easiest thing to do; I don't think it requires much courage to do that. But I believe that before leaders take out of the shops 50,000 workers, not only must they have some idea as to what is going to take place—because if they don't, it is my contention they are not fit to be leaders of an organization—but they must have some provision whereby they might be able to bring back those workers into the shops. A labor union cannot be compared with any other institution. I am sure that if you mem-

bers of the opposition tried to give this matter your serious consideration, if you are still free agents, you would, in my opinion, tell a different story.

I have been one of those who has always been in favor of criticism in the union. It is true that after disagreeing with the employers we started to organize our machinery, and that should always be done. But it doesn't mean that because you have organized your machinery for a strike and don't call a strike, you should be slandered and insulted.

It has been stated that the cloak industry is one of the largest industries in the City of New York. Our deliberations are not a secret; they are an open book. And the same thing applies to the employers. Governor Smith of New York considered it advisable to call upon all the warring factions to come to him and explain to him the controversy. I ask you, delegates to this convention, whether you consider it an act of class collaboration because of the fact that we have appealed before the Governor of New York. If you so consider it, I give you my personal advice this is no place for you. The Governor called together all sides and prevailed upon them to get together. He appointed a commission whose decision would not be final and binding on either side, only to listen to the controversy. We complied and laid our proposition before the commission, and the commission made an investigation, and they have not as yet brought in their final decision. I don't know what their decision will be. Of course, I need not say that I very much want it to be in favor of the cloak and suit makers of New York.

I say, therefore, that taking into consideration all the difficulties that the organization is faced with, you will have to make up your minds that you have to do more thinking and less talking. I say to you that the policy pursued by the International Union, insofar as its relation with the employers is concerned, is, under the present circumstances and conditions, the best that can be applied in order to bring the industry into a sane condition.

I hope and pray that you will adopt the recommendation of the Committee supporting the policy with reference to the industrial program which has been presented by the International Union at this time. (Applause).

Vice-President Ninfo at this time took the chair.

Delegate Nagler: When this committee submitted its report, I knew that there would be some criticism, but I thought that the habit of mud-angling on the part of the progressive delegates would cease. I want to say to you, gentlemen, that you are at present in power at the Joint Board in New York. It may be in due time that you will have to face the music, and I want you to be careful whatever you say here today. It may be that you will have to tackle these propositions in the future, and I don't know the results that will follow when you take up these questions with the employers.

There are two outstanding reasons that prompted the G. E. B. to submit our problems to the Governor's Commission; first, the G. E. B., being the responsible body for our workers and their families, had in mind that, before involving so many thousands in a struggle, if there were a way out of it to achieve our aims without causing needless suffering, we should do so; secondly, there was a big factor to be considered, namely, public opinion.

This is not the first time that we have submitted our problems before an impartial committee. In 1910, when we first organized the cloak and suit makers union in New York, after a bitter struggle, who brought about an agreement in the cloak and suit industry, if not an impartial body? In 1916, in the lockout, after sixteen weeks of strike and starvation, when we had to accept the financial support of liberal people, one of them Samuel Untermeyer, who brought about a peace settlement, if not an impartial body? After the week-work system was established in 1919, when the workers thought they were entitled to an increase in wages, at a moment's notice, without an hour's loss of sleep, Governor Smith granted the cloakmak-

ers, through a committee, a substantial increase. Not a struggle has been had in our industry without the intervention of an impartial committee. In this case, it was a question that, in case of a strike, we might at least have public opinion on our side. Do you really mean it, Brother Boruchowitz, when you say that the conditions of our workers at the present time in New York are worse than in 1910; that the hours of labor are the same; that the wages are the same; that the unsanitary conditions are the same? Why not argue the question out on the merits of the case and not depend upon mere phraseology? If you want to be fair to yourself and to the workers, you will admit that, before we had the Mediation Commission, in our agreement with the Protective Association we had a preferential union shop. You did not have a union shop in your agreement. In the present agreement, due to the insertion of a clause, we have a strictly union shop.

You said you favor insurance where the employers pay all. I agree with you, Brother Boruchowitz. I hope the time will come when the employers will have to pay not \$10 a week insurance, but \$15 a week; but you know that it cannot be done at this time. Let us argue the case on facts, and not on words. When you consider that a million dollars was given to the workers, and that two per cent came from the manufacturers and only one per cent from the workers, aren't you proud of that fact?

Before the Governor's Commission existed you know that the greatest problem we had to confront was that the jobbers refused to accept the responsibility for the sub-manufacturers, and you know, when we submitted our demands, that was the only thing on our mind—to make the jobber who considered himself a free lance in our industry responsible for the merchandise, wherever he might make it, and the Commission treated our demand because it felt we were just.

The Commission established the rule that a shop will not be recognized as a union shop if it does not employ 14 operating machines. You may ask, "Is that sufficient?" I say, "No, not 140 per

cent." It is because our industry is so constituted that the workers in the small shops don't give even the officers an opportunity to enforce it, because they at certain times are the ones that make conditions for themselves as they are.

Furthermore, after the Governor's Commission gave out its report on the demands, it was submitted to a referendum of the cloakmakers, and the membership accepted it 13,000 to 3,000, instead of going out on strike. We can argue this question for hours and hours, but I say to you if you consider yourselves responsible people, if you are not biased and have the Union at heart, you cannot reject the committee's report. (Applause).

Delegate Zack: If you go carefully through the report of the G. E. R. you will see that our industry is becoming more and more a national industry. Over 60,000 workers in the ladies' garment industry are employed outside of New York. In New York City, our industry has been undergoing a process of disintegration and in New York the bulk of garments is produced in small contracting shops in the dress and cloak industry. The G. E. R. report speaks about the difficulty of enforcing agreements in an industry which is moving out of New York, where hundreds of small shops spring up and hundreds are going out of business. Another factor is that the jobber is now the dominant figure in our industry. Employers have been strengthening their position while the industry has been getting more and more out of our control and growing smaller in numbers.

The G. E. R. asks you to approve of their policy in the last few years. When you take these facts into consideration, if the result of your policy is the present situation in the industry, then your policy is an error. If we take your policy as the best policy that could be pursued, then there is nothing but despair before us, and the industry will disintegrate and we will lose more and more members. Your policy of peace with the employers, of trying to cooperate with them for the solution of your problems, has not in any way benefited the workers. During all this time the employers have

craftily been destroying and undermining this union to the extent that we are now weak enough so that the employers may dare, as their next step, to perhaps make war against our union.

We are now at the turning point. We have yet sufficient organized strength. If we adopt a new policy, to regain our lost force and make this union a powerful union. You must not adopt a class collaboration policy. The bosses have grown class-conscious, especially since the war. You cannot fool them. You are only fooling yourselves. Either we have to embark upon a class-conscious policy which will mobilize the enthusiasm of the membership in order to make this union again a strong union, or we will have a class collaboration policy which will lead us to destruction, and that is the policy which has been used in the past. The rank and file are aware of the conditions today in the shops and they will overthrow your policy. (Applause). We will have no more of your policy because it means ruination.

Delegate Hochman: We are now in an epidemic of slogans. It is the style to create slogans to catch the imagination of the people. Slogans are all right, but not at this convention, and not at this time. Instead of slogans we should discuss realities. Most of the program contained in Resolution 33 is the program demanded by the General Executive Board. There are a few invocations. One is against class collaboration, which means against arbitration; another is that we shall never give up in any agreement the right to strike, and the third is to abolish overtime.

I have always been and still am in favor of the abolition of overtime. The two big points for discussion are the question of arbitration and the other point I mention, the perpetual right to strike. Arbitration is not a principle with the union. It is a method by which the workers sometimes establish their organization and maintain certain conditions. I believe that a board of arbitration, when deciding upon a controversy between a labor organization and an employers' organization, mostly guides itself by the comparative strength of the two organizations. If the organization

is weak, its chances of getting something from the Board are small, and vice-versa. If we decide to do away with arbitration, it will mean that in many instances the workers would probably have to get through a strike what they might be able to get without one; it will mean that in trying to organize new markets, where we are too weak to enforce a strike but can through strategy and through public opinion force the employers to recognize us, we will not be able to use that method. I think it is a grave mistake to make at this time.

This leads to the next question that we shall never bind ourselves to give up our right to strike. In my opinion, the condition our union finds itself in today was not created because we cannot strike but because we have too many single strikes that are forced upon us, and they drain the energy and the finances of the organization. You cannot have a union constantly on strike. The I. W. W. tried to introduce this philosophy and it failed to establish itself as a solid organization in this country. This policy is as old as the hills, and it is applied in every organization where the workers are weak and cannot create a machinery for the adjustment of disputes. In my opinion it would be suicide to establish such a policy at this time. Neither is it a radical policy. There are very conservative unions in this country with conservative leaders, like the United Mine Workers, and they refuse at times to consider arbitration. Whenever they feel themselves strong and powerful and in a position to enforce their demands, they refuse to go to arbitration. If you will look into the history of our international you will find that some of our largest organizations received their first big chance because of this policy of arbitration. Anybody who knows anything about the dress and waist makers' union knows that, if not for certain arrangements in 1913, it is hard telling where it would be today. I know that some of our outstanding radical organizations in the labor movement are succeeding in getting the unorganized workers in their fold through such a policy.

In conclusion, I wish to say: use more of your brains and less of your slogans

and your emotions when it comes to attending to the business that involves the livelihood and the destiny of the workers of our industry. (Applause).

President Sigman called upon Delegate Hyman to speak on the subject under discussion. Delegate Hyman at first declined, but subsequently on persistent invitation by President Sigman, took the floor.

Delegate Hyman: I do not accept the resolution the way it is interpreted that we should be against arbitration under all circumstances and for all times as a principle, just as I would not be for arbitration under all circumstances and at all times. The union can never be committed strictly to a certain definite policy as far as the demands of the workers are concerned. They have got to act in accordance with the requirements of the time and the place and the circumstances. We are not dealing in the abstract sense whether we should be for arbitration or against arbitration. We are dealing with a concrete situation in New York, and if we want to stick to the subject we cannot travel back fifteen years to analyze what took place since 1910.

You know at the last convention in Boston with what enthusiasm the demands of the cloakmakers in New York were endorsed, and how the convention gave you a mandate that, if you do not get these demands through conferences, all means be used to obtain them.

It was also decided at a meeting of all the shop chairmen of New York, and afterwards by a referendum of the entire membership after we had conferences for weeks with the employers who rejected every single demand and treated us with contempt—they were polite and gave us cigars, but when we presented the demands they said it did not concern them and that we should go to the contractors, etc. Then Hillquit called some of the conference committee to one side, and he said, "We are not going to get anything from them, and we will have to call a general strike. In order to get public opinion on our side let us suggest to them bringing our demands to arbitration. I am sure that they will re-

ject this, and this will bring public opinion on our side." "Supposing they accept arbitration," I asked. He said, "If they accept arbitration we will have arbitration, and I am sure we can get something." I immediately told them that we had no hope and no right to give these demands over to arbitration because these demands are of such a nature that an impartial committee would never grant them since from the point of view of the impartial mind the employers have arguments to present that will appeal to them and we will have no chance whatsoever to even the standards of the workers who are working in union shops. I said that our demands were of so vital a nature that we cannot afford, especially at this time after the employers have treated us with such contempt, to ask for arbitration. Let us first take a firm stand against them. Let us first show them that we are not afraid to call out our workers, and, after we call out the workers, if there are some liberally-minded people that might want to intervene we will have our army organized, and if the employers refuse arbitration, public opinion will be on our side. Asking them for arbitration after they had rejected every one of our demands simply gives them the impression that we are afraid to fight, and naturally they become more independent and will not listen to any reason.

It was stated that the reason for giving over our demands to the commission was that if we could gain our ends without striking, there was no need for it. If the commission would tomorrow grant us all of our demands I want you all to understand that that will not prevent a general strike for the simple reason that the employers are not going to swallow it unless you force them to do. What you have accomplished by your diplomacy is this: If the commission will think we are weak, as Brother Hochman said, they will give us nothing, for they would be placed in the ridiculous position where the employers might turn them down and they would get a slap in the face, because the Union will not afterwards be in a position even through a strike to enforce their decision. Therefore, I say, if the commission should again reject our most important demands,

we will have to strike. If they grant us these demands we will have a strike anyway, because the jobbers will not accept them. They tell it to everybody—to us and to the commission—that it dare not render such a decision because they won't carry it out.

What you have accomplished through your policy is this: You steamed up the membership and put them into fighting spirit. They were organized to fight. We had a good treasury and enough ammunition to fight. But you have done one thing, you have demoralized your army, you have destroyed your ammunition, you have postponed the fight for two years, and now you will have to fight either way the commission decides.

After I was absolutely opposed to giving our demands over to arbitration, they started another maneuver. After they concluded agreements through the recommendations of the commission, they called out a general strike, and I will read to you part of the circular that was distributed amongst the workers:

GENERAL STRIKE CALL.

To All Cutters, Operators, Finishers, Pressers, Designers, Sample Makers, Examiners and Buttonhole Makers in All Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Reefer Shops in Greater New York.

Promptly at 10 o'clock this morning—Tuesday, July 8, 1924—you are all ordered to stop work, lay down your tools and in perfect order march to the halls to which your shops have been assigned.

This general strike is being called to bring order instead of chaos in our industry, to eliminate from it the petty and greedy exploiters who have all but destroyed it, to place due responsibility upon the jobbers, the true employers in our industry, for Labor standards and conditions, and to reorganize the cloak trade upon a sound and wholesome basis.

Now you come out, after you have received a decision from the commission, that does not place the responsibility upon the employers, you go and you call the workers out on strike in order to place the responsibility upon them. What could they get by this so-called strike, when the conditions of the agreement were already decided by the commission and there was nothing that the workers could strike for? It was a make-believe strike and nothing else, because by the Commission's decision not only were the conditions but the relations of the Union towards the jobbers fixed.

The recommendation of the commission included even the sub-contractors in such shops where, when you postpone a case for two or three days, you are not sure whether you will find the shop in its place, for today it is here and tomorrow it may be closed, so that you are not even sure of the wages of the workers.

And when I stood up on the floor of the general strike committee at that time and pointed out that we will not have the right to strike under that agreement even in an American Association shop, Brothers Feinberg and Sigman denied it and claimed that I understood no English and that I didn't know what I was talking about. Today everybody actively connected with the Union knows that you cannot call a strike in an "American" shop because the impartial chairman would immediately send the workers back.

Now the stoppage was called, of course, for the purpose of enforcing the so-called 14-machine shop which the Commission granted. I, at that time, said that it was absolutely a waste of money and time, that it is the biggest crime to take down the workers in a fake stoppage, because when you begin to use the word "general strike" in such an unfair and illegitimate way, when it comes to a real strike the workers will think it is a mere maneuver and the call will lose a lot of its value and strength. But what did we do? Since the jobbers are not obligated to send work to particular contractors as possible and organize well that we could not enforce the 14-machine rule because the jobbers would try to spread the work amongst as many contractors as possible and organize more and more new ones, and since the agreement did not obligate the jobbers to send their work and give enough work to contractors who have 14 machines, we could not enforce it.

And when workers came to Brother Feinberg and told him "What do you mean, we should work on 10th St. or in 31st St.? Will you guarantee us that we are going to get the same wages? Can you guarantee us that we will get work there?"—he could not answer them. You had no right to take the workers from

their jobs and send them into empty shops. Anybody who visited the halls and saw what the workers went through, then will realize what I mean. When a worker went to a shop, the first question the employer would ask him was, "Who sent you here?" The answer would be, "The Union". The employer would say, "I don't need you. I haven't enough work for my own men. First get the jobber to give me more work." When the workers came back to the hall they were sent back with a committee to the employer to tell him that they had been assigned to his shop and he must keep them. The employer would say, "All right, if you sent them, let them sit down." So they would sit there for a day or a week and then come back to say, "Why did you take us off our job? Now we are out of work." Where you did send them to work, it occurred that in cases where an operator had been receiving \$70 a week at his old job, the new contractor would find fault with him and say, "I don't like his work" and get rid of him somehow. You have made more enemies in the union by your action than 100,000 enemies of the union could make. The 14-machine shop remained on paper and you cannot enforce it.

There is another question you talk about,—the gains that we have received from the unemployment insurance fund. Last year we were more or less successful in collecting the 2 per cent as long as we had to collect from the sub-manufacturers and the inside shops. The sub-manufacturers then began to kick. They came before the Commission and said that, since they did not get an increase in their prices from the jobber, they have to pay the 2 per cent from their own pockets. The Commission decided that the jobbers should pay the 2 per cent. But you know how much you can get from the jobber. I am afraid that this season we will have to curtail the benefit payments even of the six weeks paid last season, for the reason that under present arrangements there is no way to compel the jobbers to pay the 2 per cent and it costs us more money and time to collect from them than the money we really get.

As for the rest of the demands, you

know that the Commission rejected them and you know that at the present time the jobber is no more responsible than he has been until now.

Brother Nagler says that the Commission gave us the strict union shop, that until then we had the preferential shop. Why did you not take advantage of the time when a finisher used to take up his scissors and the employer, fearing he would leave would offer him \$10 more to stay,—to establish the strict union shop and also to make the employers responsible for the work they were sending outside? At that time you had agreements with the association that permitted them to buy garments even from scab shops. Then was the time when we urged you to correct the evils of our agreement. You came with your so-called 10 commandments only when you saw the union was crumbling to pieces, but the demands are nothing new. We demanded them at the time when we were stronger, when our membership had more fighting spirit, when our treasuries were full. Then was the time to check this group of sub-manufacturers, which you say is the result of supernatural causes. It was due to the neglect of the leadership at that time that we have come to our present state of affairs. You have demoralized your army, emptied your treasury and estranged the membership by your actions.

But it is not too late. No matter what adverse conditions we face—courage, solidarity, unity will make up for empty treasuries, and at the present time, if we face the employers courageously, if we are candid and open with our membership and tell them the truth and tell them that we must prepare for a battle in a just cause, I am sure that we will solidify and unite the entire membership and we must triumph. (Loud applause.)

Delegate Sigman: I am glad that Delegate Hyman at least agrees on two of the recommendations of the committee. One is that the resolution contains two proposals that are unwise and inconsistent for a labor union. I refer to the proposals that this convention go on record not to submit its differences to mediation under any circumstances; second, that the fundamental proposals ad-

cepted and presented to the employers are of such a constructive nature that they can meet a good many problems of the industry and the workers.

Before we come to a definite decision on the report of the committee, I want to discuss with this convention the industrial situation that has brought it about and then we will discuss the method of procedure. Delegate Rubin and others have traced the responsibility of existing conditions to the fact that our union has not been progressive enough, that we have not been involved in frequent strikes, that we were rather satisfied with mediation and arbitration, and because of this, our workers have lost their fighting spirit. Let me give you my viewpoint as to what has brought about existing conditions. Perhaps the leadership that will have to take care of the future of our union may take advantage of these few facts that I will submit.

The trouble with a labor union is that a good many times you cannot talk openly and frankly about some evils that exist in the union and the methods applied in solving them. But, at this convention, we may touch briefly on some of these reasons. In 1910 the big cloakmakers' union was born. Before the decision was reached to call out the 60,000 men and women on strike, the few active leaders at that time had to act not only with care and consideration, but they were confronted with the opposition of other leaders in the labor movement, who were no longer connected directly with the movement and who thought that the calling of a general strike in the City of New York would be a calamity and would cause suffering and starvation among the thousands of workers.

But, after all, we agreed to call a strike. Rosenberg, who is now a delegate to this convention, was president of the International; Polskoff and Dyche and others were, so to say, the old guards. It must be admitted that none of us had any industrial experience. We grew up on the very same sort of phraseology that has resounded at this convention repeatedly every minute of the day. We heard of class collaboration then too. But there was one thing that we did not

hear of,—how a labor union can obtain absolute control of labor conditions in an organized trade.

So we had our strike. We didn't ask for week-work. We worked on a piece basis and the cloakmakers had good seasons. Work was plentiful. But there was one shortcoming to the entire proposition. Every shop was a unit in itself. Every shop had its own judiciary committee to decide upon the price of labor. And as people vary in courage, in understanding, in judgment, the result was that each individual shop had to defend established union conditions individually, but there was no force to keep up uniformity of standards in all shops alike. On the other hand, the employers in the cloak industry then, as now, were not and never will be, in love with trade unionism or trade unions. They preferred to have the so-called privilege of running their business and we chose to set standards of labor. They naturally sought to evade all these new conditions. The union did its best, wherever it could, to counteract their efforts.

In 1909 the system of reorganizing factories began. What were the arguments or excuses for such reorganization? The employer said that he wanted to concentrate his direct supervision only on the better class of merchandise; the rest he wanted to make up in outside shops. What was the reason for the employer wanting to decrease the size of his inside shop? The answer is clear: to settle prices on a piece-work basis. The worker to protect his own interests was obliged to set his price on the garment on the basis of the style and on the basis of the better quality garment. This in my judgment was one of the first causes that induced employers to seek the division of various grades of work in their shops into different producing units. It was because of this, when I came back to the Joint Board at the end of 1916 as its general manager, that I began proposing the week-work system. When the "bundle" contracting system began to develop, those who were in the Union at that time remember what effort the union made to equalize prices of labor in these separate units and to place the responsibility for the

"bundle" contractor on the real employer.

What was the next thing that took place? New manufacturers came flocking into the industry. Our industrial experts, including Hyman, at that time had the very same conception of a manufacturer. A little manufacturer who had a shop and a cutting table and a cutter and a style was a manufacturer, and that settled it.

The first thing we did was to wage a fight against these shops which we wanted to knock out of existence. So we called a strike against the sub-manufacturers, and while we were striking against them, their number grew, and while their number was growing, the jobber was growing and prospering in the industry. Until 1919, my dear good brothers from New York, none of you, with all your union desires to make the union stronger and give it greater control over labor conditions, made the least attempt to go down to the source that caused this condition. You never thought sufficiently of the fact that the jobber was such a new development in our industry that he had to be tackled and taken care of. And when the jobber gained hold of the industry, the resulting condition was just as Brother Hyman described, and I fully agree with him. The previous foreman of the shop is now called the sub-manufacturer, a practice against which the union has fought for years.

In 1913, we established the week-work system. It was our hope that in this way we would be able to remedy certain evils and establish more uniformity of control as well as uniformity of labor earnings; and all of you know my position on the question of week-work. During the entire time when the so-called aggressive elements in our union were proposing all kinds of solutions, I dare you to show me one amongst them that really went down to the bottom of the situation. There is no use of coming here and placing the blame on somebody else. The delegates who talk so loudly at this convention were the leaders, paid officers, unpaid officers and active members during all these years. In the report, I have tried to present this situa-

tion to this convention. We can't run this union on hot phrases and fireworks, because with every blast of the fire-cracker that appeals to the emotions of some of the workers, we are just causing greater demoralization among them.

We established the week-work system under very unfavorable conditions. We established minimums and prices. That was wonderful, but none of us—and I am including myself—thought at the time, How will we control this \$100 a week for the operator at a time when he might be obliged to reduce his own wage because of the competition of his fellow-worker. The worker who stayed in his shop since 1913 is still getting \$100. The worker who dropped out is getting probably \$55. Why? Because it is a seasonal industry. It stands to reason, when a worker is trying to obtain a job while the demand for labor is not strong, that he is ready to bargain because he wants to work. The union says a worker cannot work below the minimum, but when he takes his job he doesn't do any wrong, in his opinion, by lowering his price from \$75 to \$65 or \$55.

Our far-sighted leaders, even those who are against class collaboration, have never gone down to the root and bottom of the actual situation and proposed constructive remedies. Then I was called back again. And none of you will dare deny what I am saying now: I never came back to the union to impose my leadership or officership on it. I was always called upon, and I dare say that you will not be in a position to even charge that I was called back by a certain clique, because you know that that is not true. Wherever I came back there was a good healthy desire amongst the rank and file and amongst this very "progressive" element. So I came back. I studied the industry, and all my knowledge came from the Union. We had a Joint Board which included Delegate Hyman. He was a partner to every one of our deeds, and he is even partly responsible for a portion of the program.

I want you to bear in mind that since 1921 our industry has been on the downward trend, for many reasons and prin-

cipally for the reason that the industry has changed completely in character.

The suit has disappeared; the coat became the major element in the cloak industry, and then even the coat was simplified. Later the fur coat developed after the prosperous years of the war, and we didn't do so well. We presented demands to the employers absolutely determined that they must be carried into effect. I said at the conferences that I will not sign an agreement unless those demands are included in it, and I did not sign, because the agreements that were extended contained the modifications that have been so belittled, such as unemployment insurance, the label, etc. These demands were proposed and the result was just as Hyman has explained. And I absolutely deny that the union was responsible in any way for the mediation of Governor Smith. In 1916 the union did try to get the intervention of Governor Smith, and Brother Rubin knows it was necessary.

As I said before, the demands were proposed and we were convinced that the employers would not submit to arbitration. So what about it? Do we deserve to be hanged for it? The Governor intervened and we were ready to accept the advisory board. I personally don't feel sorry that we did and I don't care a continental if you condemn me for it or not. I say the very same thing that Hyman says: Arbitration is not a principle; it is a means.

A Delegate: But it shouldn't be a permanent institution.

President Sigman: Whether it should be a permanent institution or not, is another question. If we adopt your resolution, that from now on and thereafter there should be no such thing in the union as arbitration, it is my duty to give you fair warning as to what the results will be. I am not arguing with you for the principle of arbitration, but I say to adopt a resolution against arbitration would be a great wrong, a fallacy, that you would find very difficult to correct afterwards. The Union and the Union's leadership must always have an open way to apply such means and methods

as they in their judgment think are most favorable for the moment, when a controversy is on. Someone said here: Let us pass a ruling at this convention that the question of arbitration should also be subject to a vote. Another member tells us that this would be foolhardy, and I agree with him, because, as he said, if you submit a question of this kind and if your membership does vote for arbitration officially and formally at a time when a controversy is on, it may be misinterpreted as weakness on the part of the Union. If you feel that a strike is essential and advisable, place the question before your membership and advise them as forcefully as you can to vote in favor of such action. In the last vote that was taken on the action of the Governor's Commission I plead guilty to this convention. I spoke in favor of accepting the extension of the agreement for another year with the modification made by the Governor's Commission because it was my conviction that that was the proper procedure.

I may have been wrong in my judgment. It is not a matter of policy. It is a matter of judgment, of rising to a situation.

We submitted this question to a vote of the membership. We advised one way. You had the right to advise the other way though I don't know whether you did or not. Then the vote of the membership decided. I know you will find all sorts of excuses such as that the vote may have been falsified, etc. If you cannot trust me and I cannot trust you, I suppose it would be wise for this convention to establish an honest ballot association in our Union. The committee, in dealing with these delicate matters used, in my opinion, the proper judgment. I will not enlarge now on the proposition of the "14-machine shop. A good portion of what Hyman said he repeated from my speeches at the Joint Board. He said nothing but what I have kept on saying right along, and I suppose he will not deny it. But on other matters that he referred to, I beg to differ with him.

We have before us at this time the recommendation of the committee that, if this program cannot be obtained

through a decision of the Governor's commission, they use the full economic force of the Union to gain it. But, even after we obtain these demands, I want you all to remember that you have not solved all your problems as yet, and bear in mind this question of differences in wages—the problem that we have been trying to solve through point 4 on our program. The cloakmakers know what it means, I say even this will not bring a solution of all the ills in the cloak industry. Please bear in mind, you who are the so-called progressives, what I have said, for you will lead the cloak makers' union in the future in the New York Joint Board and I feel that I am doing my duty when I call your attention to the problems you have to face and how to meet them. This may save you the trouble, in future conventions of finding some scapegoat in order to justify your position. (Great applause).

(Owing to the lateness of the hour and in order to give Delegate Hyman and the Chairman of the Committee on Officers' Report time to sum up, this matter was postponed until the following session).

The session adjourned at 9:00 p. m. to reconvene Saturday, December 12, 1925, at 9:30 a. m.

12th Day—Morning Session Saturday, December 12, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 10:00 a. m.

President Sigman: We will continue with the discussion on the report of the Committee on Officers' Report dealing with the industrial situation in New York and elsewhere.

Delegate Hyman: I cannot be accused this morning of appealing to the gallery because I am beginning to talk now before the gallery is here, although I do not consider it a crime to appeal to the gallery, as it is made up of the people without whom we could not exist.

President Sigman: I wonder if this in itself is not an appeal to the gallery (Laughter).

Delegate Hyman: It is not necessary for me at this time to speak again of the conditions under which we are compelled to work at present. Cloaks as well as dresses are being made in "open" and non-union shops, and the employers, even those who have agreements with us, do not deny that they violate these agreements. Who is responsible for the present state of affairs? Brother Sigman yesterday told us that it was not due to mismanagement on the part of the leadership, but to a change in the industry; that suits have disappeared, fur coats came in, dresses came in, etc. While this might have some effect upon our conditions, I deny that that is the main reason for our present state of affairs.

The number of cloakmakers has not increased, the population has increased. Our condition is due to the fact that the work is being done in small out-of-town shops, where union conditions are unknown.

The evil of jobbing was called time and again to the attention of the administration, but they have done nothing. When our union was strongly organized and in a position to check these evils, our leaders did nothing. They went after the sub-manufacturer instead of going after the jobber who created the sub-manufacturer. You took the bluff of the jobbers that they are merchants, that they buy cloaks, whereas in reality they are manufacturing cloaks, but instead of having their plant concentrated in one factory, they have numerous factories. The result at present is that the jobber is buying whatever he pleases and he organizes as many non-union shops as he finds it necessary to have, and we have absolutely lost union control.

When you finally realized that this condition was crushing the union, you steamed up the workers and they were ready to strike,—then you went and turned over all the demands of the workers to arbitration. Once you ask for arbitration, it means that you show to the world that you are afraid to fight, and the tendency of the arbitrator, as you know, is always to please the stronger side. It is different when a union

calls the workers out in a strike and, then, when you have the industry stopped, somebody calls and tries to settle the strike by arbitration; when you come with your demands you come on an equal footing; the employers have the factory, you have the workers outside and you can say, "This is what we demand or we will not send the workers back to work," and you are in a position to get something.

Brother Sigman said that I was the manager of a local and part of the Joint Board, and therefore partly responsible for all these things. We had a meeting of all the managers. You called us to the council room of the International at 10 o'clock, and we were there until 2. Breslaw was called in, Langer was called in, Hillquit was there, but I and Levy, who represented at that time 12,000 cloakmakers, were not called in and you decided amongst yourselves and did not even let us know what you decided. I found out that a certain document was sent to the Commission by Hillquit, in the following words: "What we ask is not that the jobber should have all of his work made by sub-manufacturers; what we want is that every jobber have a minimum number of such sub-manufacturers and that he should supply that minimum number of sub-manufacturers with his work first, and after that he can have the balance of his work made wherever he pleases without assuming any responsibility whatsoever." That was worse than no limitation at all, and when I asked about this at the Joint Board meeting, Feinberg insulted me and said, "Where did you get that information," as if I were not entitled to know. And now you tell me that we were responsible together with you when you disregarded not only the great mass of the workers, but your own people who were elected with you on the same committee of negotiation.

If you continue your present policy it will mean the complete ruin of our International. And when you consider the report of the Committee in which they state that the general officers have taken good care of the interests and the welfare of the workers, I say "No," and there is not a single member who is acquainted with the cloak and dress indus-

try in New York that will not agree with me, whether he voted for me or not. (Prolonged applause).

President Sigman: I want to call to the attention of the delegates that in the talk of Delegate Hyman he touched upon certain matters in such detail as is not fully described in the Officers' Report, and which, in my judgment, Delegate Hyman has intentionally misinterpreted. The Chairman of the Committee on Officers' Report could not discuss this matter with Delegate Hyman because he didn't have the material that touched on the subject-matter which Delegate Hyman referred to. The chairman is satisfied that I make a brief reply, and, if it is agreeable to Delegate Hyman, the chairman will not speak.

Delegate Hyman says the number of workers in the industry has decreased, the population has increased; therefore, he says, the number of garments in production has increased—precisely the same argument that I am advancing. But I give the reason why this is so, while Delegate Hyman forgets to advance that reason. That's the only difference. I don't know who has been longer in the shop as a worker, I or Hyman. But I still remember the cloak industry of eighteen and fifteen years ago, and every cloakmaker here will bear me out, including Delegate Rubin. The number of workers has decreased, but the production capacity and single units of garments has increased. In other words, I remember when a cloak operator or a finisher producing 3, 4 or not more than 5 garments a day of the medium class merchandise did a hard day's work and sometimes put in overtime in order to produce that number of garments. My friends that work in the shop today—and there are a number of them here—tell me that nowadays an operator produces twice, and in a good many cases three times the number of garments that he produced only ten or eight years ago. It stands to reason, therefore, that under such circumstances the required number of workers necessary to produce a certain quantity of garments had to decrease, and it did decrease. That's why thousands of our cloakmakers had to find places for themselves in the trade

which is now occupying the leading position in the ladies' garment industry, and that is the dress trade.

Brother Portnoy and the other dress-makers here will have to verify this fact, that only in 1916 the number of female operators in the dress shops in the City of New York represented 85 per cent of the total. Six months after I came back to take the office of President of the International in 1923, a census was taken and it was found that the number of male operators in the dress trade equaled the number of female operators. In other words, it was a fifty-fifty proposition. The increase in male operators on dresses came from the cloak and skirt operators who were previously engaged in the cloak industry making up jackets and coats, and who had to seek and find employment in the dress market. We will be in a position to get more facts on this question of the decreased number of workers in the cloak trade from the unemployment insurance fund, which is going to supply a wealth of data that will throw a strong light on the actual existing conditions. So that is how the production has increased and that is why the number of workers has decreased. I expected that when we would discuss this question we would try to be more sincere and not by superficial statements mislead the workers in this branch of the industry, making them believe things that are not true.

There are delegates here from other important markets in the cloak industry—Philadelphia, Cleveland and Chicago. I am not including Boston because the Boston cloak market works for an exclusive territory. That market supplies principally the New England States. Cleveland is working on a special system and no other market can be compared to it—something for which we were criticised very severely. Under such circumstances the cloak industry in Cleveland should have been very prosperous and the market should have grown. What are the true facts? While it is true that Cleveland is in a somewhat better position than other markets for certain specific reasons and circumstances, still it is a fact that the Cleveland cloak market has had proportion-

ately as much of a decrease in workers as has New York. What is happening in Philadelphia and in Chicago? Precisely the same thing as in New York. If a worker can produce four or five or six times as many garments as he could seven or eight years ago, naturally such a condition would arise. And that's the answer, Brother Hyman. There are many here who work in cloak shops, and let them deny, if they can, that such has not been the development in the cloak industry in the last ten years.

What about the finishers, Delegate Hyman? I remember when I settled prices for the finishers on a piece-work basis. A finisher couldn't make more than a garment or two a day. Why, don't you realize the fact that the entire method of constructing a garment has changed? Most of it is done by machine work. A finisher now finishes 20 garments a day in the medium class of merchandise instead of 2. Naturally, this had to have an effect on the number of workers, and it has increased production; certainly it did. That has nothing to do with the causes that you are trying to bring out.

Let me tell you a little incident during the Dr. Hourwich affair in the City of New York. I was only a minor officer, I had just come to the union from the Industrial Workers of the World. The situation was practically similar to that in our own union. I was then of the opinion that the leaders must themselves meet and cope with the situations and problems confronting them and must not be pulled along by political parties. I suppose a good many of you know that I was never affiliated with a political party. I came to the conclusion that I would have to go into a trade union movement that can stand on its own legs and that will not be influenced and swayed by any political party.

But coming back to the Hourwich affair, I was very much in sympathy with Hourwich's attitude. As a matter of fact, at one of the meetings of the General Executive Board I had a very serious scrap with one of the high officials. I thought Hourwich was right in his attitude against the employers when they wanted to dictate to the union who should

be its leaders, and I supported him until that historic meeting of the Joint Board that was held on Second Street and Avenue B or C. I came to that meeting as a minor officer and I listened to the report, and it was there Dr. Hourwich delivered his talk to the Joint Board saying that he came to the union with a national and international reputation and that it was this reputation that he wanted to take care of and that he therefore wanted to submit the question of his reputation to a referendum of the cloakmakers. I then took the floor and said, "Dr. Hourwich, your attitude is wrong; your position is insulting to the union. You, as the general manager of the cloakmakers' union, should come with a definite proposal and, in my judgment, your advice to this Joint Board should be a vote for a general strike and a recommendation to the workers to vote for it and fight." Then he jumped up and asked who is this man, and demanded that I be thrown out, and at that very moment he lost his following in the Joint Board. Feinberg was one of his followers, and there were others, and he lost them immediately. I said then that our differences of opinion as trade unionists on certain matters don't mean anything at this serious time. Every one of us, including our opponents, must go to the front and fight for our union. What happened afterwards? Why don't you tell the story? Your own present heroes and idols came to Hourwich and asked him to quit, and he did. I think he was wrong even in quitting then. I wouldn't have quit. He should have kept on fighting.

The next thing that Delegate Hyman has described forcibly and on which he has outlined a policy for himself and his constituency—for which I don't blame him, and in which I wish him the best of luck—was the question of the negotiations between the union and the employers' associations. Again he repeated what I said—we have to fight to a finish in order to carry out this program. But there is this difference between Delegate Hyman and the rest of the "progressive" elements I had in mind, and every Labor man of responsibility must have in mind, a very thoughtful expression of Delegate Hyman when he said that the jobbers are

at a greater advantage than are the workers—all employers, for that matter, too, Delegate Hyman,—and the jobbers even more so. And it is just because of this that a labor union, before it involves itself in actual war, must very thoughtfully consider the time and the circumstances in the industry, and consider carefully whether it is the opportune moment to act. Hyman criticizes the stoppage. I did, too. But it's rather surprising that Hyman has such a short memory in this matter. Maybe it's because of his speedy growth as an outstanding figure in the cloak situation that his memory has been somewhat weakened. Delegate Hyman has always considered me as his trusted friend, as his trusted adviser. Maybe I am mistaken, but I am willing to challenge him on his word of honor. Yes, I was what one might call a confidential and trusted adviser of Hyman.

It is fortunate that every action of the union in its negotiations with the employers has been an open affair. I will refer you to the official organ of the International in which every document, every communication that has been submitted, either to the employers or jobbers during the course of negotiations, or to the Commission, has appeared in black and white. It's not a matter of taking my word or Hyman's word; it's in black and white. And I challenge Hyman or anyone else to state that any transaction has taken place in the course of negotiations with the Commission that did not appear in black and white in our publication.

Hyman says: We have modified our original proposals. I'll explain this to you, my friends. We asked the limitation of contractors. The jobber has to employ a given number of contractors necessary to produce the required merchandise. Our industry is a fluctuating proposition; our manufacturers or jobbers have not a stabilized trade. They are constantly seeking more trade. And the jobbers ask us: What if we succeed in getting an order for 10,000 garments, can't we increase our business? What if we get special orders and we have got to deliver this merchandise? The units that you have assigned to us cannot pro-

duce this additional amount of work, even if our people work overtime, and we will need 1,000 more workers to make these additional 10,000 garments. We can't take them into our shops. What shall we do with that additional order for 10,000 garments? So we talked the matter over and we said, You will meet the situation in this way: We will say that a jobber must employ a steady number, Delegate Hyman. This steady number of sub-manufacturers should be assigned to each jobber on the basis of his business. We will take the report of the industrial investigation and, finding that a shop of 40 machines produces an amount of work of the value of \$500,000, a jobber who does a million dollar business will have to employ two sub-manufacturers. If the investigation would show that a sub-manufacturer employing 14 operators produces \$100,000 worth of merchandise for a jobber and the jobber does a million dollar business, he would have to employ 10 steady sub-manufacturers, which would, of course, absorb his entire output. And, if it should happen that an employer should get an additional 10,000-garment order he would have a right to give out this surplus to other sub-manufacturers.

That was the theory, Delegate Hyman. You now come here and say that, without restricting the jobber to a limited number of contractors, the 14-machine proposition cannot be brought into effect. Be honest, Delegate Hyman. I am trying to do what is fair and just, and why shouldn't you? Delegate Hyman thinks that the limitation of contractors cannot be imposed on the jobbers, and he repeated that constantly and regularly at most of the meetings of the leaders of the local unions. He thought we were out of our minds. Now, I understand, he is a stronger supporter of it. I know of another leader who fought me tooth and nail on the week-work basis and now is a strong supporter of it.

Who has prevented the leaders of the present "progressive" locals from rejecting this proposal of extending the agreement and the modifications? It is very good to be in the opposition. All you have to do is to attack the responsible factors. Who was the first individual

criticizing the stoppage. I hoped, and so did others, that through a certain method of procedure we would be able to eliminate the over-extension of shops in the industry. It seems to me that Delegate Hyman is only expressing the opinions of the former manager of Local 35 when it comes to the question of elimination of some shops because of their smallness and lack of responsibility and because of the impossibility of the union's controlling them.

The stoppage was ordered, and it has demonstrated a fearful extravagance. Do you remember the meeting of the General Strike Committee at the Town Hall? Do you remember my objections and my complaints with regard to the general situation, and you, Delegate Hyman, and the rest of you who were officers at that time know that under the circumstances things could not have been helped. You are today confronted with certain situations, and you are doing things that you do not very much like to do. The stoppage was a failure. Let's admit it, it was a failure, and I want to tell you, men and women, that if you strike entirely on a revolutionary basis and do not submit to what you call class collaboration, arbitration and mediation, and even if you obtain all possible security from the employers with whom you enter into contractual relations, even after such a settlement you ought to know that your accomplishments might not be realized. The workers will live up to an agreement with the woolen mill, with the landlord, but when it comes to labor, that's a different matter entirely.

So far as the failure of the stoppage is concerned, no one is any more responsible than the other fellow. It was my motto never to be yellow, and I never will. When the action of the General Executive Board turned out to a failure, I never tried to put the responsibility and blame for the failure on anyone. I dare anyone of you to say that during the period I have been connected intimately with the Joint Board I didn't always try to bring about improvement. If you want to maintain a better government and if you want to reform society or the world and to raise it to a higher level and get more justice and

equality, you have got to educate the people to understand and appreciate this higher level and higher standard. Then you will have it. If you impose reforms on them, the result will be the same as with the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. So I, and others in an active capacity, have always tried to educate our workers to a higher standard and not impose conditions on them. That is the disadvantage, my friends, of being a labor leader with a conscience who wants to serve the interests of the people and the industry in which they work instead of serving his own personal aggrandizement and ambition. My conscience is clear. Even my bitterest enemies have not the courage to besmirch my character in this movement of ours and be able to sustain it. If it is done it is only done on the basis of blackmail. (Applause).

You are now a great leader, Brother Hyman, but why should you constantly inject the fear into the delegates that the Union is weak and it cannot move. I think it is unwise for a leader to tell this to the people at a convention, even if it were true, and I deny that it is true. As long as the Union has its membership and its spirit, it is a strong organization.

I say the movement must always be guided and must always have people that will guide it, but it happens frequently that the ones who guide and serve the union are discredited and besmirched, but this cannot be presented. It will take time before we will be able to eradicate this evil practice. (Applause).

After some discussion it was decided to vote upon that portion of the report of the committee dealing with the past policy of the International, and that the left delegation be given an opportunity to present in written form their proposed policy as to the future conduct of the International.

The convention thereupon voted upon the following recommendation of the committee:

"Your committee, therefore, after reviewing the part of the report of the officers dealing with industrial problems

and policies, fully endorses the action of the General Executive Board."

This recommendation was adopted, 151 voting for and 112 against.

Delegate Fish: I was instructed by the Joint Board to bring in a resolution to this convention condemning Brother Yanofsky, the editor of the "Gerechtigkeit," and as the only delegate of that body I promised to present this resolution to the convention before it adjourned.

Delegate Fish thereupon read a resolution prepared by him upon instruction of the Joint Board condemning Editor Yanofsky for his policy in editing the I. L. G. W. U. publications as follows:

WHEREAS, the Joint Board is not in accord with the views expressed by S. Yanofsky, Editor of the Gerechtigkeit, the official organ of the International; and

WHEREAS, his statements against the officials of the Joint Board are of a slanderous nature and are false; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the convention condemn S. Yanofsky for the tactics he employed in his official capacity as Editor of the Gerechtigkeit.

Delegate Stenzer: Why did you not mention the fact that this resolution was adopted unanimously by the Joint Board?

Delegate Fish: I was not present at that meeting. I was only told that I am to introduce the resolution, and I am doing it. As to what happened there, I don't know.

Brother Antonini: I was never present at any meeting at which the delegate was instructed to bring such a resolution to the convention unless that occurred at the last minute, when some of the delegation were not present,—so how can you say it was a unanimous vote?

Delegate Zimmerman: I was the one who sponsored this resolution in New York, and I am glad to see that the intent of this resolution has already been accomplished, that Yanofsky is already

out of the office of the *Gerechtigkeit*. (Applause). I was not prompted to sponsor this resolution because of any dislike of Yanofsky, but because of what I read in the "*Gerechtigkeit*" while he was its editor. He has always conducted a campaign against the membership. His main activities were to slander any progressive idea that was ever sponsored in the local unions, and to besmirch anyone who dared to criticize an officer of the union. We know that the union is in a critical situation when it is demoralized, when it is broken up, when it is facing serious problems, when it is facing a fight with manufacturers, when the control of the industry has almost completely slipped out of our hands, when there is a crisis in the union and in the industry. Mr. Yanofsky says here that (I am reading from the "*Justice*") that the reason he leaves now is because he sees that the Communists are defeated by an overwhelming majority, that an overwhelming majority of the membership elected "right" delegates to the convention, which shows that the opposition in New York as well as elsewhere has been completely defeated, and that is why, having accomplished his aims, there is no use of his remaining in office. When we concluded peace with the officers of the International we were asked to take over the responsibility of the Joint Board. We did not have the legislative responsibility of the union, and they wanted to use us as agents to collect the dues because we happened to be the more popular ones—the members had confidence in us—and we knew they were putting all kinds of obstacles in our way to discredit us—we knew their tricks and still know them, but the situation was critical and in spite of all this we said, "We must save our Union," and we went into office in order to reconstruct the union.

Everybody knows the difficulties we faced in New York, and still face today. We had to go out and reconstruct our union and begin to fight against the bosses to get control again. When our activities started as soon as we got into office, Yanofsky began a campaign against the officers of the Joint Board, especially against Hyman, in this way assisting the employers to undermine our union further. That is why I came

to the Joint Board and said he is acting like an agent of the manufacturers in trying to break up our union.

A number of business agents who resigned went into business. They sent in their letter of resignation saying they would always be loyal to the union. A certain man by the name of Staum, a business agent of the first district. . . .

A Delegate: Point of order. Delegate Zimmerman is discussing a different question.

President Sigman: Don't interrupt him. Don't you see that Delegate Zimmerman wants to cover another field at the same time?

Delegate Zimmerman: You keep your insinuations until you hear what I have to say. You keep quiet there (this remark was addressed to President Sigman).

This remark caused so great a commotion amongst the visitors and delegates that it was several minutes before order could be restored.

President Sigman: I want to tell you for the tenth time that Delegate Zimmerman and some others who came to this convention are trying to use this convention for propaganda purposes, and we will not give them another opportunity. You will, of course, say that we are trying to expel visitors, etc., from the convention, but we will have to do it. It is about time that this disgraceful situation was stopped. This is not the first time Zimmerman and others, some of them total strangers in the labor movement, have insulted me by such remarks as "Shut up, who the hell are you? Who gives you a right, you cannot do this or that." I have tolerated these things not because I have no red blood in my veins, but because I appreciate the duty imposed upon me as chairman of this convention, and I don't want to give anyone the opportunity to lead this convention into what he may desire. I know that some of the visitors are not members of our Union, and they have come here with a certain definite purpose in mind as followers of a distinct group, and are trying to disrupt the convention by ridicule on the one hand and

by spreading propaganda on the other hand. But I am sorry to say that the results you seek will not be accomplished. You pretend to seek the sympathy and the support of the workers, but you are only spitting constantly in their faces by your actions and your attitude. You are seeking some new issues, but you have not accomplished them. I ask the delegates that cannot swallow the intolerance and arrogance of some of these so-called progressives who advocate a "united front", to tolerate them. I, in due course of time, will be able to balance my account with everyone of those who are ready to resort to lynching in order to accomplish a "united front." Please don't take my part, no matter how pained you may feel about it. We cannot afford to disgrace this convention any more than it has been disgraced up until now. Delegate Zimmerman will proceed. (Prolonged applause).

Delegate Zimmerman: Actions speak louder than words. Your actions at this convention as well as in New York speak louder than words and no nice talk will overcome them. If you were tolerant, you would not interrupt me but would wait until I finished my point.

A certain man by the name of Staum, ex-business agent, began selling insurance. In one of our shops a man was discharged and I instructed the business agent to reinstate him. He reported he would be unable to reinstate him, that he would have to call a strike. I said, "Go ahead and do it." In the meantime Staum went into this shop to sell an insurance policy and the employer called me up and said that he had an arrangement with Staum whereby he could send out the presser at any time he saw fit. I said, "I don't recognize any such arrangement." He said, "Fight it out with Staum," and he put Staum on the phone and Staum told me I had no case, right in the boss's office. A strike was declared and the case adjusted. We had another case where a presser was discharged and the matter came up before the impartial chairman. A former business agent testified that the boss was right, that he had an agreement with the boss and the boss could send him down. Those were the acts of some of these

business agents. You all know what a commotion and condition they created. The Board of Directors on the motion of Fish, I think, decided to condemn these business agents for their actions. Brother Hyman wrote an article in the "Gerechtigkeit" exposing these business agents, and the editor took the part of these business agents and in a footnote said that he does not believe that what Hyman says is true, that he will have to investigate, etc., etc., defending these business agents and constantly attacking Hyman. Even in this issue of the paper he attacks him. A letter was sent from Local 10 ridiculing Hyman as the general manager and making false statements. The editor of the "Justice" did not find it necessary to call up Hyman and inform him of the letter in order to give him an opportunity to answer it. Constantly, throughout his career as editor, he has always fought against the membership, in the interests of a certain clique, of a certain group of officers and for this reason as well as his latest acts I think he should be condemned. Abraham Caban once said about Yanofsky, "If Yanofsky were an honest man, he ought to do one of two things, either open up a cigar store or commit suicide." (Laughter). I say a man like that who is constantly fighting against the rank and file should be condemned at all times. (Applause).

President Sigman: Brother Yanofsky now may have the floor.

Mr. Yanofsky: I am accused of slandering Hyman, and your resolution says I am to be condemned. I want to tell you that anyone who slanders another is to be condemned. It is a contemptible thing. It should not be tolerated in any human society, and it certainly shouldn't be tolerated in a labor union that stands for brotherhood. I never slandered anybody in my life. I never said anything about anybody when I wasn't sure that it was true. In my capacity as editor of "Justice" I tried to defend everyone who was deserving of defense. As a matter of fact, Hyman knows that even at the time when I disagreed with him, when he came into my office with an article to publish, I tried many times to look at it from his point of view and to make his

article appear so much stronger. Hyman may deny it, but I am just telling you the truth. Openly I stated that attacks on anybody which are not substantiated will not be tolerated no matter who makes them.

A few weeks ago Hyman wrote an article in "Justice" in which he attacked a former business agent for certain offenses that he considered a crime. I too, consider it a crime when a business agent, who is expected to work for the interests of the workers and the union, goes out and helps the bosses. He is a criminal and should be condemned as a traitor. Hyman, in his statement, made such an accusation against not one man but against 60 or 70 ex-business agents who used to serve the union for years. And it occurred to me that those agents couldn't have become scoundrels in a day. If those agents were scoundrels, they must have been scoundrels all the time, and were selling the union during all these years, which means that the union has been nothing but an agency of the bosses. For when Hyman is accusing these business agents of such crimes he is not only accusing those agents but is accusing the whole union. Brother Hyman, if you have any facts against anybody, bring them out like a man, and do not state hearsay, because it is wrong and should not be tolerated. I told him this.

What did I expect? I wanted him to come out openly and to point out the men individually by name and to bring the facts. Hyman did not do that. He went to the Joint Board complaining like a little boy, saying, "Yanofsky slandered me." That's the act of your hero; that's the act of your revolutionary leader. He doesn't ask why Yanofsky did it, but comes here with a resolution condemning me. Friends, this is an act of cowardice. I am ashamed to think that even a leader of Hyman's type should come out with such an accusation and with such a resolution and not have the courage of a man to fight it out in the open.

What else happened? When Hyman wrote his next letter and again repeated the same thing without giving any facts, I again told him the same thing. I again gave him a chance and told him,

"Brother Hyman, if you are really able, if you are really efficient, why don't you come out with your record? I gave you all the opportunity you want." Do you think he gave me his record to print in the "Justice"? No. He kept quiet again, and went to the Joint Board and to the Cooper Union meeting and said, "Yanofsky slandered me." Is that worthy of a union leader? Is that worthy of a man who claims to represent 50,000 people? Isn't it the most contemptible act that you can think of?

Let me tell you that the very first principle of revolutionary morale is to be true to yourself, to be truthful, not to lie. And let me tell you—I don't have to say it for myself, but anybody who has followed my career of 40 or 50 years cannot tell you of one occasion when I was guilty of an untruth. And, therefore, I say, when I heard these things about Hyman I tried to be as mild as possible. I didn't slander him. I said nothing except what I knew to be the truth.

You say the membership elected you. According to my opinion, it was not the membership that elected you; it was you who elected yourself. According to my opinion, you are simply usurpers of the places that you are in now. Did you get them by union-like action, by organization methods, by methods permitted under your own rules? No. You got your position through the most obnoxious acts that ever were committed in the labor movement. And I said to the President that I will never reconcile myself to it. He can do anything he pleases. He can conclude any peace he wants with you. I declared myself against you. I am now a free man.

Here is a man who hasn't done anything in the movement who comes and says we are agents of the bosses. I believe that you are the agents of the bosses. (Applause and boos). If you didn't "boo" me I would be ashamed of myself. I never wanted your applause and I don't care about your boos. If my conscience is clear I will let you do all the booing you want. Of course, I like friends, friends that sympathize with me, but not friends of the kind that are treacherous and haven't the courage of their convictions. They may be former

students of mine, but I am ashamed of them. They stole some of my phrases, but they never understood those phrases. Here is the fruit of my labor—Brother Rubin, a man who coins words that have no meaning. I am telling you, Delegate Rubin, that if anyone took down stenographically what you are trying to say in those unintelligible phrases, you would see what a horrible jargon it all is and what nonsense your remarks are. When I look back at those fifty years of labor and see the fruit of it in such examples and exponents as you, I am horrified. What did I do to deserve it?

A man comes here and tells you he is a Communist and he is applauded. I am ashamed of their applause, and I would refuse it with all my heart. Believe me, I would be ashamed to be applauded by people who talk about class-war when they don't know what it means—when in our trades the worker of today can become a contractor tomorrow; when the contractor of today can become a worker tomorrow. You don't know your own industry; you don't know your own conditions when you talk about class-war. Class collaboration—when you are all the time collaborating at pinocle with your petty "bosses" and collaborating at the same lunchroom tables.

You, Brother Zimmerman, said that I did nothing else in the union paper but defend the leaders. I am proud of it because that is something that you don't understand yet and probably something that I didn't understand until I came into the union. No matter how much you bluff about the rank and file, you want to be the leaders, and, in order to get there, you flatter and bluff and hobnob with the rank and file; and, of course, the rank and file, unthinkingly, is captured by your phrases.

Don't be hypocrites; be straight with yourself and be straight with others. There are some people in your midst whom I would like to see as leaders in the Union. In fact, I was the one who advised many a time that you should be given the opportunity to lead. Wasn't I the one that congratulated you in our paper? Nobody told me to do it. Why did I do it? Because I wanted you to succeed. I believe that many of you are

idealists in the best sense of the word, not fanatics. For the latter kind, I have no use. And I felt the lack of idealism in the union. And how many times did I repeat in the paper I edited for seven years that a union cannot be only a business, but that idealism and business must go together; and therefore I welcomed you and I would still welcome you, but you conduct yourselves like savages who never had any mental training or education. I wonder why you let me speak. There was a man here who came from Russia; he wanted to explain his ideas. Did you let him speak? No, and you are proud of it.

A remark was made that Comrade Abraham Cahan had made a certain statement in reference to me. Cahan has been a personal friend of mine for years, and it is impossible for him to have made such a statement. I say that Zimmerman is deliberately lying.

I gave Brother Hyman all the opportunity he wanted to defend himself. In fact, if Hyman wrote me a letter stating "I did not do anything because I could not do anything, because the circumstances were such that I couldn't achieve anything," I would gladly print that letter, and I would probably change my opinion and probably say to myself, Hyman is right. But he kept quiet. It is you, Delegate Hyman, who slandered me. It is you, Hyman, who did not have the courage to come out openly and bring out the resolution. Now, listen, when you condemn me you condemn yourself, because no matter what you are, I am in a way responsible for you (laughter): I brought you up; you are my children—good or bad, you are my children; and if you condemn me you condemn yourself. I was fifty years in the movement, and now Delegate Zimmerman discovered me to be an agent of the bosses. Aren't you ashamed of yourselves?

Delegate Zimmerman: Worse than that.

Mr. Yanofsky: I came out with an article explaining my resignation after I was condemned by the Joint Board. I said in that statement that it is really my conviction and you cannot deny that the rights have the majority. I really want to see this convention a clean-cut

convention. I again repeat we are the best of friends. I love Sigman; I suppose he likes me, because he just gave me a loving cup a few weeks ago; but I disagree with him. We tried to conduct our union to the best of our ability and our understanding. You can imagine how trying it was for me to sit here and listen day in and day out to these attacks and insults. You are all delegates here, but how many people have you got here who really could represent your cause? So pitifully few; and those who do get up, do it in such an ugly and uncivilized manner. Believe me, I wish with all my heart that not only you but the whole membership could be present at this convention and compare your conduct with the conduct of your President who occupies the chair (applause).

Delegate Zimmerman says I never took part in any trade question. If he had read my editorials he would have known that nine-tenths of my editorials were devoted exclusively to trade questions. You talk about class war; you talk of things that you never mean in reality, unless you are perfectly irresponsible in what you say.

I contend and I maintain with all the truthfulness that is in me that I never slandered anybody, that I never said anything about anybody that I wasn't sure was the truth, that I defended the union and the officers of the union,—not because of the officers but because of the union. You members elected the officers as the leaders of the union, and it is my duty as the editor of the union paper to defend the union. We know that we disagree, but you should never, never have given expression to such a damnable falsehood as you did. (Applause).

The previous question was called for and carried.

Delegate Hyman: I don't want to reply to Mr. Yanofsky. I simply want to deny certain statements of Mr. Yanofsky, that I came to the Joint Board like a little boy. I am not responsible for this resolution. Whatever Yanofsky's policy was in "Gerechligkeit" was not his policy. He is employed by the administration. The report in his paper says: "The race hatred that I have raised at this convention caused such a terrible disturbance at the convention."

President Sigman: That's an entirely foreign matter and has no bearing on the resolution.

Owing to the lateness of the hour it was decided to postpone action on this resolution until the next session.

Thirteenth Day—Morning Session Monday, December 14, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 10:30 a. m. at Labor Institute, to which place the convention had adjourned.

President Sigman: We still have before us the resolution presented to this convention condemning our former editor, Brother Yanofsky.

Delegate Rubin spoke in Yiddish. He bitterly condemned Brother Yanofsky, stating that his policy had created a spirit of hate and discontent in the union, but added that it was not only his fault but that of the administration, and the administration as well should be condemned.

Delegate Antonini: Do Brother Rubin and the rest of them know that the old Local 35 presented a resolution to the Joint Board some time ago condemning Brother Yanofsky, but the Board did not approve it?

Upon being put to a vote the convention rejected the resolution, 147 voting for rejection and 103 in favor of accepting the resolution.

Delegate Perlmutter: In view of the fact that Brother Yanofsky has resigned as editor of the "Justice", I move that this convention go on record expressing our appreciation and thanks for the services he has rendered the International.

President Sigman: The fact that this resolution of condemnation was rejected in itself expresses our appreciation of his services. The Committee on Officers' Report will proceed.

Chairman Katovsky thereupon continued to report for the Committee on Officers' Report as follows:

Resolution No. 23

Introduced by J. Goretzky, of Local 25; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, in the bitter struggle going on in all industries between workers and employers over the division of products of labor, we have learned that in order to defend their interests the workers must have powerful trade unions following a militant policy and animated by a clear conception of the fundamental antagonism of interests between the workers and capitalists; and

WHEREAS, the present leadership of our Union, contrary to this fundamental conception of the aims of the labor movement, has followed the class collaboration policies of the leadership of the A. F. of L. by submitting the demands of the cloakmakers to the Governor's Commission of capitalists, which Commission has failed to make a single important decision in the interests of the workers and in all probability will issue decisions which will even tend to reduce the present deplorable conditions of the cloakmakers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention repudiates the policy of submitting our demands to a commission composed of individuals who, according to their social position and interests, belong to the ruling class, and therefore cannot make decision in favor of the workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we instruct the incoming G. E. B. to again place the following demands before the employers of our industry, and prepare for a struggle to obtain them:

1. 36-week guarantee of work.
2. 40-hour and five-day week.
3. Abolition of overtime.
4. Establishment of a labor bureau under the control of the Joint Board.
5. Limitation of contractors.
6. Jobbers to be made responsible for their contractors on the question of time guarantees of work and wages.
7. Right to investigate books of all employers.
8. A trial period of one week.
9. An unemployment insurance fund to which the employers shall be the sole contributors, and to be administered by the Union.
10. Legal holidays to be paid for, regardless whether there is work in the shop or not.
11. No provision in the agreement depriving the worker of the right to strike.

Your committee feels that the policy of the General Executive Board has been the proper policy in negotiating agreements, and in case of disputes, in submitting to arbitration. We cannot concur in the resolution and move that it be rejected.

Delegate Portnoy: I'd like to be clear on the question before us.

President Sigman: One of the resolves of this resolution proposes that the new policy of the International for the future should be that it should not have the right to submit any controversy between employers and the union to mediation or

conciliation. It is the desire of the administration of the New York Joint Board to inaugurate a new policy in the future that when negotiations are held and a deadlock is reached, the next step to be taken is to strike and not to submit our demands to arbitration. I, as the chairman of this convention, am inclined to support the Joint Board administration on this proposition to be practiced and applied in the New York market. The committee reports that it is opposed to a policy of this kind.

Delegate Hyman: We have already discussed this report for ten hours and there is nothing new to be added by further discussion. We have already voted on that part of the report dealing with the New York situation in the past, and now we have the resolution to vote upon and the report of the committee. Further discussion is out of order.

President Sigman: I do not want to discourage any discussion, although I believe we have had enough discussion on this matter, but before putting this matter to a vote the delegates should be clear on it. The last resolve in the resolution means in my opinion that the demands that are now pending before the Commission must be withdrawn and, upon our return from this convention, the incoming General Executive Board should resubmit our demands direct to the employers and if they refuse to grant these demands, we should immediately proceed with the enforcement of the demands through a general strike.

Delegate Portnoy: I think the chairman is trying to give a wrong interpretation to this resolution. You have approved the action of the General Executive Board in the past. How can you then at the same time recommend another policy in the future? If it was O. K. in the past, you have also to adopt the same policy for the future. When the union was in a position to strike, instead of going out on strike to enforce our demands you submitted them to the Commission. The convention approved of this action. I don't think it is the intent of the resolution to break off our relations with the Commission and immediately submit our demands to the manufacturers, because if you have not

done so for the past two years, you can not change the entire situation in three or four months.

Delegate Feinberg: Have the sponsors of this resolution the view that this policy is to be adopted for the New York market only or shall it apply to the entire International?

Delegate Boruchowitz: We want one policy for the entire International.

President Sigman: I want to correct Delegate Boruchowitz. This resolution deals with a specific market and with specific demands. As for Cleveland or Chicago, etc., that is a matter for their own consideration.

Delegate Boruchowitz spoke in Yiddish. President Sigman interpreted his remarks as follows: I am not against arbitration, but we should not go to arbitration when there is a deadlock before we call the workers out on strike, and, if during the strike, some one offers to arbitrate, it may be then permissible. You have tried to create the impression that we are against arbitration; so I said that in New York the cloakmakers decided to go out on strike by a referendum vote and the General Executive Board gave their demands over to a Commission for investigation. We, who sponsor the resolution, are against this action of the General Executive Board. We say that when the workers of a certain city decided to go out on strike, after the General Executive Board has negotiated with the employers and they don't come to an agreement, the union is to call a strike to enforce its demands.

Delegate Nagler: Does Delegate Boruchowitz believe that, after the workers are called out on a strike and the union finds itself in a position where arbitration is essential, it should be resorted to?

Delegate Boruchowitz: Yes.

President Sigman: You are opposed to arbitration, but you say that arbitration should be utilized after the workers go out on strike, is that correct?

Delegate Boruchowitz: Yes.

Delegate Halperin: The movers of this

resolution are trying to camouflage the resolution by submitting it in one form and explaining it in another. If they have made a mistake, they should be big enough to admit it. This resolution deals with the very life and existence of our workers. We are willing to give them a real opportunity to experiment with their new policy and at the end of two years, if their policy proves to be a success, I shall heartily apologize. Should the policy prove a failure, these brothers should admit that they made a mistake. What the speakers say and what the resolution says don't agree. I am willing to vote for the resolution.

Delegate Zimmerman: I think it is perfectly clear. 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 or more 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.

Delegate Antonini: Don't be politicians. What you really mean is that you withdraw your proposal. We are not going to defeat your proposal. I, too, have my theories, but I know what we have to face in practice. You want to put the people to suffering through a strike when you can get the same results without a strike. But after registering my protest, I am willing to submit to the delegates of the three or four locals representing the majority of the cloak and dressmakers in New York. I submit to the will of the majority and if you want to adopt this policy, we are with you. This convention will not stop you from putting your policy into effect and we will help you to carry out this policy if it is possible. (Applause).

Delegate Amdur: It seems to me that the introducers of this resolution got frightened in their own minds. I for one

am not going to vote on any one of your interpretations. I will vote only on the resolution, or as has been stated by Delegate Halperin, if you will withdraw it if you have courage enough, if you don't mean to speak only to the press table, withdraw this resolution and introduce another one and I will vote in favor of it if it is of benefit to the workers.

President Sigman: If we accept the explanation as made by Delegates Boruchowitz, Zimmerman, Portnoy and the others, it is my understanding that they say that they are not against arbitration, but that when the membership decides to go on strike while negotiations are on with the employers and they reach a deadlock, in such event the strike must be called first, and during the course of the strike, if conditions and circumstances will require it or will shape themselves so that arbitration becomes necessary, then the matter should be submitted to arbitration. If the convention adopts this, it will apply as a general policy for every one of our locals, for every one of our markets, but always subject to the judgment of the membership itself in every market, and on this basis I see no fear if this convention approves of this proposal. Let us be frank. Those proposals are as far from the resolution as day is from night, but that does not matter. I say I have the right to introduce a resolution and after it is discussed and I receive certain impressions which change my opinion or clarify my resolution, it is perfectly all right to change it, for otherwise what would be the use of exchange of opinion?

You will now vote on the resolution, not as originally presented, but as it has been modified by statements made by the introducers and supporters of the resolution.

Delegate Katovsky: As to the statement of Brother Portnoy, the report of your committee concurs with it.

At this point Brother Benjamin Gitlow entered the convention hall and was escorted to the platform. He was given an ovation.

President Sigman: We shall now proceed to a vote.

The motion was overwhelmingly carried by raising of hands.

The committee proceeded to report as follows:

Chairman Katovsky: The next question before the house is that the Incoming General Executive Board and naturally the Joint Board be instructed that, when signing agreements with employers, the right to strike should be reserved or maintained for the workers. Our committee reports non-concurrence.

Delegate Rubin spoke in Yiddish, strongly upholding this clause of the resolution. He maintained, however, that it did not mean that the union is prevented occasionally from submitting its differences to an impartial chairman.

Delegate Boruchowitz spoke in Yiddish. He stated that in 90 per cent of the cases presented to the impartial chairman the workers lost out. He further stated that in agreements where the strike clause is eliminated the workers become passive. He further maintained that agreements could be made giving the workers the right to strike on important matters and that on minor matters the questions be submitted to an impartial chairman for decision.

Delegate Rappaport: The opposition has conceded that they are not against arbitration. Assuming the army has gone out on strike and somebody offers to arbitrate and the arbitrators propose various suggestions among them being one that the union should not have the right to strike during the life of the agreement, I want to know are you ready to accept that as one of the points to arbitrate if you decided to go to arbitration?

Delegate Feinberg: I believe it is perfectly possible to have a provision in the agreement that workers in a shop at certain times have the right to strike, and it has no connection with arbitration in general. I am opposed to this proposition from the point of view not of principle but of experience. Today we have no such provision and yet I challenge the opposition to deny that the union has taken a definite stand in numerous conflicts between shops and work-

ers involving an application of fundamental principles and as a consequence have fought those employers who have abrogated the agreement. There were innumerable grievances which were adjusted by the machinery we have, but with that there were numerous spontaneous protests, which the opposition is seeking to get out into the open field, while we do it under the working of the agreement. The trouble in our industry comes in the dull season when the employer takes advantage of the workers. You know we cannot strike then and so we wait until the season starts, and when we tell the workers, "In the name of the union you have to strike," they say, "In the name of the union I must pay my grocery bills, etc. The first little work I get you call me out on strike." And I maintain that a number of our justifiable grievances have not been adjusted due to this damnable condition under which our industry is compelled to work. Don't be carried away by sentiment. I claim that adjustments have been more successful through machinery. When it comes to collecting back pay, for every \$1,000 that has been collected in back pay under the machinery it has cost 90 per cent less in expenditures than it cost by the method of strike.

Delegate Kreindler spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. He claimed that if this clause were inserted in our agreements, the union would have the advantage in the busy season, but the employers would retaliate in the slow season.

Delegate Portnoy: We do not mean when we say that we should have an agreement with the right to strike that the union should call out a general strike. It means that we have to adjust our disputes with the employers by representatives of both sides, and whenever we reach a deadlock on such a case or on a question of reorganization and we cannot agree, that both sides arbitrate it, and if we do not want it we have a right to fight it out.

President Sigman: It seems to me that there is a large measure of inconsistency in the proposals made by the so-called

new reformers. The proposers of this resolution stick to phrases and do not analyze them. They imagine they are proposing something new and very modern. Only a while ago we passed a resolution here as modified by the proposers of the very resolution we have before the house, that a labor union after it is out on strike may submit to arbitration if it finds it necessary and advisable. Assuming that this is done and amongst the demands is one that you have the right to strike, will you submit this question to arbitration? And if you do so and the board of arbitration decides that the sane and civilized method of collective bargaining is set on the basis that if you demand certain rights from the employers, the union must also be limited in its freedom of calling strikes whenever it so desires and should submit to a joint machinery for arbitration, will you accept the decision of such board of arbitration, or will you then, after you had gone to arbitration, renew your strike policy and continue the strike for a longer period? I want to ask you gentlemen in all fairness, do you think of the problems of your union, or have you any idea of what you are proposing? In my judgment you have not.

Let me try and help you out of this. I say it would be destructive if this convention were to adopt such a general policy and I am against it. But it would not be wrong if this convention modifies the desire of the introducers of the resolution to represent this method of procedure in connection with signing agreements. We have different markets, different types of employers in different markets and different elements in our membership. When it comes to signing agreements, the question before the house should be a matter for each joint board and its affiliated locals to decide for themselves at the time of the controversy.

Delegate Zimmerman: In other words, you don't object to the principle. It is only a question of practice.

President Sigman: It is not a question of principle. We have never quarreled

on principles. When it comes to principles, I wish we had discussed these things a little earlier in this convention and we should see how much difference there is between us in principle. But it is not only theories that we are facing. We are leading an army and we come in conflict with realities on the field with the employers from whom we are trying to exact more rights and better treatment and compensation for the labor that we give, and when it comes to practical applications you have to deal with facts in accordance with existing circumstances, and not with philosophy that you have in the book,—because then you have before you tens of thousands of human beings that depend on you, on the battlefield, facing a certain situation that you have to meet and you cannot settle it just by principles. You will have to adjust the existing controversy and it is for these members to decide what it is best and most advisable under the circumstances to adopt in adjusting the existing controversy. I propose as a substitute that each market will have its absolute right to insist upon this position, but to have its rights reserved to act otherwise if circumstances so demand. In other words, it is in the same category and on the same basis as we have placed arbitration. We submit to arbitration after we have tested our strength, and after we have taken into consideration certain economic factors that may intrude themselves upon the situation at the time when we are on strike.

Delegate Zimmerman: The modification is accepted.

Upon being put to a vote the resolution as modified and accepted by the introducers was overwhelmingly carried.

President Sigman: You will recall that this convention called upon the Governor of New York to liberate from prison a brother who was there on the charge that he had violated a certain law. The entire trade union movement took exception to the exercise of that law on the ground that the Constitution of the United States grants everyone the freedom of full expression of thought, though

our thoughts may not please the majority. In my judgment the message of our convention had a favorable effect on Governor Smith, in conjunction with the efforts of the Civil Liberties Union, and the other day I received direct information that Governor Smith had pardoned Brother Gitlow. It gives me pleasure to present to you Brother Gitlow.

(Gitlow was given an ovation, in the midst of which he was presented with a basket of flowers).

Mr. Benjamin Gitlow: It is with deep feeling and great emotion that I address this convention. I am appearing upon this platform as a free man, and the action of this convention is responsible for that. (Applause). It is an expression on the part of the workers represented at this convention that they are definitely in favor not only of freeing one man from prison but of opening the jail doors in all the prisons in the United States where people are imprisoned for political reasons. Your action is also an indication of what power there is in the solidarity of the workers. The problem before the labor movement is the problem of awakening the class-consciousness of the American workers, of arousing their solidarity, of closing and unifying the ranks of labor so that labor will be invincible in the United States. (Applause).

It is also fitting that your resolution was passed at a convention that is being held in Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania is one of the biggest industrial states. It is the state of hard coal, of soft coal and of steel, and it is also the state of the constabulary that is used most brutally to suppress the workers. The workers are denied the right to organize or to freely express their opinions. In this very state numbers of workers, champions of labor, have been brutally killed at the behest of the industrial lords and barons of this state. And the resolution that you have passed is also a warning to the authorities, to the industrial oligarchy of this state that in the very near future the workers through their united efforts will do everything in their power to abolish the state constabulary, to es-

establish free rights for the workers to enthroned in power the industrial might of the organized workers in this state. (Applause).

When Governor Smith pardoned me he declared that in the United States we have political crimes, and that I was punished for a political offense. He did not state that he is opposed to punishment of individuals for political offenses, only that the punishment was too severe. I want to point out that the labor movement in the United States must realize that a law on the statute books against the expression of opinion does not mean that the capitalist interests will be denied the right to express their opinions, but it means that the labor unions will be denied that right by the organized might of the capitalists that own and control the government of the United States. It is the duty of the organized labor movement to say to the various states that such laws must be repealed. And furthermore to state to the United States Supreme Court that has declared such a law constitutional that its decision will be nullified by the mass sentiment aroused all over the country by the organized workers. (Applause).

You are gathered at a convention considering not only your own problems but also the problems of the entire labor movement, and I want to state right here at the beginning that we are living in a young country and we are developing our own movements and there are many who want to give the opinion that there are such in the United States that are 100 per cent and others who do not amount to anything whatsoever. I believe it was Walt Whitman who said that the American is only being born, and I can state here that the labor movement in the United States is being born right now, and that you are engaged in giving birth to the great labor movement in the United States. The problems of the labor movement are the problems of society, and labor's strength consists in its principles, in the power it holds in its own hands, because society rests upon the productivity of labor, upon the willingness of workingmen to use their brains and muscle power for the benefit of society. The one thing

that will make the workers all-powerful is unity and solidarity in the ranks of the workers. It is this question of unity that is facing the workers of this country as well as of every country. The big industrial capitalist interests of America when they attack the workers attack on all fronts with all their power. That means that the workers must take a step forward and so build their organization that they can meet the attacks on all fronts, that they can take the offensive, and that means building up in the United States powerful industrial unions to meet the entrenched industrial power of the capitalist class in this country. (Applause). And if the ranks of the workers at the present time would give expression to that idea, the expression of that idea is not a manifestation to split and disrupt the labor unions, but it is a manifestation of unity, of greater solidarity, of greater power to the organized workers.

The political power of the capitalists is used to keep entrenched in luxury the minority, the capitalist class in the United States, and to keep in subjugation the vast majority, the toilers,—and the way out of such a situation is through the establishment by the organized workers of a mighty labor party unifying the forces of labor on the political field. (Applause).

The workers are part of a world family, and the workers stand ready to be sacrificed in the interests of world politics as a result of the development of imperialism, and it means that the workers who have everything to lose from imperialism and nothing to gain must think of a greater unity, of a greater solidarity that stretches across the waters, that shakes the hand of the workers in other countries, and the problem of unification at this period is the problem of international trade union unity. (Applause).

It is a great honor to stand on this platform to address you. Why? Because the International has one of the most enlightening histories for the workers in this country. You have engaged in memorable struggles in the interest of the workers. Your achievements are proof of the courage and calibre of your mem-

bers and this organization cannot be destroyed, this organization cannot be split, this organization cannot go backward, this organization will face the future and will meet the future as it was able to meet the past. (Applause). The future belongs to the working class, the future belongs to the marching, shouting, singing cohorts of the working class in the United States and in every country in the world. (Applause). I will close my speech not at all worried about what is taking place in this convention. I will close my speech with the hope that the delegates here will consider the big and pressing problems before them, and with this expression that after this convention, when the gavel goes down for the last time, when you go back to the various cities from whence you came and meet your fellow workers once more, you will go into the work of your organization with an energy, with a devotion and with a love that will tackle the most difficult problems that face you with a spirit and a love and a devotion to the workers that will overcome all difficulties, and that you will work for the unification, for the strengthening, for the building of the labor movement so that the United States with its wealth and glory will belong to the working class.

(Brother Gitlow was given another ovation).

Delegate Dubinsky: I move that this convention give its unanimous approval to the speech delivered by Brother Gitlow, and that his speech be made a part of our minutes.

This motion was unanimously carried.

At 2 p. m. the session adjourned to reconvene at 3 p. m.

Thirteenth Day — Afternoon Session Monday, December 13th, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 3 p. m.

Delegate Antonini: In the "Ledger" of Philadelphia an article appears this morning that I struck Delegate Rosenthal of Local 22 in the riot that occurred

yesterday. I want him to deny that statement, as I never struck him or anybody else.

Delegate Rosenthal: I never made such a statement. I never even had an argument with him.

Delegate Amdur: A rumor has spread that I was the one that was responsible for the riot. What really happened in this: President Sigman, from the platform, called me over and told me that he had received a complaint that discrimination was being shown at the door of the hall and he asked me to see to it that no distinctions whatever were permitted and that all union people no matter who they are be permitted to enter the hall. I did not know what was going on outside. I saw that the hall-keeper was ready to step out of the door to push the crowd back. I saw he was in a fighting mood and I said, "I warn you not to hit anybody." He stepped away from the door and the crowd broke in. I found myself in its midst and a man hollered, "Here he is. He ordered the police," and I am still wondering how it was that I was not mobbed right then and there.

Delegate Zimmerman: I want to deny the statement that the President made in the press that the Communists were the ones who were instrumental in breaking up Saturday's session, and that they wanted to capture the Union by such methods. You stated yourself on the platform that you were going to engage police officers to keep the visitors out of this hall. It was Saturday, and the reason the members were there was because many of our workers do not work on Saturday, and many New York workers came here because they are interested in the sessions of the convention. You kept on insinuating all the time and provoked the visitors constantly to cause these troubles. The floor committee did not treat them properly and they constantly provoked them. Instead of trying to adjust this matter in an amicable way, you constantly provoked them, and you stated that you would get police officers. I wish to protest that even now you are holding the convention under the protection of the police (applause).

President Sigman: I announced that we would not conduct our convention under such circumstances as occurred on Saturday. No labor union in convention can conduct itself under such circumstances and I announced from the platform that in the afternoon we will only admit as many visitors as may be seated in the hall. Further, that we would be obliged to have the special officers of the hall take care of the situation, and I further said that if they will not be sufficient, we would have to call in regular police officers in order to be able to conduct this convention in a proper and orderly manner and in a civilized atmosphere. To the charge that I provoked the visitors I don't think a reply is necessary, but may I be permitted to call the attention of the delegates and visitors here to the fact that, if there was any provocation, it was done by your comrades amongst the visitors. Every delegate sitting here who does not carry your label has been insulted and abused in a despicable manner whenever he passed through the audience. Furthermore, when a delegate who does not carry your label, is on the floor, it can be proved that your friends have gone through the audience and have ordered them to converse amongst themselves while the delegate was talking, while when one of your delegates is on the floor, there has been silence on every side. It indicates that the delegates and visitors who have come here with the union interest at heart and with a real purpose in mind to study our deliberations, have been in proper order; and that those who came here to use this convention for something else have done the opposite. When Gitlow was through with his talk, I thought that perhaps some of his pupils at this convention would take the advice of their spokesman and I expected that at the next session such audacity would not again be displayed: I am sorry I was mistaken. I said to him, "Brother Gitlow"—for he is a cutter by trade—"I wish your comrades would understand you. I am sorry to say that you will have to send them to school in order to study and understand the aspirations of the trade union movement, because you in your talk were constructive, while your constituency is just the reverse."

Delegate Zack: I move that the arrangement committee be instructed to make such arrangements as will make it possible for this convention to meet without police.

President Sigman: This motion cannot be entertained for the reason that the police in this hall are not here by request of this convention and we do not intend to manage the Philadelphia city government at this time. Even if it were our desire, I don't believe we could.

The next proposition before the convention is the question of overtime and pay for legal holidays. If the introducers of the resolution will consent we can dispose of these two questions on the same basis as the other questions were disposed of, that it be decided by the decision of the membership through a referendum vote representing the majority of the total membership in the given market.

Delegate Zimmerman: I move to that effect.

Delegate Stoller: I second it.

This motion pertaining to overtime was first put and was unanimously carried.

Delegate Wolkowitz: I move that the question of legal holidays be voted upon and disposed of in the same manner through a membership vote.

This motion was unanimously carried.

Delegate Katovaky thereupon proceeded with the report of the committee on Officers' Report as follows:

The Cloak Industry Outside of New York

We have carefully examined the part of the officers' report dealing with other cloak markets, outside of New York.

In Chicago, the International has given the local cloak organization all possible assistance both in the negotiation of the new agreement and in the carrying on of organizing work in Chicago and in the adjoining towns where cloak shops are located. We fully realize that the conditions of the Chicago cloak industry in general naturally reflect the condition of

the cloak industry all over the country and especially in New York. Chicago has an out-of-town problem that seriously affects local work-conditions in the union shops, and the Chicago Joint Board, with the aid of the International is making earnest efforts to meet it. We heartily approve of the decision of our general officers to apply the same solution to the ills in the cloak industry of Chicago as is being applied in New York.

The Philadelphia cloak industry, as stated in the officers' report is closely connected with the cloak industry of New York. It is quite natural therefore that the general officers took a great deal of interest in negotiating the agreement between the Joint Board and manufacturers' association and in introducing in its general features the same program of industrial reforms as was intended for New York. Your committee is informed from the report of the G. E. B. that a collective agreement was entered into between the Union and the Philadelphia jobbers, thus placing the responsibility for the conditions of the workers upon them. We fully endorse this action, as well as the aid of our International officers to the Philadelphia organization in all other matters of importance. We have no doubt that in the future our officers will be able to introduce all the reforms that will be gained in New York into the cloak industry of Philadelphia.

Recommendations unanimously adopted.

We learn from the report that when peaceful means to bring about greater stability in the local cloak trade and to place more responsibility upon the jobbers for work-conditions in the contractor shops had failed in Boston, the cloak industry of that city was stopped off at the call of the Union. Employers were brought to terms and an agreement was signed which granted most of the demands of the organization. We notice also that, notwithstanding these efforts the unusually bad seasons in the local industry in the last year and a half have placed great obstacles in the way of making this agreement as workable and as effective as we should like it to be. In other words, Boston still presents a problem which the local unions, with the

aid of the International, will have to face in the future. This we must have in mind in judging the efforts of the incoming General Executive Board to create uniform trade conditions in cloak markets the country over, and to eliminate from them the obnoxious feature created by the jobbing-contractor system.

Recommendation unanimously adopted.

In Cleveland the condition of the workers in our trades is, we are glad to note from the report, quite satisfactory. The Cleveland Joint Board recently renewed its annual agreement with the local association and with the independent employers on the same terms as prevailed last year. Next April the wage scales in the Cleveland cloak and dress trade will be reviewed, in accordance with the terms of the new agreement, and we are gratified to know that the local organization views the future with confidence. We have no doubt that the incoming General Executive Board will give all the aid necessary to the Cleveland Joint Board.

Recommendation unanimously adopted.

A review of conditions in the cloak trade of Baltimore brings to light the fact that in that city the cloak trade is but half organized, the other half controlled by the few large anti-union employers who would rather fight the Union and lose money than enter into contractual relations with it. The report does not conceal the fact that until these shops are organized, Baltimore will remain a sore spot and a market where union conditions will be hard to enforce. The report recounts the efforts which the International has made in that city in the past eighteen months, the strike of 1924, its outcome and the present prospects in Baltimore. Notwithstanding this generous and loyal assistance given by the International to Baltimore the incoming Executive Board will be called upon to repeat the effort to organize Baltimore on a 100 per cent basis. We share in the opinion expressed in the officers' report that the Baltimore problems may be solved only if the Baltimore workers realize that it devolves upon them mainly to put their shoulder to the wheel and achieve the big task."

Recommendation unanimously adopted.

The Dress Industry

The report of the General Officers deals at length with the condition of the dress and waist organizations of our Union, and the efforts made by them in the last year and a half to strengthen these organizations and to make them more effective weapons for the well-being of the workers in these trades.

In New York, the principal dress market in the country, a fine agreement was entered with the employers in the dress industry last year, at first by negotiation and later, when it was found that the jobbers were not in earnest about living up to the terms of that contract, through the means of a general stoppage,—a folded arms strike, which lasted a few days and brought the desired results. This stoppage was an exceptional demonstration of solidarity, and we commend it to the attention of the delegates as a novel and very effective form of strike in our industry.

The General Executive Board in its report, however, is mindful of the great problems which are still facing the workers in the dress industry in New York, among these the problem of organizing the whole trade and the elimination of the evils accruing from the jobber-sub-manufacturer system.

We trust that the convention will follow the lead of the general officers in this respect and decide upon effective ways and means to meet these urgent needs in the dress industry.

Delegate Portnoy blamed the deplorable condition in the dress industry on the policy and conduct of the administration. He quoted figures to show that the number of union members had decreased and that the cost of conducting the strike in 1924 was tremendously greater than that of 1921 and he held President Sigman responsible for this.

He claimed that the "expulsion policy" of the administration was responsible for the loss of morale on the part of the workers and that, instead of concentrating on the problems of the workers, the officers had concentrated on expelling the most active members of the union. He

further stated that the workers were disgusted with the fact that agreements remained on paper as the employers never lived up to them because the administration did not take these agreements seriously. He maintained that the stoppage was a crime and that it had been called not when the interests of the workers were at stake but only when those of the contractors were at stake.

Delegates Shenker spoke in favor of the report of the committee, maintaining that the "lefts" instead of always offering destructive criticism should offer helpful criticism. He brought out the fact that it was unfair to compare costs of 1924 with those of 1921 in the following words: "In 1921 you still had the large shops in the dress industry. The jobber in New York had not developed to the extent that he has at the present time. He was in his infancy. Where you had one strike in those days today you have 60 strikes. In those days you had an organization campaign perhaps once in six months. Today you are required to carry on a constant organizing campaign."

Delegate Feinberg blamed the "lefts" because, instead of concentrating on the problem of organization and the other problems of the Union, they had concentrated on hairsplitting and quibbling. He maintained that the dress industry faced unusual difficulties so far as organization work was concerned. He denied that the expulsion policy had anything to do with the present situation. He said in part: "We tried to organize these workers when there was no expulsion policy, without any success. We can place the industry on a sound basis only when the labor cost on garments of similar grade is the same in every shop, so that workers will not compete with one another. Instead of using claptrap and shooting off phrases it is about time you began to realize that what the dressmakers of New York require is an organization campaign and not only an occasional one but a steady one. It must be a permanent institution. It must work day in and day out, and only then will you be able to win living trade conditions for the dressmakers."

Delegate Wortis spoke against the re-

port of the committee, maintaining that the dress industry was in a deplorable condition due to the policy of the administration, that instead of trying to improve conditions the officers were busy expelling the active members of the Union who complained against their policies. She concluded as follows: "If the members are indifferent, the blame for that lies on the administration, and, unless we adopt a policy whereby the members shall be the ones who shall dictate the policies of our organization, we will not be in a position to eradicate the evils that are infesting our industry at the present time."

Delegate Hochman strongly defended the report of the committee. He maintained that the dress industry was less stable than any other, that the majority of the workers are girls, and that about one-third of the membership changes every year. He maintained that the fact that there were men now in the industry did not mean that the girls disappeared as a factor in it, but that they went to the "open" shops and the problems in the trade remained. He blamed the "lefts" for their lack of co-operation in organizing the workers and maintained that they were serving the Workers' Party instead of attending to the interests of the workers. In reply to the charge that the administration had adopted an "expulsion policy" he said, "I want to tell you that you have carried on a policy of expulsion of every energetic person who is willing to work for the Union, if he does not agree with your dogma and philosophy. You expel him, not physically but morally you are disgracing him and spreading lies about him, and making it impossible for him to continue to serve the organization. You claim that the workers can be organized by voluntary committees. I know something about voluntary committees. There is a delegate here who made \$50 a week as a volunteer and he could not make two-thirds of that in the factory. You will get results when you establish a respect for the leadership instead of degrading it. Dressmakers must have week work and have able people to attend to the business. You have elected business agents that you know are incompetent and you elected them not be-

cause of their ability but because they happen to stick to the policies that you advocate."

Delegate Zimmerman denied the charge that they endorsed only such members as are Communists, but maintained that business agents were chosen on their merits, and that they were ready to support any man regardless of his private opinions who was competent and had a constructive program. He said, in part, "We picked Farber for organizer even though he was always against us. So it was not a question of individuals; it was a question of policies and the work being done." He maintained that in the executive board meetings they took up questions of the organization campaign and did not waste their time as claimed in "philosophizing". He further said "The dress industry suffers from the jobbers. The problem is to get control of the jobbers. We must find out how many "open" shops there are and where they are and we must tackle them one after another in a scientific manner. When we tried to carry out this policy we were given no co-operation. We have two splendid agreements on paper. The problem is to enforce them. For the future we will have to concentrate not on the organization campaigns such as were conducted in the past, but we will have to get to the bottom of the thing, to the source of the thing, the jobbers. We will have to conduct organization campaigns in a systematic way to get full control of the jobbers. This will help us get control of the out-of-town shops as well as those in the city. The union can utilize the contractors in a campaign against the jobbers, they also suffer mainly from the jobbers. We will have in future campaigns to utilize the contractors and all other factors in the industry against the jobbers."

President Sigman: There is no doubt that we all heartily approve of the recommendation of the G. E. B. dealing with this situation, as well as the report of the committee. The question before the house is that, in order to get effective control over the dress industry, extensive organization work must be done. From the talks delivered by Delegates Zimmerman and Wortis it seems to me that they fully

supported the proposals of the committee as to how to solve the problems of the industry.

I can understand the attack of a man who may not be in a position to know all the facts, but when it comes to Portnoy, a man who has been a paid officer of Local 22 for 12 years, it is worthwhile to call attention to the facts. The attitude of the "lefts" has been that unless a man happens to agree with their views he would not do.

Delegate Portnoy, in trying to place the blame on the officers, knows that he is committing a dishonest act. Only recently when the International audited your books, a certain item of \$91,000 was transferred somewhere and has not been explained, and when the Secretary of the International asked you to account for it, what did you answer? You sent him to Hyman and Zimmerman. You had more to say as to what took place in the Joint Action Committee than any of its members, because you had to pay the bills, you had to pass upon them.

Portnoy says that in 1921 there was a strike that cost so much and so much and then he compares the expenditures of that strike with the 1924 strike. He has already been partly answered. I say it is unfair to draw a comparison. At that time there were over 600 shops ready to settle with the union. They charged us with restraint of trade, with conspiracy, and wanted to compel the union to sign with them. No comparison can be made between conditions in 1921 and 1924. The tragedy is this, that these people are speaking as they do in the form of blackmail, knowing as they do that in a labor union you cannot bring up publicly a good many occurrences that happen in it.

What about Pauline Morgenstern, for instance? Let me tell that much. When she was the manager of Local 25 she came to me concerning the very same matters that you are trying to cast up to us, and as the president of the International I advised her and told her that it is criminal in her particular case to spend the balance of the money of Local 25. Not because she did it, it must be regarded as an act of revolution, while

if Dubinsky had done it, it would have been "gangsterism."

I say these blackmail methods are not going to lead you anywhere and I say that if such conditions have existed in our union and exist now, these men who charge others are the very men on trial, and Hyman, the present general manager of the New York Joint Board, is one of them because he paid for such organization activities. If we have reached a stage where we will have to challenge each other and tear down the mask, we shall see each other's face and record and find out which looks uglier.

So far as the report of the committee is concerned, it proposes the very same methods expressed in the orations of our "progressives." But since it comes from the committee and is not labeled, it cannot be approved before they will deliver their eloquent talks, so that it will be "kosher". Well, I think it is "kosher" and you can vote on it.

Delegate Portnoy: I want to ask you as President, and I am sure you knew it as chairman of the general strike committee, on what could the out-of-town committee spend \$50,000 when the jobbers and the manufacturers were not on strike and the chairman of the out of town committee was a vice-president of the International? I furthermore ask you, how was it possible that in a general strike and lockout that lasted for 10 weeks, \$700,000 was spent in strike benefits? How is this possible where only \$43,000 was spent on picketing and \$100,000 was spent in a stoppage which only lasted a couple of weeks?

President Sigman: It was not my function to supervise expenses, but if you want to force out of existence 600 or more shops, an effort of this kind, even with the assistance of voluntary members of your own, must incur a tremendous expense.

Delegate Antonini said that 99 per cent of what Portnoy said was not true. He said in part: "If you keep up your work of distributing pamphlets attacking everybody, teaching our members not to respect the leaders, naturally you will find thousands of followers who do not

even understand an iota about Socialism, Communism, or any ism. It is bunk to compare strike costs. Sometimes only one shop strike will exhaust your entire treasury. Nobody can satisfy Portnoy, even himself. He does not even trust himself. That is his temperament."

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was overwhelmingly carried.

At 6:30 p. m. the session adjourned to reconvene at 8:00 p. m.

Thirteenth Day—Night Session
Monday, December 14, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 8:00 p. m.

Chairman Katovsky continued to report for the Committee on Officers' Report as follows:

In Philadelphia, the report of the G. E. B. informs us that during 1925, an active organizing campaign was carried on with the aid of the General Office in the local dress and waist industry. This drive, which was intended to culminate in the Fall of 1925 in a general strike in this trade, while having brought a considerable number of new members into the local, did not materialize in a strike as yet. For this several reasons are given, among them the fact that, owing to the disturbed condition in the International in the last year, it was not deemed advisable to enter into a general strike at this time. We commend the G. E. B. for the aid it has given the Philadelphia dressmakers and for not plunging the industry into a strike before it could be reasonably certain that the circumstances were more or less favorable. We are confident that the incoming G. E. B. will do its best for the Philadelphia dressmakers as soon as the opportune moment arrives.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

We desire to commend to the attention of the delegates the sound and constructive policy carried out by the G. E. B. with regard to organizing activity in the Chicago dress trade. After the strike

of last year, the Chicago dress local, instead of feeling discouraged, prompted by the steady support of the International, went ahead with its work and kept on its missionary activity among the unorganized workers, with unbroken zeal and earnestness. As a result, we have in Chicago today a good dressmakers' organization, which will no doubt be ready to strike another blow at the enemy as soon as the G. E. B. and the Chicago Joint Board deem the hour favorable. It is a sane and effective policy and we may expect from it good results for the Chicago organization and for the dress industry as a whole.

Delegate Soll blamed the expulsion policy of the administration for "breaking up" the Chicago Joint Board at a time when they were preparing for a strike. He delivered a bitter attack on Perlstein, as well as on Yanofsky, who he claimed had written an editorial in the "Gerechtigkeit" during the time of the strike which had given encouragement to the employers.

Delegate Rappaport in answer to Delegate Soll, said that the latter knew nothing about the strike as he did not even partake in it. He said in part: "Everybody knows that the expulsion policy took place a year and a half before the strike was ever called, so you cannot blame it on the expulsion policy. I was against the expulsion policy not because the people did not deserve it, but because I did not want to make martyrs out of them. Perlstein refused to submit the question of the 40-hour week to arbitration and that is what lost the Chicago strike. When the employers suggested arbitration it was refused. We lost the strike by the very methods that the progressives were contemplating this afternoon. He claims the Joint Board was broken up because a few individuals were expelled. If the organization had been broken up we would not have made the display at the strike that we did. We lost the strike because we could not get any more money after we were out for 18 weeks. In New York, your resources were absolutely gone, because the New York cloak makers were anticipating a stoppage on account of the report of the Commission, all of our

resources were cut off and we had to give up the strike, and it was not because Perlstein was this or that. Soll was not in the strike or any part of it, and he comes on this floor trying to tell you delegates what happened in Chicago.

Delegate Blalin: Why does not Brother Soll mention the fact that the injunction broke up the strike?

Chairman Katovsky summed up for the committee. He said in part: "The committee comments on the activity begun now with the intent and purpose of organizing the unorganized dressmakers of Chicago, and the committee states here very emphatically that the present campaign to organize Chicago is a constructive campaign, and because of persistent work, with the aid of the International and with the support of the Chicago Joint Board, they have succeeded in establishing a local of dressmakers which will in due time be ready to strike another blow at the enemy. Your committee recommends that this policy go on and the G. E. B. give them all possible help in the future.

President Sigman: The question before the house will be divided into two parts, first the approval of the policy pursued since the strike in conducting organization work in the dress market of Chicago, and the action of the G. E. B. and the active membership of Local 100 and the Joint Board.

This motion was carried.

President Sigman: The second proposition to vote on is a proposition that was passed upon by this convention on the recommendation of the organization committee, and that is that the G. E. B. be instructed to continue the effective campaign for the organization of the dressmakers in Chicago.

This proposition was unanimously carried.

Chairman Katovsky continued to report for the committee as follows:

In Boston, the amalgamation of the skirt and dress locals into one, through the persistent efforts of the G. E. B., will no doubt result in a more effective organization of the workers in this trade.

But in Boston, too, as in other small and big dress markets, the work of organization is far from complete as yet. The report of the General Executive Board calls attention to this fact repeatedly, and we desire to commend this spirit of alertness on their part in keeping this very important problem constantly before the eyes of our members.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

The Canadian Organizations

The account of the achievement of the International in the Canadian cloak territory, in Montreal and Toronto, which no doubt all the delegates read with great satisfaction, deserves the sincere commendation of your committee. Without going into detail, we may state that, owing to the initiative of the G. E. B. we have today effective cloak unions in Canada, unions which have come to stay. We do not mean to imply by this that all troubles of the cloakmakers are over in Canada, or that the entire trade is completely organized and put on a union basis. But a good beginning has been made, and the prospects of a complete success are bright indeed; the incoming G. E. B. should keep this in mind and continue actively to aid the good work in Canada.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

We also desire to comment briefly on the condition in the Middle-Western cloak markets, such as St. Louis, Cincinnati, Toledo and on the Pacific Coast—in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, where we have locals,—and the steady contact which the General Office has maintained with these places, doing all it could under the circumstances which its own means and the special conditions in each of these places would permit. No doubt, had the G. E. B. been placed in better material circumstances, it might have accomplished greater results in these cities. Without funds, however, it would be next to useless to attempt anything on a big scale, and the convention should bear this in mind.

In New York City, we desire to draw the attention of the delegates to the active work of the Miscellaneous Trades Council, which under the director of the

G. E. B. carried on all last year an organizing campaign to organize the large number of unorganized workers in these trades, that culminated in a strike in the children's dress, white goods and embroidery trades. We commend the report of the General Officers for the frank spirit with which it deals with these problems in the miscellaneous trades in New York. The results accomplished are not magnified and the reasons for it are stated candidly. The specific difficulties involved in organizing work in New York at the present time are stated in a clear and convincing manner, and the convention will have to deal with this matter with similar directness in giving instructions to the incoming G. E. B. with regard to it.

Delegate Knisnick criticized the work of the Miscellaneous Trades Council. She claimed that a strike had been called without giving any notice whatsoever to the workers about it, with the result that no machinery was prepared to carry on the strike. She concluded as follows: "I think the strike of Local 91 and 62 is the best illustration of the fact that until we are going to do work with the knowledge and participation of the membership we will never succeed. We will spend thousands of dollars, but will lose the membership, and we will get splendid reports at our next convention."

Delegate Lefkovits: I am astonished that a member of the Union can stand up and misrepresent facts so brazenly, with all due respect to the lady. It is true the District Council was organized against the will and wishes of some of the local unions that were part and parcel of this council. You can imagine how we can do work with such a sentiment prevailing. They went into it only because the Boston convention decided that they must do it. These people from the start sabotaged the work of the District Council, but in spite of this we prepared an agreement for these trades in which the agreement expired last January, that is mainly Locals 91 and 62. She said she did not know anything about the campaign until the strike was called. We engaged seven paid organizers to distribute leaflets around the shops. Five hundred thousand leaflets were distrib-

uted throughout the City of New York. Besides every local union affiliated with the Council had a special committee to distribute the literature to the members working in the different trades. This campaign went on for five or six months, and this delegate has the audacity to stand up here and make you believe that she did not know that a campaign was being carried on. We had publicity in this campaign. Some of our leaflets were even printed in the newspapers. I had pictures of members distributing these circulars in the Daily News and in the Mirror. The campaign was carried on under very unfavorable conditions, and you know the element working in these two trades. We printed English, Jewish and Italian circulars. We did all we could. We do not say in our report that we succeeded. We did succeed in renewing the agreements and in gaining some new members. The job was hard because they sabotaged. If they had their heart and soul in the movement, we might have been more successful than we were.

Secretary Greenberg supported Delegate Lefkovits and maintained that he had done everything possible to carry on a successful campaign, and stated that every local union had lent its cooperation. He said, in part: "For the first time in the history of the International we had a strike of one or two locals where the other locals of the International gave their cooperation." He concluded by urging the delegates to adopt the report of the committee.

Upon being put to a vote the report of the committee was carried.

Chairman Katovsky continued to report as follows:

Among the recommendations submitted in this report by the General Executive Board we desire to point out one which belongs to our sphere of observation. We refer to the recommendation that the "Union should demand from the employers guarantees of more adequate safeguards of security for the enforcement of all industrial changes in the shops, and should also provide for immediate penalties for such employers-jobbers, manufacturers and sub-manu-

facturers, who might be inclined to treat the new clauses of the agreement lightly."

We believe this to be a sound suggestion, as we must make the strict observance of agreements in New York and elsewhere a steadfast policy, and teach the employers that contracts should be lived up to both in letter and spirit. (Recommendation unanimously adopted).

Your committee also wishes to commend to the attention of the delegates the steady progress being made in New York City by our Union Health Center, the growth of its clinics and its health educational work among our members. The General Executive Board and our locals individually are helping in the growth of the Center, and it doubtless has a splendid future of usefulness for our workers. (Recommendation unanimously adopted).

The merger of the tailors' Local No. 38 with the private dressmakers' Local 90 is a matter that is pointed out in the officers' report upon which we should like to comment. It was a wise move from a trade point of view, as both these locals have the same organization problems to meet, and it is to be hoped that as a united local they will accomplish greater results in this field. (Recommendation unanimously adopted).

Out-of-Town Department

Your committee read with absorbing interest the report of the general officers on the activities of our Out-of-Town Department. It is a branch of our activity which has grown out of an urgent demand for many years past that the General Office do everything in its power, sparing no cost, to unionize the shops in the small towns adjoining New York, where dresses and cloaks are being made under non-union conditions.

We observe that in the past year and a half this department has, in addition to its regular activity, aided materially during the general stoppage in the cloak industry in New York in 1924, taking complete charge of the out-of-town work during that walkout. The department also helped considerably in organizing work among the knit goods workers, and

rendered material aid in organizing Local 41. Your committee wants to commend especially the conduct by this department of the strike in the shops of the Reliable Cloak Company in Camden, N. J., and the remarkable fight put up by the girl strikers in that city under the guidance of the out-of-town department. That strike, no doubt, added a page of glory to the book of our struggles, and is to be marveled at, especially in view of the fact that the strikers were practically all native girls, new to our organization, and receiving their first lesson in militant trade unionism.

Your committee wishes also to express its admiration of the excellent calibre of the new element of workers we are receiving into our ranks through the organization of the cloak and dress shops in the smaller towns, through the efforts of the Out-of-Town Department. Though comparatively new-comers in our organization, these fellow-workers of ours are proving to be devoted union men and women, and many of them already seasoned and experienced fighters for their rights.

Your committee would recommend that this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to enlarge the activities of the Out-of-Town Department, to include also shops in the miscellaneous trades operating in the small towns, such as children's dress, white goods, embroidery, kimono and housedress shops. In these trades the trend towards locating in smaller towns has become very pronounced in late years, and it is obvious that we must extend our activity to include these shops and not concentrate only on cloak and dress shops. (Recommendation unanimously carried).

Delegate Portnoy: No matter how much the committee will try to whitewash the administration, it is repudiated by 90 per cent of the membership. In 1925 the Out-of-Town Department spent \$196,000. The Eastern Department spent \$120,000. What work was accomplished? In 1924 there were 719 members, and in 1925 960 members, a gain of 240 members, for which we paid \$120,000. There was one thing accomplished, and that was to build up delegates to the convention. Local 51 paid in \$40, which

means 3 and 1-2 members, and they have 2 delegates; Local 41 paid in for 1 and 9-9 members, or \$20, and they have 2 delegates. They spent thousands of dollars to organize Newark without any results. When I was an organizer in Newark I received no cooperation whatsoever. All they did was to pay me \$35 a week salary and the rent for the office; in spite of that I conducted three large strikes. If the organizers of the Eastern Department cannot accomplish any work, let them get back to the shop and get someone else who can do it and do it properly. Now we can get the cooperation only of scabs. If you want to make a success in New Jersey you have got to get the cooperation of the entire membership in New York and elsewhere, and not merely by getting organizers and giving out circulars.

Delegate Shub: Why don't you tell the convention that you paid the salary and expenses of two spies to find out what Organizer Shub was doing? I visited a shop in Connecticut and conducted business in behalf of the union between the employees and the employer. The following day two gentlemen with credentials signed by Portnoy appeared there and made a statement that Shub is not an officer of the union, thereby discrediting the union, and saying that he appeared in his own behalf and not in behalf of the union. Those facts are entirely withheld from the Union, and now he cries that so much money was spent.

Delegate Shub gave several instances of the work of the Eastern Department to show its effective work in driving scab shops out of the small towns. He concluded as follows: You have now the offices of the union in the City of New York. First, you set us an example that you have made a good job of your locals before you criticize the Eastern organization.

Delegate Rubinstein spoke against the report of the committee, maintaining the Eastern Department had been a failure and an absolute ruination to the New York shops.

Delegate Matthews: These delegates who complain are like husbands who

want good meals and complain about the expense. They do not mention what we did in Long Branch. They only mention the things that were not accomplished.

Delegate Halpern delivered an impassioned defense of the work accomplished by his department. He said, in part: "When you, Brother Portnoy, were in Newark you spent a considerable amount of money but you did not accomplish any results. You may be a wonderful operator, but as an organizer you were misplaced. We gave you the job but you could not make good.

"Portnoy stated that it cost too much money, that we did not succeed in bringing members into the union but only delegates to the convention, and that these delegates don't agree with their policies. Why don't you mention the Paterson locals? It happens that the Paterson local at the present time sits on the other side and the Paterson local (sarcastically) is a large local with thousands and thousands of members. They never had any representation to our convention before, and this time they have two delegates and not a word was said about it. Here are forty-five delegates (indicating the out-of-town delegates). Let them speak about the work that was done! Let them do the criticizing, if there is any to be done.

"Is it not the policy of the Joint Board to try their best to discourage shops in the country? Why do you want members at this time? Because it suits your purpose. A shop out of town cannot be a 100-per cent shop. Are we interested in developing members and more shops in the country?"

Delegate Halpern here gave several instances where the work of his department had succeeded in forcing various employers to give up their out-of-town shops that were competing with the workers in New York.

He concluded as follows: "I expected at this convention that when it came to the question of organization work there would be no division of opinion. If you can show me any constructive way of organizing the unorganized workers, I will be glad to cooperate with you, but let it be constructive criticism. The fu-

ture trade of ours lies in these small towns. There is not a town that is not inviting manufacturers to come down and make their products there. In conclusion I wish to say that I have never made a distinction between 'rights' and 'lefts', and I call upon the delegates of Local 41 to confirm that. At any time I have faced a situation I have put my heart and soul in it, never making any distinction between 'rights' and 'lefts'. If we want to solve our problems, let us at least on organization questions forget that we are 'rights' and 'lefts'. Let us all unite in the common purpose of uniting the workers into one big union." (Applause).

Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

The Waterproof Garment Industry

Your committee read with considerable interest the section in the Officers' Report touching on the conditions of the waterproof garment industry. We learn from the report that this trade is at present enjoying a high degree of prosperity, which may or may not last for any length of time. It is interesting to note that only a season or two ago the raincoat trade was at a very low ebb, so much so that in Boston raincoat-making became practically extinct, and our former Local 7 went out of existence and its members went to work on men's topcoats.

It would, however, be a mistake to conclude from this that there is no such thing as a permanent rainproof garment trade in this country employing many thousands of workers in large factories. These factories belong to large firms in Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Rhode Island and Ohio, and the majority of them are operated by the United States Rubber Company, the rubber trust. We desire to remind our delegates that, during the war years, we even succeeded in getting into the Union several hundred of these workers in Cambridge, Mass., but they drifted out of it after the war was over, and the production of Army slickers came to an end.

The thousands of workers employed in these shops are largely native English-

speaking men and women, an element that is difficult to organize, and they work under the hard and rigid conditions imposed by the giant concerns which possess unlimited means and influence to fight workers' organizations.

Your committee would nevertheless recommend that the convention instruct the General Executive Board to look carefully into the possibilities of beginning organizing work among these large masses of rainproof garment workers. We are mindful of the fact that organizing work among them would require funds and persistent effort. But on the other hand these workers are so badly oppressed and exploited, and their work conditions so pitiful, that we might be able to find them receptive to the message of organization and gradually enlist them in our ranks.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

The other committees of this convention will, no doubt, deal with all the other activities of the General Executive Board and of the locals and subdivisions of our Union, which subjects were turned over to them for consideration. We desire, however, to call the attention of the delegates to a few additional subjects which fall under the task assigned to us.

The Unity House in Forest Park has been managed this year for the first time by the General Office, and from the account of the General Executive Board we learn that this summer for the first time the Unity House has been the rest and vacation house for our members, as the overwhelming majority of the visitors were members of the I. L. G. W. U. instead of outsiders, as was the case in former years. The Unity House incurred a deficit this year, as it had to spend a large sum of money on renovations, and it will probably have to spend more money on renovations next season. We commend the Unity House Committee of the General Executive Board for the work it has done in making the Unity House the pleasant and comfortable place it has now become, and we hope that a way will be found to place it on a paying basis while it retains its character as an I. L. G. W. U. institution devoted

principally to the needs of our own members.

Delegate Wo'kowitz: Why was there a deficit this year in the Unity House?

President Sigman: In the past the majority of visitors to the Unity House has consisted of members of other unions or liberal-minded people who were non-members. They have always paid a higher rate than our members. This season the attendance consisted of 80 per cent of our members, who pay a considerable smaller fee than outsiders. Furthermore, the season this year started somewhat later than usual, and there was the expense of the help to pay that had been hired in anticipation of an earlier season.

Delegate Hyman: Brother Shoenholtz informed me that he does not believe that a good many people who presented books to show that they are members of the International were members, and that they did so merely to get advantage of the lower rates.

Upon being put to a vote the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

The committee continued its report as follows:

We also desire to commend the General Executive Board for the admirable history of our Union published by it—"The Women's Garment Workers"—written under its auspices by Dr. Louis Levine, which will remain for years to come a monumental work on such a significant chapter of labor history in the United States as is the history of our organization. This work cost a considerable sum of money, but we are confident that the delegates will agree with us that this was money well spent and of lasting value."

At 10:45 p. m. the session adjourned to reconvene Tuesday, December 15, 1925, at 9:00 a. m.

14th Day—Morning Session

Tuesday, December 15, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 9:30 a. m.

President Sigman: I want to know whether Delegate Hyman still does not want to serve on the Label Committee.

Delegate Hyman: I think that the Resolutions Committee can take care of all resolutions dealing with the label.

President Sigman: Will you serve?

Delegate Hyman: No.

President Sigman: Then I will announce Vice-president Reisberg as the chairman of the Label Committee. He will meet with the other delegates appointed on the committee and render a report. We shall now continue with the report of the Committee on Officers' Report.

Secretary Greenberg thereupon reported for the committee as follows:

The Internal Situation in the International

Your committee has considered that part of the report of the officers which gives account of the internal fight in Locals 2, 9 and 22. We have examined it with a full realization of its importance and our responsibility. We realize that this convention is a result of the internal upheaval, and is called for the purpose of adjusting the difficulties encountered by our organization.

It appears from the officers' report that, soon after the Boston Convention and after the merger of Locals 1, 11, and 17 into one local known as Local 2, the General Executive Board ordered this Local 2 to have nominations for an executive board and to elect one. After the nominations had been made, the candidates declared to the Election and Objection Committee of the General Executive Board that when elected they would live up to the provision of our Constitution prohibiting any member from "holding membership or office in a dual union or in any other organization attempting to shape the policies, determine the

choice of officers or influence the actions of the I. L. G. W. U. or any subordinate body of the same, or otherwise to usurp or interfere with the legitimate functions and rights of the I. L. G. W. U., its subordinate bodies and its officers, or for active support of such an organization. (Article X, Section 13, I. L. G. W. U. Constitution 1924)." About the same time, Local 9 held nominations for executive board officers and their candidates gave a similar pledge. Later, in April, 1925, Local 22 held an election for executive board, and their candidates also signed a similar pledge. The general officers knew that a number of these candidates for executive board members were Communists, but hoped that these men and women once in office would act in accordance with the constitution and in the interests of the organization.

The hopes and expectations of President Sigman and the General Executive Board, however, did not materialize. The executives of these three locals formed themselves into a body for joint action, and the Communist press in New York City, as well as in other cities, became their spokesmen. They conducted themselves and the affairs of their organizations, not as representatives of locals of the International Union, but as an enemy organization. These three locals organized May Day meetings which, because of the speakers invited and the speeches delivered, were turned into Communist meetings. Because of these speakers and the character of the speeches, the impression was created, especially at the meeting organized by Local 9 which was widely reported in the capitalist press, that these meetings were organized by the International and that the International had become an adjunct of the Communist Party.

It appears also from the report of the general officers that the executive board of Local 22 had violated the provisions of Article V, Sections 9 and 10 of the constitution by using property of the local derived from its regular revenue, and held in trust for all its members, i. e., bonds of the value of \$2000, as collateral security for a loan of an organization known as Camp Nit Gedelget, which, if anything, is hostile to the organization.

As a result of these activities of the three enumerated locals, Vice president Israel Feinberg, who at that time was general manager of the Joint Board, brought charges in that body against the executive boards of Locals 2, 9 and 22, and the Joint Board decided to suspend them from office pending a trial by a committee appointed for that purpose by the Joint Board.

Your committee is also informed that the Joint Board appointed a committee to take over at once the offices of these three locals and to administer them temporarily until the trial committee would bring in its verdict. The suspended executives, instead of submitting to the decision of the Joint Board as loyal members and especially officers should do, have defied the organization. The Joint Board succeeded in taking over the offices of Locals 2 and 9, but the office of Local 22 resisted the attempt of the Joint Board committee to enter it and become the headquarters of the Joint Action Committee, formed by these suspended executives in opposition to the Joint Board. Your committee is also informed that this Joint Action Committee called upon the members of the International in New York and elsewhere to stop paying dues to their locals, to cease taking orders from the officers of the Union, and in general to detach themselves from our organization. In the course of their fight against the International organization, the executives of these three locals started a law-suit against the International and the Joint Board to compel them to surrender the funds of Local 9 and 22 on deposit in the International Union Bank. They appeared before the district attorney of New York County and informed him that the International Union and the Joint Board were employing gangsters to terrorize the members into obeying the union officials and paying their dues, and pressed for an indictment. The Joint Action Committee called strikes in several shops to force the reinstatement of some of its followers who had been removed by the Union, and to force the employers to do business with their committee instead of with the Joint Board.

We cannot enumerate all the excesses committed by this Joint Action Commit-

tee in its fight against the Union. From the report of the officers, we are under the impression that this fight, had it continued, would result, if not in the entire destruction of our Union, in eliminating it as a powerful representative of the workers. It is because of this, because of the desire on the part of the general officers to save the Union from utter destruction, that on August 28th President Sigman, at a meeting of the General Executive Board, offered a proposal of a peace settlement which was accepted by the Board. This peace proposal was also approved by the Joint Board, which shortly thereafter called a mass meeting of shop chairmen, before whom President Sigman laid his program. Another meeting of shop chairmen was held on September 10th and resulted in a committee of five shop chairmen being elected from the floor, which committee was empowered to enlarge itself to fifteen members. This committee was instructed to endeavor to bring the opposition and the Union together on the basis of true reconciliation. The shop chairmen's committee arranged several conferences between the Union's committee headed by President Sigman, and the leaders of the suspended local executives, and finally on September 25th an understanding was reached.

Your committee does not deem it necessary to recount the terms of this understanding. As a result of it, the General Executive Board set aside the verdict of the Joint Board which called for a suspension of most of these executive officers, and made them again eligible for office. Executive board elections were soon afterward held in these locals, in which most of the former executives and the former managers were reelected. The locals also elected new Joint Board delegates, which were readmitted into the central organization of the cloak and dress industry of New York City; and a committee was elected to prepare plans for the election of a new staff of business agents and district managers of the Joint Board in place of the old staff which resigned in the interest of harmony and greater cooperation between all the elements in the Union.

Such is the story, as it appears to your

committee, of the internal fight in New York that shook the organization to its foundation. There is no doubt, in our opinion, that the Joint Board and the General Executive Board were acting in accordance with the constitution in their approval of the charges against the three local executives. It appears to us, from the documentary evidence presented in the report of the officers, that the General Executive Board was bound by the constitution of the International to deal as they did, with the local executives who were acting contrary to the interests of the organization and in violation of the constitution.

We may doubt that all the suspended executive board members were guilty in the same degree. There is one thing certain, however that no member or officer of our organization may defy its laws to any degree and still consider himself loyal. Once found guilty, a loyal member has a right to appeal in a manner prescribed by the constitution. The suspended executives failed to do so. They were found guilty not only of the charges brought before the Joint Board and the trial committee, but still more of acting contrary to the discipline of the organization, contrary to the interests of the organization, contrary to the constitution of the organization. We realize of course that the decision of the General Executive Board to lift the punishment imposed upon the suspended executive board members who so grossly violated both the constitution of the International and the traditions of the labor movement in general, was dictated by the larger interests of the organization. We realize that the General Executive Board acted as it did only after it became convinced that this internal dissension was threatening the very existence of the organization. We also realize that the method of lifting the penalty imposed upon these members was novel and not entirely according to accepted procedure. But realizing as we do that the only motive of the G. E. B. in lifting their sentence and making them again eligible for office was to save the organization from the danger of destruction,—we cannot but commend the foresight it has displayed.

Your Committee recommends that this

convention approve the action of the General Executive Board in dealing with the suspended members of the above named executive boards, and its efforts to bring about harmony in the organization. But your committee also recommends that in the future any acts on the part of any member or group of members in violation of the constitution and in detriment to the organization be dealt with in accordance with all the rules and procedure prescribed by the constitution.

The Morale of Our Organization.

Every active member of the organization who has been with the organization for some time, in times of prosperity as well as in times of depression, knows that, in times of depression and unemployment, there is considerable dissatisfaction among the workers. This is especially true of workers who look upon the organization as an agency through which they can get all the benefit and for which they need make no sacrifices. In reviewing the report of the officers dealing with the upheaval in New York, your committee cannot but connect this upheaval with the industrial conditions prevailing in New York and, to a large extent, in other markets where cloaks and suits are manufactured. Your committee has already mentioned the fact presented in the officers' report that the cloak and suit industry has shrunk considerably during the last several years. The number of people employed in the industry has decreased almost a third. Consider that an important branch of the cloak and suit industry,—that is, the manufacturing of suits,—has been eliminated almost in its entirety. Consider also that the change in styles, the simplification of styles of coats, has decreased the demand of the trade for workers. Consider again the increased demand for fur coats. Consider also that the embroideries and other trimmings have practically been separated from the cloak and suit factories.

Consideration of all these facts explains in a large measure the decreased demand for workers in the cloak and suit shops. There is constant unemployment. Season after season rolls by with very little work in the shops and with a considerable portion of our workers

finding themselves without any means of supporting themselves and their families. A considerable number of cloak and suit workers have found their way into the dress industry, which has rapidly grown. They found themselves, in a number of cases, working in non-union shops. For it is no secret, and the report of the officers frankly states it, that the dress industry is very far from being organized. These workers, in order to make a living, have to compete with non-union labor.

Your committee has already reported on that part of the officers' report which deals with the jobbing-sub-manufacturing system. We must emphasize again, however, the demoralizing effect of this system upon our workers. Shops are coming and going. Practically one-third of the sub-manufacturing shops are being given up every year. These discontinued shops are constantly letting loose upon the market an army of unemployed workers who are tempted, and often accept, employment in newly established sub-manufacturing shops, on terms below the accepted union standard. The system of jobbing-sub-manufacturing has shortened the season. Even the shops that remain in business do not provide enough work. The workers see their earnings and means of livelihood constantly shrinking and it is quite natural that they blame their union for not stopping this mad rush created by the jobbing-sub-manufacturing system.

But the jobbing sub-manufacturing system has brought about another situation that is fraught with danger to our organization and to the standards of morale of our organization. The constant opening and discontinuance of small sub-manufacturing shops has brought about a constant movement of workers from the Union to become bosses of such sub-manufacturing shops and, in case of failure, back again to the Union. These ex-contractors and sub-manufacturers, with the psychology of a boss, are not an element on which the Union can count. They do come back, however, and they regard the organization as the cause of their failure and are relentless enemies of the Union, trying to harm it whenever possible.

Your committee is of the opinion that the unemployment due to the causes that we have already described, the large army of former bosses in the Union but hostile to it, together with some acts of favoritism on the part of some former officials in the Joint Board,—made a fertile soil for the seeds of discontent. The morale of our membership was shaken by continuous unemployment. The loyalty of a goodly portion of our members was broken by the former boss-element in our organization. Under such circumstances, any group may create dissension such as we have experienced in the last few months.

If the morale of our membership in New York was at a low point before this upheaval, if the discipline in our organization was shaken before the fight of the three locals started, your committee is fearful of the morale and discipline of our membership and organization after the propaganda carried on by the Joint Action Committee. When members of the organization can stop paying dues and thereby become heroes; when members of the organization disobey the rules and dictates of the organization and its officers and remain undisciplined; when members of the organization can defy it and violate its constitution,—the organization is in danger. Its organizing machinery, its fighting strength and its industrial power are crippled. No one knows it better than the employer. No one appraises our morale with more accuracy than the employer, and no one rejoices in our internal calamity more than the employer.

Your committee, after reviewing the industrial situation and the internal conditions in New York, is of the opinion that our general officers have acted properly in eliminating that group of former officials of the Joint Board which we mentioned before, and have acted wisely in insisting upon the industrial program prepared by them, which can and, if accepted will, rebuild the morale of our organization.

Your committee strongly approves the attitude of the G. E. B. with regard to the rise of weekly dues ordered by the New York Joint Board in the fall of

1924. The report of the G. E. B., in commenting upon it states: "The General Executive Board did not approve of the act of the Joint Board in raising dues without the vote of the general membership and our press editorially criticized this move." Your committee recommends that in the future no such rise of dues or the levy of an assessment shall be made without a referendum vote by the whole membership.

Your committee commends highly the policy and action of the General Executive Board in consolidating all the three operators locals of New York City, Local 1, 11 and 17 into one, as it believes that this action is bound to have a beneficial effect on the condition of the operators in the shops, will eliminate favoritism and special groups and will therefore improve the morale and the relations between worker and worker in the shops. For this the General Executive Board and especially President Sigman, deserves unstinted praise. Your Committee is of the opinion that the incoming General Executive Board shall be authorized and instructed to find a way by which the morale of the organization shall be rebuilt and discipline restored. Ours is a fighting organization. We can exist only when our enemies know that we are a disciplined and well trained army.

Fraternally submitted,

COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS REPORT

Abe Katovsky, Chairman
H. Greenberg, Secretary
A. Rosenberg
George Rubin
Morris Rappaport
M. Wink
H. Tuckman
Max Kaiser
L. Pinkofsky
Sam Rudin
Philip Ansel
A. Bloomfield
Mandy Fineberg
Yetta Melofsky
Harry Kaplan
Sam Krausman
Samuel Cohen
Bono Domenico
David Godes

Delegate Zimmerman, after being recognized by the chair, read the following declaration:

Declaration Issued by the Progressive Delegates to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

Brother Chairman and Delegates:

The progressive delegates to this convention wish to call your attention to the report of the G. E. B. submitted to this convention. In our opinion, the attitude this convention will adopt on this report will determine largely the future progress of our Union. Because of the crisis in our Union, we must more carefully than ever before, review the past policies and activities of our Union, and on the basis both of past mistakes and meritorious achievements outline a program which will assure its success in its future work and struggles.

We have studied carefully the report of the G. E. B. and we know the history of our International Union from its beginning in the great strikes of 1909 and 1910 until the present day. As a result of our knowledge and experience and because of our deep interest in our Union as the organized expression of the ladies' garment workers, we present to you the following facts and conclusions:

Our International, which at one time was strong numerically and a powerful influence in the industry, has during the past few years suffered one defeat after another. Thousands of workers, once members of our Union, have deserted our ranks. The treasuries of the general administration as well as those of the local unions, have been badly depleted. Our union has lost, not only the financial resources once in its possession, but at present is buried under a mountain of debt.

The deplorable conditions existing in our industry are no secret to any one. The "Open Shop" has become widespread. The "scab" and "corporation" shops are flourishing in increasingly greater numbers even in our best organized centers, and as a result of these conditions, the living standards of our workers have been reduced to a low level. These conditions threaten to be-

come worse from day to day unless conscious and determined action is taken at this convention to check the growth of the evils that weaken our Union and increase the menace of the "open shop" in the industry.

Our Membership

The extent to which our Union has suffered a loss in membership can be shown by a few figures. The last two reports of the G. E. B. (biennial reports) which have been submitted to the conventions of 1922 and 1924, and other figures at hand present some startling facts in this connection:

Our membership from 1920 to 1924 was as follows:

1920—85,778
1922—73,789
1924—61,207

The above figures indicate according to per capita tax paid to the International that our Union has lost 24,571 members in the years 1920—1924 inclusive.

It is also well to note another fact in the above report, namely, that the same time our Union suffered such a colossal loss in membership, the expenses of the organization department increased enormously as follows:

1922—\$102,420
1924— 218,774
1925— 196,234—for 19 mos.

Organization expense has been mounting rapidly while the membership has been decreasing.

The Present Situation in the New York Industry

We are sure that the active members of our Union will remember readily the great turmoil raised by the administration over the demands worked out for the N. Y. cloakmakers known as the ten commandments. Nineteen months ago, at the Boston convention, these demands were endorsed. The convention also voted that if these demands should not be gained through negotiations all efforts to secure them should be made by means of a general strike in the cloak

industry. It was the firm conviction of every sincere worker in our Union that we must use every available means to force the jobbers, to take upon themselves the responsibility of the working conditions of the cloakmakers. It was clear to every one of us that until these demands were expressed in working conditions we were in great danger of losing every gain made previously through the most bitter struggles and sacrifices.

The demands of the cloakmakers were discussed at great length for many weeks, and when the employers refused to consider these demands, the administration carried through a referendum vote for a general strike.

What was the result of this great agitation? The present administration, after making much noise about the importance of the demands of the cloakmakers, and securing sanction for a strike, instead of carrying out the mandate given to them by the convention and the membership submitted the demands of the workers to a Commission appointed by Governor Smith, and bound the cloakmakers to the findings of a so-called impartial Commission, which resulted in the Commission finally rejecting the most vital demands, and although the administration accepted the report of the Commission and concluded agreements with the employers, a useless stoppage was called.

The stoppage called by the Union cost \$507,933.77. What this enormous sum of money was spent for we do not know. It is sufficient, however, to cite a few figures comparing the expenses of this stoppage in 1924, which lasted for a period of ten weeks. In 1921 the ten weeks' strike cost the Union \$1,046,531.32. The four weeks' stoppage in 1924 cost the Union \$507,933.77.

It is interesting to note that out of the sum spent during the ten weeks general strike in 1921 about \$714,000 was given to the workers in the form of strike benefits, while during the stoppage of 1924 only a little more than \$100,000 was paid out in strike benefits. When we deduct the sum paid out in strike benefits in both instances, the subtraction shows that during the four weeks' stoppage, \$391,502.00 were spent and during the ten weeks' strike, \$332.

540.58. These figures show that the four weeks' stoppage cost the Union \$58,961.71 more than the ten weeks' strike in 1921.

What did we gain by this stoppage? The main purpose of the stoppage was the elimination of the small shops, leaving only such shops as employ not less than 14 operators. The establishment in our industry of shops with not less than 14 machines was considered the greatest gain we received from the Governor's Commission. However, we have now the latest report of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control of the Cloak Industry, which shows that 50 per cent of the shops are operating to this day with less than 14 machines.

The unbearable conditions in the New York market have not failed to have their effect on the situation of the workers in the smaller markets in the Cloak Industry. The conditions of the workers in all centers have become more difficult and the losses suffered by our union have become greater everywhere.

The present administration has also made a pretense of doing something for the workers in the smaller centers. They have carried on so-called organization campaigns and carried on strikes; but these campaigns and strikes have been carried on in the same spirit and in line with the policies pursued by them in the New York organization, and consequently the results are similar. We find, for instance, that after the organization campaigns carried on in Philadelphia the membership decreased as

In 1920—Union membership	5,307
In 1922—Union membership	3,516
In 1924—Union membership	2,069
In 1925—Union membership	1,546

The above figures are not included in the report of the G. E. B. but have been compiled by us on the basis of per capita tax payments reported to the last four conventions.

From the same reports we see that in Baltimore the membership, after the recent strike, was reduced to a smaller number than before the strike was called.

The strike in Montreal did not in any

way increase the membership of the Union.

In Chicago the present administration, through its Western Department, carried on an organization campaign which cost a fortune, but the membership in Chicago has suffered a decrease from 1922 to date. It was in Chicago that the campaign managed by Perlstein was lost for which no financial accounting has as yet been made.

Administration Pretenses

In the report of the G. E. B. we are told that the New York Dressmakers have an agreement which is an exception to the general run of our agreements in all its phases. But the fact is that the agreement thus far has remained a dead letter. Most of the points in this agreement exist only on paper and not in the lives of our workers.

The reason for this state of affairs can be found in the fact that the greatest number of dressmakers even in New York are unorganized. According to the report of the Board of Sanitary Control there are 2,006 dress shops in New York City of which 944 are open shops.

The true causes for the present deplorable situation in our union and the industry are to be found in the abandonment of the militant policies of struggle in an organization which were the foundation of our union. The policy of our union during the period of birth and growth was a militant one.

But the leadership of our union, following that period adopted a different course. No sooner had our International become a great power through its bitter mass struggles, no sooner had it become a strong factor in the labor movement, than a clique of officers began to entrench themselves at the head of the organization, a clique whose chief concern was to strengthen its own position instead of strengthening the power of the union. These began to pursue a policy of dependence on the good will of the employers rather than on the organized strength of the workers. The membership of the union was pushed into the background and in a short time a Chinese wall was built up between the

workers and the leaders. The policy of good will between the union and the bosses began to dominate our union.

The employers took advantage of these policies. If they did not at all times force the workers into open struggles, then at one time or another they tried to evade union conditions through back-door methods and in this way they have been successful in many sections of the industry.

The administration never followed the methods which would keep the ranks of the workers solidified, or carried on militantly the daily struggle. As a result of these failures and this neglect, through co-operation with the employers, there came into existence a union bureaucracy which has little concern for the interests of the membership. Such conditions lead naturally to a revolt in the ranks of the workers. The class-conscious workers began to organize themselves into left groups and came out openly against the futile and selfish policies of the leadership.

The administration refused to investigate the causes responsible for the dissatisfaction among the members. They refused to listen to justifiable criticism or the demands of the members and, instead of meeting their needs in a just manner, the administration adopted the policy of persecution of these members. When President Sigman was elected in 1923 many active workers hoped that under his leadership the G. E. B. would take steps to heal the wounds of our International and eliminate the evils from which our membership was suffering.

These hopes have proven groundless. The Sigman administration made many promises but it permitted the chaos in the industry to continue while the persecution of the members who expressed discontent was intensified.

The Sigman administration was the first in the American Labor movement to initiate the expulsion policy of dealing with rank and file discontent. Instead of uniting the membership and, through a united strength of leaders and rank and file, beginning intensive organization work in the dress industry and miscellaneous trades and thereby establishing a

former union control in the shops, the Sigman administration began to expel all the progressive and active members from the union. Hundreds of them were taken from their jobs and the entire membership of the International thrown into civil war.

The Recent Internal Struggle in the Joint Board in New York

In the report of the G. E. B. we are told that the Sigman administration sought to rid our union of corruption and to eliminate the corruptionists. But the facts and figures we have cited about the expenses of the general stoppage in New York, and other similar instances prove conclusively that the statement of the G. E. B. is an idle boast. The actual facts prove that instead of uniting the better elements in the union, fighting together with them against corruption, and healing the wounds inflicted by the union on these elements, the Sigman administration undertook a campaign against the progressive locals and progressive members. Right at the time when our New York cloakmakers were carrying on negotiations for a new agreement, the Sigman administration decided to suspend the officers and Executive Boards of the three largest locals, 2, 9 and 22.

The administration of the Joint Board took no account of the fact that the executive boards and officers of these locals were elected by the largest vote ever recorded in the history of these locals. It did not consider the fact that these local officials were elected in spite of the continuous persecution carried on against them.

It was with the intention of destroying the growing opposition in these progressive locals that the Sigman administration decided to carry through a pogrom policy against them. Taking advantage of the present arbitrary system of representation in the Joint Board where the New York locals were ruled by the machine composed of delegates representing but a small minority of the membership, with the votes cast by the representatives of these small locals depending for their existence on the Sigman machine, they decided to make an

attack on the largest and most active locals of our organization.

In the report of the G. E. B. we read that the three locals attacked have used their treasuries to carry on the struggle against the G. E. B. and the New York Joint Board. The report states that it was for this reason that the Sigman administration attacked the funds of Locals 2, 9 and 22.

This statement is but one of the many untruths contained in this report, because on the 11th of June, the three locals were expelled and on the following day, the 12th, the banks already had the order to attach their funds. This arbitrary act enraged the membership of New York and we state without hesitation to the delegates to this convention that the statement that the suspended Executive Boards have fomented a revolt among the membership is not the truth. It is true that the membership revolted, but this revolt was caused by the expulsion policy of the Sigman machine. This action of the Sigman administration was solely responsible for the revolt of the cloak and dressmakers, and the Sigman administration must bear that responsibility. The membership took up the challenge with the determination of ending once and for all irresponsible rule in our International Union.

How did the Sigman administration meet the situation? In the dead of night with the aid of strong-arm men they forced entrance and, with the aid of gangsters, took possession of the offices of Locals 2 and 9. An unsuccessful attempt was made to capture the office of Local 22 but the machine benchmen were unable to force their way through the determined ranks of the membership who were on guard.

The Sigman machine then started an intensive publicity campaign in the capitalist news in an endeavor to label the leaders of the three progressive locals as "Terrible Bolsheviks" who were receiving their orders direct from Moscow. This campaign was similar in many respects to that engineered by Attorney General Palmer of infamous memory.

The executive boards and officers of the three locals were adjudged guilty before

a committee which acted both as accusers and judge. When the accused demanded a trial before an impartial committee consisting of such men as Eugene V. Debs, Scott Nearing and others prominent in the Labor movement, they were laughed at.

The members of these three locals who supported their officers were thrown out of their shops. Without any scruples whatsoever the Sigman machine began to mobilize all the dark forces, making an open alliance with the bosses and police against their own membership. By the advice of these same officials, employers took out injunctions against the striking workers of these locals and the Joint Action Committee, which has been set up to protect their interests against the vicious onslaught of the Sigman machine.

For fifteen long weeks the war on the membership continued and the Sigman machine still refused to recognize the demands of the workers, but the determined front of the membership forced them to conclude a peace agreement by reason of which the open warfare in the union was ended.

The thousands of members of our Union, who have given their consent to the peace agreement, nevertheless retained their distrust towards the officials who committed the long list of atrocious acts against the membership. These members believe that the Sigman administration cannot and will not change its policies in the future. The peace agreement was accepted only because of the many insistent demands of the membership which have not as yet been carried out.

Those who can put these demands into effect in the life of our organization are the delegates to the present convention. We, therefore, call on you to think seriously of the problems of our union and the policies and tactics followed by the Sigman administration. You must not forget for a single moment the interests and demands of our membership.

Policy and Program

We came to this convention to draw the balance of the activities of our union since its own organization, to make out

praise and censure where due, to check the decline of our organizational strength and to adopt such measures as will lead to the re-establishment of the I. L. G. W. U. as a powerful union.

The Sigman administration in spite of disastrous consequences of its stewardship still lays claim to the leadership of our International but offers no solutions for the problems confronting us. On the contrary, it justifies and recommends for future practice the policies that have brought our union to the verge of ruin.

From facts gathered and figures generally known, our industry is in process of spreading out rapidly as a national industry. The total number of workers employed outside of New York City is almost as great as the total of good standing members of our entire International and we are only on the eve of development as a national industry. Second in importance is the fact that the cloak industry which is chiefly confined to New York City is generally on the downgrade, while the dress industry of which 40 per cent is located outside of New York City and is already employing by far the biggest percentage of workers in our industry.

Of the utmost concern to us as organized workers is the fact that while the industry is expanding, our union has shrunk in membership to only 66 per cent of its former strength. Our organizational strength does not exceed more than 26 per cent of the total number of workers employed in the dress industry. The reappearance of small shops as the prevailing unit of production with shortening seasons and unemployment that goes with it creates new problems for our union.

How has our leadership met these problems? How do they propose to meet them in the future?

Instead of concentrating all the energy, resources and human material in a struggle to meet and overcome these problems to organize the unorganized, to bring the jobbers under union control, to stop the disintegration of the industry in the small sweat shops, the Sigman administration began a policy of disruption.

Even today when the disastrous consequences of these policies are apparent to every worker President Sigman's report in the name of the G. E. B. justified these policies and points out their necessity for the future. The Sigman administration has tried desperately to maintain peace with the bosses. It was impossible to fight the membership and the employers at the same time, therefore our demands were turned over to commissions. Peace by all means with the employers and war against the membership have been the chief characteristics of Sigman's policies.

This sort of attitude towards the employers was not due to the expulsion policy only but it is a part and parcel of the entire outlook of the Sigman administration toward the problems of the working class as applied to the conditions in our industry.

Either we have a policy of militant struggle against the employers, in order to re-establish our strength in the industry and make further advances, which means a new leadership and a new policy, or we have the policy of cooperation with the employers and persecution and expulsion of those who oppose these practices of the Sigman leadership.

These are the two alternatives before this convention.

The first paragraph of the G. E. B. reports states:

"The Cloak and Dress Industry of New York is a pivot upon which our organization rests today. It is the controlling factor in the destiny of our union, and its development—for better or worse—shapes our organizational policies. . . . It is quite evident, therefore, that no serious analysis of the conditions of our industry and of our union may be attempted without a review of the principal phases of the situation of the New York cloak and dress market, the trend it is taking, and the probable development that it is likely to reach.

We, the progressive delegates, representing the overwhelming majority of the workers in New York cloak and dress industry, are entitled to demand a new leadership for our union from this

convention. We represent moreover the overwhelming majority of the membership of our union and we have fought and won a struggle for vital reforms and changes of policy.

We are willing and anxious to co-operate with all elements in the union that are honestly desirous of a new leadership that will give opportunity to build up our organization and place in force the policies advocated by the progressives in our union.

Organization Methods

The rank and file organizing methods which have been advocated and practiced by some of the progressive locals in our International cannot be put into practice effectively except in conjunction with other vital reforms, notably the shop delegate system. On the full application of these reforms depends the execution of the entire program of organizing our industry and the organization of the unorganized generally.

The Sigman Policy in Chicago

When Sigman took over the administration Chicago had a militant administration in the Joint Board which, through its militant policy, had forced the dress manufacturers to submit to the union demands. The prestige of the Union in the cloak and dress industry in Chicago had been raised to a high point. The cloak industry was about 90 per cent organized and the Joint Board was planning to organize the only out of town non-union shop located in Kenosha, Wisconsin.

The membership was 3,700 with 3,300 paid up to date.

In June, 1923, Perlstein returned from the session of the G. E. B. and started the expulsion campaign. Eleven of the most active and loyal members of the union, among whom were various local officers and financial and recording secretaries of the Joint Board, were brought up on framed up charges. At the end of the expulsion campaign these members, together with many of the most active members of the Union, were expelled and many others disfranchised. The rank and file organization, which had been

functioning so effectively, was dissolved and replaced by a set of paid organizers whose duties consisted in terrorizing the membership.

In 1924 a strike was called in which the expelled members offered their services. They were accepted, the expelled members took a leading part in the strike, one of them acting throughout the strike as the captain of the pickets. The strike was disorganized by editorials written by the editor of Justice declaring that the Union will have to give up the strike, at the time when the spirit of the strikers was of the very best.

This irresponsibility, coupled with the expulsion policy, has disrupted the organization in Chicago until it is now less than 60 per cent organized. Wages have dropped from a maximum of \$70 to \$55 and \$50, and those members who formerly worked for \$55.00 or the minimum scale, are now working below the scale or are out of work entirely.

The destructive Sigman policy brought a revolt among the Chicago membership and is expressed concretely in the Chicago delegation to this convention, two-thirds of the delegation being instructed by their membership to support the progressive policies which brought success in wages and working conditions for the Chicago Union until its effectiveness was destroyed by the Sigman expulsion campaign.

The Sigman Policy in Philadelphia

When the progressives took over control of the Cloak and Skirtmakers' Joint Board of Philadelphia they found about 60 corporation shops. They undertook organization work through a rank and file committee and succeeded in driving out of the trade all the corporation shops. They organized the trade 100 per cent and the membership expressed their full confidence in the Joint Board. At this time the membership of Philadelphia was 2,200 fully paid up and an actual membership of 2,800.

But the Sigman administration could not tolerate this demonstration of the correctness of the progressive policies and an attempt was made by the machine

to discredit the progressives. The famous expulsion order of the G. E. B. against all those who expressed a difference of opinion with the Sigman machine soon followed.

Two letters were sent by Sigman demanding expulsion of all progressives. This demand was rejected. Sigman and the G. E. B. came to Philadelphia, held a membership meeting of Local No. 2. Their expulsion policy was defeated by a vote of 600 to 8 but Sigman declared that he would carry out this policy even with only 8 members behind him.

In a few days the Local was reorganized and about 90 active members were expelled.

The membership of the Cloakmakers' Union is around 600—less than a third of what it was when the progressives concluded their successful organization campaign. The reign of terror still exists in Philadelphia in spite of the peace agreement and the so-called reinstatement. At the time of election of delegates to this convention the progressives were not allowed to take part. The business manager called the police and with their aid carried through the elections.

As a result of this kind of policy sponsored by the Sigman administration and carried out by his henchmen, Philadelphia to-day is an "open shop" city so far as the ladies' garment workers are concerned.

Futile Proposals

We are opposed to such silly innovations as photographing the members, we regard the election frauds as one of the most dangerous practices in our union which was recently illustrated by the methods followed in some locals of our International, and only the most drastic methods can eliminate such abuses.

Appointments of Business Agents

In our opinion, it is necessary for our union to move more and more away from a narrow craft policy towards a complete industrial organization and we therefore oppose elections of general officers, of business agents on the basis of craft, and we support instead general elections representative of all workers in the shops.

Dues and Assessments

We are opposed to any scheme for raising dues or levying assessments without the expressed consent of the membership.

Proportional Representation

We favor full proportional representation based on the number of members from locals to Joint Boards, Councils and Conventions.

General Policy

We feel that the recommendations of the G. E. B. do not even attempt to deal with the great problems confronting our organization and do not offer a correct solution for any of them. The constructive policy for the future conduct of our union is contained in the resolutions introduced by the progressive delegates on all major questions among which are the demands upon employers, legalization of the Shop Delegate System, amalgamation of all needle trades international unions into one departmentalized industrial union, the liquidation of the class collaboration policy, and its substitution by a policy of militant struggle against the employers, repudiation of expulsion policy and full and immediate reinstatement of all those expelled, suspended and disfranchised for political offenses, election of President, Secretary and G. E. B. by a referendum of the entire membership, the election of an election committee representative of all groups of this convention, to supervise the elections.

For a Bigger and Better Union

We present this analysis of our union, this brief history of its struggles and the program for the future, with the proud knowledge that, for the first time, there has arisen in our union a militant group determined that by correct policy and uncompromising struggle against enemies wherever they may be found, our union shall take its place first of all in the vanguard of the needle trades workers; and, second, in the ranks of the American Labor movement. We call upon every honest worker in the union and in the industry to rally to this program.

Delegate Zimmerman: It seems that

when we listen to the report of the officers we find that everything is perfect and that we have a most glorious organization; that the G. E. B. did everything it could; the New York situation is commended upon; the G. E. B. is correct in its action in the cloak market, in the dress market, in Chicago, in Philadelphia, in the Unity House which showed a loss—everything is praised. But when we look at the facts and actual conditions, we find that the conditions of the cloakmakers in New York are terrible and the dress industry is demoralized completely and the situation in the outlying districts is also demoralized. The cause of this is the bureaucratic methods adopted by our G. E. B. and the expulsion policy. Until this policy is repudiated, we will not have unity in our ranks. We must also elect a new leadership and repudiate the present leadership so that we can build a strong union for the future. (Applause).

Delegate Portnoy: The number of members in Philadelphia as stated in the mimeographed report should be 800 instead of 600.

Delegate Wortis bitterly attacked the administration of the International. She accused them of hiring gangsters to break into the offices of Locals 2, 9, and 22. She stated that they were afraid to submit their differences before an impartial body for investigation and find out who was responsible for what went on in the union. She charged the administration with violating the constitution in suppressing the will of the membership and claimed that many workers had suffered serious injury as a result of the tactics that the administration pursued on the picket line against those members who revolted against its leadership.

Delegate Antonini vigorously defended President Sigman and his administration. He censured the lefts for blaming the President for all the evils that had occurred in the industry. He said in part: "If it rains, the fault is Sigman's. If it snows, the fault is Sigman's. When you charge all these faults to Sigman you are saying an untruth, and you know it. Everything good is given to the credit of those three locals 2, 9 and 22. All the

complaints that you have made were made by Local 89 prior to you. You have only copied from us. But we placed our complaints through the proper channels. We opposed the policy of expulsion. But what will you do if you get control? You have to have some measure of discipline. I admit that the G. E. B. has some faults and we did not approve to some extent of the way that they acted, but if the G. E. B. was guilty it has been punished already. Don't come here with this gangster stuff, when your own conscience is not clear. I admit that you are a militant group. I admit that you can prepare and stage demonstrations. With one or two thousand organized people that are disciplined, you can stage a great demonstration. I claim that in the City of New York your people do not number more than two or three thousand, but they are well organized. But you cannot claim that you have the majority of the workers in the shop. If you were in control and another organization like the I.W.W. tried to dominate the union and certain of our members were receiving orders from the I. W. W., you would have to find some way to discipline those members if they tried to dictate the policy of our organization.

Delegate Zack: If you pursue the proper policy, no group of two or three thousand people, no matter how well disciplined will be able to defy the leaders of the organization, but if you pursue a policy which brings this union more and more to ruin, and then you proceed to expel those members that voice dissatisfaction, that is what will cause the situation you have in New York at the present time. Are we going to have unity, or more civil war after the convention? If you examine the report of the G. E. B. and the comment the committee makes upon it, you will see that the G. E. B. still intends to pursue the same policies. But at the present time they have not the power to do it, therefore they proposed to let up for a while, but they say they are justified in following it in the future. They are preparing to continue exactly these same policies that are bringing our union to its ruination. You cannot fight the bosses and at the same time have civil war in your organization. If you continue

your policies you cannot unify the membership for a war against the employers. I cannot accuse the G. E. B. of having a deal with the employers, because I have not got the proofs, but if the employers would have gotten together for the purpose of destroying the union they could not have devised a better method than to start a civil war in our union. We do not want civil war. We want solidarity and unity in the organization in order to fight the main enemy, the employer. If this is to be done I say we cannot have at the head of our organization a president who has been the chief sponsor of civil war since he took office in this organization. You say the communists are the ones to blame for the present situation. You know that a small group cannot produce this situation. You have constantly acted against the interests of the membership and the communists have been sponsoring the interests of the membership, and they have the membership on their side. If we are to have unity in this organization, we cannot have a president with whom it is impossible to have unity, who is prepared to carry on war, and we cannot have an expulsion policy. We want as a guaranty of the unity of the organization the complete repudiation of the expulsion policy, and unity on the basis of fighting against the employers so that we can re-establish our union as a strong organization.

Delegate Arndur: The figures presented here are correct, but the facts are not. To quote these figures is unfair because they give a wrong impression. The impression that these figures are trying to give to the delegates who are not acquainted with the real situation as to what took place in Philadelphia is that we had three or four thousand workers in 1920, and that now we have only seven or eight hundred members in 1925; that about 3,000 people are working at the present moment in Philadelphia in unorganized shops. The fact of the matter is that those workers who were employed in 1920 are no longer in the industry, because the shops are also not here any more. You will not find 100 workers in Philadelphia in non-union shops and I say 100 because I don't want to exaggerate. It is unfair to blame the

administration because we have not the membership that we had in 1920. It is unfair to try to discredit the administration by quoting figures which are correct when the facts are deliberate falsehoods. Sigman came into the union with his mind made up to establish a union which would be able to carry on the good name of our union. It has been stated here that the progressives have been giving a helping hand. If you are honest and sincere, you know as well as I do that Sigman came in to establish a real fighting organization and, if you had lent a real helping hand, I am sure there would not have been any cause for coming into this convention and thrashing out our differences in the manner in which it has been done.

Delegate Horowitz: At the Boston convention when we adopted a decision to continue the expulsion policy, I knew that it was the beginning of the end—I knew that our union would be broken. We in Boston did not suffer from the expulsion policy, and for that reason I can talk without bitterness. Notwithstanding the fact that I disagree with the lefts, I am with them 100 per cent in the fight against the expulsion policy and the tactics adopted by our International. The officers have been so busy with their expulsion policy in other cities, they could not give us any attention and that explains the decline in our membership. I want our President to know that the reason that we will go with the lefts is because of some of the elements that are getting control of our union and you are trying to throw us into the arms of these undesirable people. If you really want an honest union, you have no business to unite with the forces you are united with today. If a man like Brother Sigman who has the knowledge of the trade union movement and who understands and knows these people can still unite with them, I am sure he is very shortsighted and I feel sorry for a man that is letting himself be dragged down in the mire by these people. The G. E. B. were the only ones who violated the constitution by the mere fact that they were the only ones that adopted it against the entire membership of the International.

Delegate DiNoia: The reason the

membership has decreased is due to industrial circumstances after the war and not due to the administration. I do not approve of the expulsion policy. It is no remedy. We must analyze what happened in the New York Joint Board in the past year and a half. Local 89 was the first to criticize the administration of the Joint Board for the expulsion policy. The President of the International came to the Joint Board and openly stated that it was his intention to fight such of the leaders of the Joint Board as were not representatives of the workers. He succeeded, but what happened? The "progressive" element, instead of helping him, began to slander him and hamper him, thus giving aid and comfort to the reactionaries. They resorted to slander not because they wanted to help the workers but for political party motives. Local 89 would back up the progressives on anything that concerns the welfare of the workers, but we will not support you on political affairs and issues.

Delegate Zack says the Joint Action Committee will do it again. If you believe that you will do the union any good thereby, you are badly mistaken. You have disrupted conditions in the shops by it and you know it. You got the rank and file with you not by your progressiveness, but by promising them lower dues and other things.

Delegate Goretzky attacked several of the members of the trial committee of the Joint Board which tried and suspended the members, who, he alleged, were paid officers of the Joint Board and at the same time were receiving big sums of money as "expenses" for various committee work from Local 35 and the Joint Board. He charged Breslaw with misusing the funds of Local 35 convention delegates to Boston, with having spent \$8,000 at that convention for various irregular matters. He claimed that this had a direct bearing upon the expulsion policy supported by these leaders of Local 35. He expressed regret over the fact that the Executive Board members of Locals 2, 9 and 22 should have been suspended on account of May Day meetings with communist speakers. He believed that they were expelled because of a difference in policy and expressed the

hope that the rank and file will in the future rule the destiny of the International and the expulsion policy will be dropped.

Delegate Hochman: Brother Zimmerman relieved himself of a report which starts by saying that the membership has dropped, which is true. In the report of the Governor's Advisory Commission, page 5, you will find that in 1914 there were 50,000 cloakmakers, union and non-union, in New York, and in 1924 there were only 36,000 cloakmakers, which means that there has been a drop in the number of people employed in the ladies' garment industry. In addition to this, there is not a country in the world, including Russia, where the membership of unions has not dropped in the last two years. In Russia it dropped from eight million to four and a half million. In England, in Belgium, in France, in the United States in the most stabilized industries the membership of the unions has dropped, and in Russia the same thing. The same thing is true in our International and you cannot blame it on Sigman. Is it his fault that there was a war, that there was unemployment and that conditions are rotten all around? The membership in your political party has also dropped and you are much smaller today than you were before. The International at least carried on a successful campaign in Canada, and you did not have the decency to acknowledge that fact. But you are not interested in telling the truth; you are interested in bringing out the faults and exaggerating everything. You claim the membership has no confidence in the leaders. If there were any members here mean enough or low enough to make such false accusations as you have made, you would never stay one minute in office. You, through your organs, through your circulars and your mouths are constantly stating things that you know in your heart are lies against the man that you know is honest and sincere in this movement, just because you want to discredit him so that he can be weakened and you can rise to take his office.

The fight that has been going on in our union is the same that has been

going on in every country and in every union. It is a fight against communism. You speak of communism when it suits you, but otherwise you call yourselves progressives. Why don't you tell the truth that the fight is a fight of communism? Yes, we have always had opposition in our union and there should be opposition, but there is a difference between opposition and opposition.

Brother Zimmerman takes pride in the fact that he conducted the fight, that he is the great leader. I want to tell you that you will read in the Daily Worker of October 9th, 1925, a statement by Foster: "As for myself, I feel there is at least one thing I am grateful to the minority for,—that is, the present majority of the CEC,—that they entrusted me with particularly important work—the handling of the needle trades conferences and the handling of the I. L. G. W. U. settlement to a great extent in New York—a very difficult problem—and I tried to put that into good shape and my policies were endorsed by the CEC almost completely." Foster lead the fight, not you. You have been the puppets.

This is a fight of Communism and if you don't want to believe that it is not the communist party who have conducted the fight, read a little pamphlet issued by Olgin, in which he says: "We want to tell you (garment workers) right from the beginning that without the communists your victory would have been impossible. The fact is that behind the Joint Action Committees stood the communists with their help and advice." It was the communists who have done this particular thing, and not you. Why don't you tell the truth to the people, then they will know whether they want to be communists or not? You are raising these issues to try to get the imagination of the people. You come out for amalgamation. I will read you something on the question of amalgamation, where you get your inspiration on this question. In the report of the 5th Congress of the Communist International, page 233, Lozovsky says: "We must work energetically for the transformation of craft trade unions into industrial unions. But wherever the

centralized trade unions are in the hands of reformist trade union bureaucrats, who kill all local initiative, it is absolutely necessary to fight against a centralism which kills initiative and force more freedom for local organizations."

That means this, that where it serves your purpose to amalgamate unions, amalgamate them; and whenever your object to capture the union is served best by non-amalgamation and by dividing the union into smaller groups, you follow that policy. In another part of the speech he says: "The conquest of the unions is not proceeding rapidly enough."

I want you to bear this in mind, that communism, communist tactics, communist attempts to control and dominate the unions are not only a question of the cloakmakers, but it has been a question of the labor movement throughout the world and wherever they have attacked there has been an internal struggle, and in that struggle the unions have been weakened and in a great many instances destroyed. We in the trade union movement particularly in this country must tell every political group, every political party, no matter how high its aspirations, no matter what it claims to be that, as far as the trade union movement is concerned, keep your hands off. (applause)

I say that on a question of unionism, on a question of industrial program, we could settle our problems in fifteen minutes and everyone would be happy, but the question we will have to settle is the question of communism. I have always said that if I have to choose between my party and the smallest local of a trade union, I'd rather choose the trade union. (applause). Why don't they stand up and say, "We'd rather be loyal to our union than to anything else?" Then everything will be settled. (applause)

Owing to the hour, it was decided to adjourn for lunch.

At 1:30 p. m. the session adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 p. m.

14th day, Afternoon Session

Tuesday, December 15, 1925.

President Sigman called the session to order at 3:00 p. m.

The discussion of the morning session on the report of the Committee on Officers' Report was resumed.

Delegate Bialis vigorously attacked the statement read by Delegate Zimmerman. He denied that the cloak industry was only 60 per cent organized. He said in part: "I wish to tell Brother Zimmerman and his colleagues that if he will appoint an impartial committee to go to Chicago they will find the cloakmakers 95 per cent organized and a good organization too."

You ask for legal holidays. In Chicago we get legal holidays with half pay. You ask for the right to investigate the books of the manufacturers. In Chicago we got that right through arbitration, and it is not only on paper. I have my idea as to who brought about the demoralization in the International. In my judgment it is Brother Zimmerman and his colleagues in telling people not to pay dues and not to obey the officers."

Delegate Shalley: I don't belong to any party and am not seeking applause. My interest is not to attack but to plead. The past is not much of a credit to at least part of the leadership. Hochman's remarks were all right, but he is too antagonistic and bitter. Unions must not be a plaything of the Communists, but neither must they be in the vest-pockets of the administration.

Whatever the delegates may think of me, I desire to state that President Sigman is not responsible for what you are charging him with. When I just came to Sigman, he asked me my opinion about the causes which led to the Union's plight. My judgment, I said to him, is that he came to the union at a time when it was at its lowest ebb, when it was down and out. His predecessor left us a run-down organization, but he perhaps did not have the will to come out and point his finger to the right parties which surrounded the union. When Sigman came to the Executive Board of

Local 2, to speak about the Governor's Commission, I openly declared that I am opposed to it and that the union must be led not by one or two persons but by the whole membership. As to the Governor's Commission, I desire to state that the leaders overestimated the so-called right of discharge and were afraid to face the cloakmakers on this issue.

As to the dues question President Sigman should not be blamed for it, because he was against the levying of an assessment by the Joint Board. He was always opposed to it and his only fault is that he did not insist that the question go to a referendum.

As to the stoppage, Sigman had insisted on a list of shops that should not be settled, but they were settled despite his advice; and the action of some of our leaders in settling these shops should be criticized and condemned.

President Sigman deserves credit for having cast out Langer, Heller, Breslaw and others, but their influence is still here and this must be eliminated.

The executive boards of the three locals were thrown out in a holdup manner. The delegates of the "right" who profess that they are today against the expulsion policy nevertheless helped to make it possible at the Boston convention. I warn you therefore to be careful, if you want to have a union, to back your words by real action after you leave the convention.

We can only have a united organization if it is led not by one side but by every and all elements in it. I am glad this convention did not unseat a single delegate, for the first time in the history of our union.

If I cast any reflections on anyone, I do so advisedly and entirely upon my responsibility. If the entire old administration is re-elected I shall bitterly oppose it; if a communist administration is elected and conducts the union for the benefit of its party, I shall fight it just as bitterly. But it is wrong to single out President Sigman or any other person and cast all the blame upon him. This convention must decide whether

it is to have a union or not. Our union must not be led by one group. We all are workers in the shops and the voices of all of us must be heard and not be suppressed to the advantage of others.

Delegate Boruchowitz: I admit we violated the written constitution of our union and we realize the gravity of it. But I wish to state that an oppressive constitution should be violated.

The official paper of the union explains the source of our popularity. (quotes from *Gerechtigkeit*) This supports our position fully. The expulsion policy occupied all the time of the officers, they had no time for other work. The May-Day meetings issue is camouflage. The fight began long before, as we began to oppose Governor Smith's Commission in 1924; we insisted upon making preparations for a general strike as soon as the agreement expired, and that was opposed by the Joint Board administration who regarded us as dreamers and visionaries. President Sigman has aligned himself with the old guard and has bitterly disappointed the cloakmakers who expected much of him. I warn you that we can only have a union if the leaders will listen to the rank and file and be guided by its real needs.

Delegate Feinberg: I want to confine myself exclusively to the proposition in question, namely, the expulsion policy; and I want to say at the outset that I belong at this time to a group that is irreconcilable and it is advisable that I make myself clear on this issue so that there shall be no possibility for those who intentionally or unintentionally misinterpret it, or misunderstand me. When you speak of expelling members from the union, everyone must of necessity admit that that is a bad policy; but when you say that an organization should permit an organization within the organization and still continue to have that government within the government, then I say that you are simply trying to camouflage the issue.

The program submitted by the Communists is a program ordered by the Communists as a faction and there is no use in your coming here and telling us that you are progressives. It is the

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Communists who have made it their business to disrupt the governments of the world under various guises, such as calling themselves Progressives. I claim that you are not Progressives. I claim that you are Communists and as Communists you are reactionaries and not progressives. Our International is getting to be a sort of subsidiary organization.

It is a matter of record that every member of the Red International must accept the policies of that organization before he can become a member. So you who come here who are not acquainted with the literature and doings and ethics of that party, don't be misled by this phrase "Progressives." Such a thing as reading and accepting what you want is not in the bible of Losovsky.

Coming here and trying to tell us that it is a question of progressivism is simply befogging the issue.

At the convention of the Workers Party in 1921 in Chicago, that convention arrived at a decision in the form of instructions to their various members in the various unions that the object of those individuals from that day on should be to attack, slander and abuse every man that stands at the head of any organization who is not in accord with or who does not accept the principles of that party. From that time on the struggle in the International Union started. From that time on, the various executive boards whose major parts were members of that party have attacked—not criticised—the policies of our organization, and it was impossible for the organization as a whole to go on with its constructive work. Whenever a question would come up before the Joint Board that concerned the welfare of the organization as a whole you would find that this particular group of Communists or Workers Party members, as they called themselves, would never give their decision or answer a question on the floor of the Joint Board before they held a caucus and decided what should be the answer to this or that proposition—which, in other words, meant that the union had to contend with an organized form of opposition created by the

Workers' Party and sent into the union for the purpose of making the union the tail-end of that party.

I am convinced that my contention and attitude on this proposition are just, and I have faith that those whom you have been able to blind for a time will sooner or later realize that, instead of your being their saviours, you are their damners. I challenge the Communists and the Workers' Party and its members at this convention to show me one single city or country with the exception of Russia—and that was only a form of subjugated slavery—where you had the control of unions and made a success of it. All the Communists want is for you to give them the I. L. G. W. U. so that they have also acquired our International. So far as our welfare is concerned, they care for it as much as I care what is going to become of Tomskey tomorrow. That's the proposition in a nutshell. It is you and you alone that are responsible for the turmoil and chaos that have entered into our union.

I say to you in conclusion that what you have to do is to discard the so-called proposals of peace that have been spoken of so much that I am sick of hearing about them. What you want to do here is to solidify those that believe that the function of the International is to serve the workers and not to serve another organization. If you will work along these lines, I am positive that when you close this convention and go to your various centers, you will present a united front; and in the near future the International will not only be in the same strong position as it was in the past, but in a stronger position than ever before. (applause)

Delegate Hyman: In the report as well as the speeches delivered here they always try to give you the impression that it is the communist faction that they are fighting and that they are trying to keep the communists from capturing the International, and the fact that we had a Joint Action Committee that was successful is attributed only to the strength and the influence and the power of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact we were fighting these evils long

before the Communist Party was in existence. We do not deny that we have amongst our supporters Communists, but there is nothing wrong in that. You have told us what terrible people the communists are. Your heard Brother Gitlow, a famous communist, and, instead of finding that he was inciting people to throw bombs and to riots, you had an example of what the communists are preaching and who they are. You cannot frighten anybody, especially the cloak-makers, with this bugaboo of communism. They have seen us discuss the case on its merits."

Delegate Hyman here cited several of the statements that appeared in the Justice and characterized these statements as lies and slander. He continued as follows: For all the crimes and slander that you have charged against us, you will find more in your publication than is paid for by our own membership. In every issue of the Justice there is not a name that you can think of that you did not call us, such as scabs, snakes, etc. Even in this issue before he resigned, Yanofsky says that the reason he went away is because he has cleaned out the union, has defeated all these snakes and reptiles. If this is your victory, engage another Yanofsky and it won't take long when you won't have even the majority that you have at the present time. If there is one man who is responsible for your defeat it is Yanofsky with his advice and his editorials and his writings. If we have done what you call slander, it was only in retaliation for the slandering and the expulsion and the persecution against the membership which lasted for years and years.

There is an axiom that all men are fallible, but we should add, "with the exception of the General Executive Board." (laughter) They have done everything wise in accordance with the report of the committee. I have never taken the attitude that my way was absolutely right and any other way was wrong. There is not a man who is 100 per cent honest and 100 per cent competent with the exception of you. I have never seen you criticize anybody as long as he has been with you.

I say the present administration knows

that amongst the leading lights in the International there are people who have been very undesirable and have no place in any union. You claim in your report that you have been responsible for smashing up what is known as the Joint Board machine and also cleaning out the undesirable element in the Joint Board. Yes, you have cleaned out a few of them, but you have also cleaned out a few individuals. If it had not been for the support of these three locals, Langer or Breslaw would have thrown you out and not you them, and you know it. When we saw that you were fighting a certain element, we went with you, but you did not want to do one thing at a time. I don't know why you found it necessary to consider the communists as such terrible enemies. I came to Sigman once privately and said, "You are talking about the communist menace and about trade unionism to people who don't give a rap for your principles, or for yourselves. They will do with you what the great imperialists did with Wilson. They listened to his 14 points when they needed him, but when they got all the assistance they wanted, they made the Versailles Treaty and ignored all the things that Wilson sought."

The reasons that the two joint boards in New York were amalgamated were not purely industrial reasons. The main object was to get in the locals of the dressmakers in order to have a following, in order to counteract the machine that Langer had at that time in the Joint Board. One week Sigman spoke about unity, and the second week the very same people were expelled. I could not make him out. The trouble is that he listened to too many advisers and his advisers did not always advise him properly and he made terrible mistakes.

You said that for the International as a whole you would adopt one policy, but for the New York market you can have your policy. We know what you mean. You want us to go ahead and you will sit back and watch, and God help us if we don't deliver the goods. You will go and say, "We adopted at our convention a resolution with all their demands and we gave these demands to them to carry out and they could not do it," and you will

therefore again ride on the red horse, or the black horse or the white horse, but you will have a horse. But don't think that we are such fools as not to understand you. As far as I am concerned, I will never adopt the methods that the majority of you have. I will never look upon myself as the chosen representative of the workers and, whether they want me or not, they will have to swallow me.

If the communists are strong, it is not due to their cleverness or ability, but due to your stupidity and your acts. No one knows better than Sigman that our demoralized state of affairs is not due only to natural circumstances and economic causes. There were certain people responsible and you cannot deny it. We have had men in our organization paid to defend the interests of our workers and they did not do it. You know that there have been cases going on in our union of protecting scab shops, not by enemies of workers, but by our own workers who were paid by the union to do away with the scab shops. Don't you know that there were certain gentlemen who made it a business to settle shops that were not supposed to be settled? Everybody knows there was such a thing as a corrupt machine, that there were people who had to be cleaned out, and you take the credit for yourself that you cleaned them out,—but for all these years while you have been working to clean out these people, every man who attempted openly to say that there is such a thing as a Joint Board machine or to criticize the machine you made it your policy to throw out and call a union-breaker. Privately you were trying to break the machine, but openly you condemned the people who said there was a machine in the Joint Board.

Don't go away with the idea that the communists are the cause of all the trouble. Are the 50,000 cloakmakers and dressmakers lovers of the communist idea and philosophy? It is due to the fact that they have struck a situation which is rotten to the core, where the leaders are not responsible to the majority of the membership,—some of them lazy, some of them incompetent, some of them dishonest and don't give a damn

for the entire organization,—and that is the reason there is so much dissatisfaction in the entire membership. You have a majority of 50. You can make Brother Lefkovits a leader and Brother Feinberg and the rest of them. Show me a single organization where the leaders are people who have no influence with the membership. When statesmen choose a cabinet, they choose people who can face the audience. You have surrounded yourselves with people who cannot be elected in their own locals or in any local. They have no standing amongst our membership, and with a cabinet of this kind do you mean to say that you can face the membership and can accomplish anything? In electing a cabinet, you must have people who have the confidence of the entire membership, who have clean records, men that nobody can go and point out as having committed this or the other act.

Let anybody come out to New York and say that I have stolen \$90,000 or \$100,000. I laugh at it because the workers know who I am, and they are not going to believe any Tom, Dick or Harry. And it was because your policy was to maintain yourself, not on the support of the membership, but because you had in your cabinet people who, for their own reasons, were not one with the membership because the membership had never elected them, that our organization was conducted in such a way that a man did not need to have the support of the membership. Why even Brother Feinberg, who has risen in our organization, never had the support of the membership. Even before he was the general manager of the Joint Board, he could never be elected in his local. When he ran for a delegate to convention, he was defeated. He came to power through a machine of the Langer type. Langer knew that Feinberg was the man who would do what he was told. And it is because you have had leaders of this kind that we have been disgraced with the present state of affairs. Don't blame it on the communists or anybody else, but blame yourselves. (prolonged applause)

President Sigman: If Brother Hyman had made his talk at the beginning of the

convention, we would have made better progress, because it would not have been necessary to hear this very talk repeated constantly on so many occasions by the so-called progressive delegates.

In 1921 I was appointed general manager of the waist and dress industry temporarily by the then president. It was then that I came in contact with the so-called progressive element and it was then that I came to the conclusion that no union can tolerate the conduct of individuals or groups of members under the cover of progressivism, if the union expects to live and function. Why? Because in that Waist and Dressmakers' Joint Board which was taken care of by most of the progressives that sit here on this side and in which our worthy Delegate Portnoy, the most honest human creature in society, was a part of the office force,—these so-called progressive elements have used methods or what they call propaganda that has been not only a disgrace, but was bound under all circumstances to destroy and disrupt the union.

And why? Because a trade union movement depends solely upon the confidence of the individual member towards his union. The first thing we try to impress upon workers when they have become organized into a union is to make them realize and understand that this congregation of workers represents a movement, an honest and sincere motive, and that confidence in each other is the main force that can give the organization power to combat its enemies in its daily effort to secure a better living, more human recognition, more just terms for its workers and place them on a higher level of human fairness. If these delegates who are progressive and if all of their spokesmen can at this time refer to the Joint Board of the Cloak-makers and tell of all the treacheries and atrocities that have been committed against the membership. I ask why they in their own union do the things that they did and are doing now up to this present moment? Let them go back to the literature of their propaganda that they have distributed not only amongst their organized membership, but also amongst these men and mostly women

that could not so easily be converted to unionism, telling them that the organization is governed by treachery and gangsterism and what not. Why did they dare trample upon the elementary principles of any organization? It is because already at that time there was an effort made on the part of this very group or this very party to gain control over the union because they—and they cannot deny it—do not believe in the ability of the rank and file. They believed then and they believe now that if they could make a solid effective inroad into the administration of the organization, if they could sway the membership which is not very much interested in their philosophies, they would be able to usurp the organization for the purposes and advantages of their so-called political party.

Criticism, in my judgment, in the labor movement is an essential element. Leftism in a trade union movement is more essential than in any other group in human society. I as a trade unionist believe that, if I find anything wrong in my union, it is my business to give my opinion and my criticism in a decent, honest and civilized manner. I am not looking for any credit. My personal record in the trade union movement speaks for itself—in fact, I have been proposing reforms in this union when Hyman and all this group were fast asleep. But in order to get reforms into the life of an organization, you must have it as your aim and object that the people who compose the organization must first gain the understanding of the importance of such reforms. To carry into the life of a union reforms on the basis of appealing to the membership's basest instincts, in my judgment is treachery. You need not be a good speaker or have a great intellect to come out to the membership and advise them not to pay their dues to the organization and to defy its officials and spit at its established working standards at a time when the members have undergone a crisis for 2 or 4 long years and are starved and embittered against everyone and against themselves because of the misery they are going through. I have seen stock-pigeons accomplishing such great things even without pulling out the red flag of idealism

before a hungry and dissatisfied mass of people.

I am not interested at this time to draw accounts with anyone but I must again call the attention of this convention and I must directly present a question to the present hero of the day in the cloak and dress industry in New York, Delegate Hyman,—who was for a short time business agent during the period that I was the general manager of the Joint Board,—that he should honestly and like a man of courage state the conditions in the union, the moral conditions when I was called back at the end of 1916 to assume the general managership of the Joint Board, and what was the conduct and the action and the attitude and the morale before I came, and what took place during the course of the few years that I was the manager. I will ask another man here who is not a friend of mine, whom I kicked out of the union during that period I have in mind, Delegate Rubin—I expect that he is honest enough, with all his lunacies, to state frankly and honestly what took place. Before I left the Joint Board I made many proposals of reforms which I think are essential today as they were then. You read my articles. Why didn't you progressives who are so much interested in saving the workers' pennies, why didn't you, if you can demonstrate such power as you maintain you do, come with these constructive propositions to the convention and adopt those new methods of procedure in the organization and in the technique of all these locals that compose this great Joint Board? I will tell you why, because you are human beings and human beings are so constituted that, once they establish themselves in governmental positions, they do not want to do something that will destroy the power. And I say that when you come here and discuss amalgamation, you are bluffing because you know that your membership is not ripe for it, and why talk of the one big union? Why don't you first accomplish the things that will bring immediate benefit and advantage and save hundreds of thousands of dollars within your own circles? The stronger ruler wants to oppress the weaker. That is your instinct. That is your present psychology.

That is the way you are working and you are trying to cover this up with ideals, with aims that will take many years before they will come into actual existence.

Let us go back to their propaganda: "Sigman is a chief gangster, Sigman is a traitor, Sigman is selling out the workers and the union, Sigman prevents good seasons in the cloak and dress industry, Sigman does not want the workers to make a living, he only has in mind his big pay," and they have the indecency to say these things in such a brazen manner even though you must give Sigman credit for understanding in order to get his big pay, that he must have a constituency, a union, from which to draw his pay. If I know that Zimmerman is a crook and that he is selling out the workers, or that he is a gangster, I as a union man would not print a circular under the guise of one or another group, but I would obtain the facts; and if I had the proofs, I'd come to the union of which Zimmerman is a member and I'd prefer charges and I'd kick him out as a traitor and a rascal. Once I have not got these proofs, I would not dare come out publicly through literature and accuse him of such doings or of having such a character,—first because it is unfair and dishonest to besmirch the character of another human being unless you have the proofs, and secondly because any propaganda will create a psychology amongst the large mass of the workers that there are such types, and they will get the impression that every man who assumes a leading office is similar to the man who has been besmirched. Propaganda of this kind has always been an effective weapon of union-breaking agencies and employers in this country. No man who really loves his organization will do these things. It is not only wrong, it is blackmail, and it cannot be tolerated. In the schooling that I received in the trade union movement, I can not understand this as criticism, and I have learned that if the trade union movement cannot take care of itself without the imposition of any outside party, political, fraternal or religious, it is not worth while living. At any time a union becomes the tool of any outside group, it must go to smash. Communism has striven to accomplish this. It is

apparently successful in some cases. In some countries severe measures have had to be adopted. One labor union in this country, the Machinists, had to decide by a referendum vote to expell all communists from their organization.

What have you done in your union prior to the great fight in New York? You have been advocating a united front but what is your conception of a united front? You say to me, "Sigman, let us combine, but in order to have a real combination, a real unity, a real united front, you must commit suicide." When you will be left alone, then there will be a united front. That is your conception. What has been your expression and conduct of solidarity since you have taken over the leadership in New York? Didn't you penalize, didn't you insult every man who differed with your opinion during this fight, even though we surrendered? We will have a united front when you drive every opponent out of the industry and you yourselves will remain. You want to convert the workers by insulting those men and women who will not dance to your tune. That is why we maintain that a union has no right to be the censor of any human being who is a member in the union, involving political or whatever other ideas and ideals he may have. You cannot compel me to believe what you want. You may convince me, if you try to convince me in a civilized manner, but not through slander and insinuations and dishonesty. If communism will not stop its treacherous conduct in this trade union movement, it will drive us to the most reactionary stages.

In blaming everything that has occurred in the cloak and dress industry in New York on Sigman, you know that you lied. No man in this union will ever live to see the day that he will be able to point to a single act of dishonesty committed by me, as you refer to some of the individuals that have been connected with the Joint Board. Not all officers are paid men. Why do they point only to Borenstein? Why don't they point to every member of Local 35 who was not a paid officer? Why don't they point to other members in the trade who are not insurance agents? I don't know

what Hyman will do in the course of time. He may find himself some day out of office? Let us hope that we will not find him as an insurance agent. I cannot understand how men can sink so low as to blackmail a group of men who are serving to the best of their ability for the welfare of the membership, insulting them in the most uncivilized manner, accusing them of fearful acts for the purpose of kicking them out of office and placing themselves in. If any unfair methods in the expenditure of moneys have taken place in the New York Joint Board, these blackmailers are responsible for it. (applause) By their methods they are degrading and degenerating the membership, the officialdom and themselves, and are leading the organization to utter destruction.

Suddenly Hyman has become the great spokesman of the masses. You are successful because you have finally accomplished your aim to get distrust amongst our membership. What did you do when I came back to become President of the International? What were the conditions in the Union? What did you do except blackmail? I am not asking for any compensation or credit. It has always been my good luck to be called when conditions were totally demoralized. If I should decide to continue leadership in this union, no matter how miserable a future I may see before me before our membership comes to sanity, I will take it for no other reason than to help this union for which I and many others with me have suffered and sacrificed, some with their lives.

The communists have had the opportunity to incite to riot, if you please, because they found a hungry, starved and discontented mass of cloakmakers,—and let me call your attention to this. The dressmakers are the more revolutionary element. Who are participants in the demonstration that occurred in New York? Who were in the majority in the so-called stoppage? Be honest and you will have to admit that the majority were cloakmakers and not the radical element of the dress industry. And if you are honest, you will admit that at least 5,000 of your participants were hungry, starving workers without jobs sitting in the

parks, and you know it. That was the cause of your being able to enroll such a large number of members. I know there was a time in this union when one man, Ike Levine, a presser—you remember the man that appeared in court against me and five others and said that he saw with his own eyes the way I murdered a human being—who got a following of at least 3,000 members just because he was a good speaker with a loud voice, and he stood up before a hungry mob and said, "We want bread and milk for our babies. Why don't the leaders give it to us? Let us tear them down." And he led this mob wherever he wanted. Sulzka, a well-known detective agent and strike-breaker, enrolled in his Industrial Cloakmakers' Union of the World over 2,500 members after a certain crisis in the industry. I don't compare you with these people, but I am showing you how easy it is in a trade union even for the most dishonest creature to pick a time to get a following, and if you are leaders of the masses now, it is for the very same reason.

You charge us with extravagance in spending money. You had a Joint Action Committee that will have to account for the money it spent. The Joint Board will account for what it has spent in this fight. I know that you had to raise money on the building in Local 9. Others had to sell bonds that were, in my judgment, taken out after they were attacked by the International, in a not very honorable manner, but that is not important.

In my concluding remarks, I want to say that if any one prayed for a united union, for a clean union, that man was I and many others with me in the G. E. B. But I say to you here frankly that there cannot be unity until the lynching methods, until the blackmail system, until all these treacheries and disrupting acts committed under a revolutionary color, are stopped. (Great applause). There cannot be peace if officers or members of a trade union will commit such acts as did the 19 members who were suspended from the Executive Board of Local 22. There cannot be peace until a union member and particularly a union officer will give his union the preference and carry out the instructions of the

union instead of manipulating the union and getting instructions from outside parties, whether political or otherwise. We don't care whether you are a communist, a Socialist, an industrial unionist, an anarchist, a Democrat or a Republican. I don't care whether you go to the Jewish synagogue, or whether you are an atheist, or a Catholic, or a Protestant or belong to any other religion. That is your own affair and it bothers me very little, just as it does not bother me how you get along with your wife. That is your own affair. But in the trade union you must all submit to this one fundamental principle that we are primarily concerned in the economic struggle, in the economic advancement of the workers, because when the workers are advanced on the economic field they can afterwards have the opportunity to advance themselves in every other field in an intelligent and constructive manner. The union must come first, second and last for all time. (Tremendous applause and cheers). We shall now proceed to vote. We will divide this recommendation in two parts. First we will vote on whether the suspension of the executive boards in accordance with the judgment of the committee has been, as they say, in accordance with the provisions of our union.

The vote taken showed 150 for the report of the committee, 112 against. A roll call was demanded and taken, showing the following results:

For the recommendation of the committee 140, against 114, present 14, absent 6.

President Sigman: All in favor of adopting that portion of the report that deals with the so-called settlement of the committee will signify same by saying "Aye".

This motion was carried.

President Sigman: We will now vote on the question of the morale.

This was unanimously carried.

The committee concluded its report as follows:

Your committee reads with deep sorrow of the death of the founder of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor, the chief of the Labor movement, Samuel Gompers.

Your committee moves that the delegates to this convention rise for one moment as our expression of sorrow in memory of the great labor leader, Samuel Gompers.

(This recommendation was unanimously carried, the delegation arising for a moment to express their sorrow.)

This completed the report of the Committee on Officers' Report, and, after passing the report as a whole, the convention extended the committee a vote of thanks.

At 9:15 p. m. the session adjourned to reconvene at 9:00 a. m. Wednesday, December 16, 1925.

15th Day, Morning Session

Wednesday, December 16, 1925.

President Sigman called the delegates to order at 9:45 a. m. Delegate Ninfo, chairman of the Committee on Law, was called upon to present his report.

Chairman Ninfo thereupon presented the following report:

To The 18th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.,

Mr. President and Delegates:

Your Committee on Law begs leave herewith to submit to you its report on the resolutions referred to it, relating to the constitution of our International and also the amendments thereto.

On this occasion, the 18th Convention, your Committee has been charged with a duty unprecedented in the history of the previous Conventions of our International. More resolutions dealing with amendments to the constitution have been submitted than ever before. Taking the resolutions as such, there have been referred to your Committee some fifty in number. However, taking each amendment by itself and considering it as an independent resolution, and in this connection we have in mind

Resolution No. 147, on Page 22 of the fifth day's proceedings, we have had assigned to us over one hundred and ten amendments to the constitution. Resolution No. 147 alone is practically a new constitution.

We are not guilty of the pretense of being authorities on the intricate elements of the law. However, in the consideration of the various propositions before us, we have been guided by the experience at our command after many years of training in matters affecting the great membership of our Union in particular and the labor movement in general.

In analyzing the resolutions we were inspired only by the thought bearing on the welfare of our Union. At no time during the consideration by your Committee of the duty with which it is charged, did we fail to take cognizance of the recent upheaval in our Union in New York City, which has so divided it and has caused our membership in that city untold suffering. We recognize, however, that in the present instance the laws governing our Union must take into consideration the single fact that the membership of our Union must be the sole guiding spirit for the progress of the Union. At no time did the element of personal desire, political or otherwise, of a single individual or group, enter into the consideration by us of the manner of the application, the interpretation or the making of laws.

We can say that the present-day psychology in the trade union movement; also the new thoughts, ideas and radical policies which are being championed by a certain political party and which have rent the world labor movement apart have been borne in mind by your Committee. The recent struggle already referred to which has shaken considerably our International, and unsettled the state of the minds of our members, is also an important element that must be considered. And, to be perfectly frank, the desire of an outside force to impose a new but foreign doctrine upon our Union and upon the traditions which have guided it safely throughout all its struggles,—a force in no wise akin to the

needs of our membership, has been the strongest guide for your Committee to keep an even balance. Not even the beautiful but meaningless new philosophy and phraseology of the introducers of the resolutions in question, have shaken your Committee in the purpose before it.

Your Committee, familiar with phrases of idealists, is of the opinion that the ideas and ideals embodied in the several resolutions are excellent in theory. But the present need for the International is not to dream and to theorize. We are faced with problems without end. Some of these, for instance, are: the corporation shop, the non-union shop, limitation of the smaller shops, the label, the unemployment insurance fund, scarcity of work, the continuous emigration of the industry into small centers, and the solving of many other problems too numerous to mention. In view of all this, which touches upon the life needs of our members, the present is no time for the abandonment of our practical philosophy for mere theories. The time cries aloud for the devotion of our entire energy towards the alleviation of the suffering of our members. We must, in order to make relief possible, adopt what is practical as our order of business.

We are aware of the fact that the several delegates grouped into, so to speak, an opposition may not find the language herein contained to their liking. For theirs is the philosophy of the dreamer. But your Committee has come to the determination that it is its duty not to satisfy the personal ambitions of any individual or the theories of this clique or that group. Your Committee has thought it wisest to leave to the future theoretical questions. The duty before us at the present time is to concentrate upon the most pressing problems before us—the adoption of laws most essential to the needs of our membership.

Bearing all this in mind, your Committee feels that it is ready to stand the severest criticism from the new dreamers with respect to these conclusions. Your Committee called upon the introducers of some important resolutions,

or at least the chairmen of their delegations. We were especially desirous to hear the introducers of Resolution No. 147, the purpose of which is the making of practically a new constitution. But the authors of this resolution failed to make their appearance. In connection with this it is also interesting to note the absence on your Committee of certain members whom your worthy chairman appointed.

We do not, nor did we during the course of our sessions, attempt to shirk our responsibility for the work with which we were charged by this Convention. We feel that the recommendations herewith submitted are based upon the needs, present and for the immediate future, of our membership. Moreover, we take pride in the fact that our duty has been done, with an eye towards the preservation of the principles of Trade Unionism.

Resolution No. 124

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, The Joint Board is a federation of the Local Unions of our International of the same trade in the same city, and

WHEREAS, The Local Unions affiliated to the Joint Board are not giving up their autonomy, and the right of self-government, and

WHEREAS, The quota of Business Agents and paid officers to which each local is entitled for the transaction of the business of the Joint Board, must first of all have the confidence and trust of the local to which they belong and for which they are sent and paid, be it

RESOLVED, That this International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, assembled in the city of Philadelphia, in its Eighteenth Biennial Convention decide that in the future each local affiliated with any Joint Board has the undisputed right to send the proper quota of Business Agents chosen by a local election or local appointment, if such local has the right to have one or more.

Your Committee has received Resolution No. 124, 17th page of the fifth day's proceedings, introduced by the delegates of Local 89. The question of the election of business agents and general manager of the Joint Board is also dealt with in the report of the G. E. B. on page 190. In the opinion of your committee, what has largely made for the success and the remarkable achievements of the I.

L. G. W. U. is the fact that local unions have been permitted growth by the granting of certain autonomous rights. We have had occasion to speak elsewhere of the various shades of opinions, races and so on of the membership of the International. Reference to the opinion of the G. E. B. expressed in the report reveals other phases of the structure of our International, particularly as respects the various crafts.

The one thing to which your Committee paid the keenest attention in considering this question was the fact that the business agents serving within the Joint Board for the affiliated locals must have the confidence of the membership of the respective locals. It is a well known fact that the member filing a complaint of a given local always seeks his representative out when he wants special attention paid his problem. The G. E. B. in its report makes two recommendations and three alternate propositions. The first recommendation is that the general manager of the Joint Board be elected by a majority of the membership of the affiliated locals. Your Committee recommends concurrence in this recommendation of the G. E. B. Of the three alternate propositions with respect to business agents your Committee recommends concurrence in the first two. It is of the opinion that the sending of the quota of business agents to the Joint Boards by the affiliated locals, should be a matter left entirely to the Local Unions. Before framing its recommendations as amendments to the constitution your committee desires to read to the delegates that part of the G. E. B. report dealing with this question:

V. Appointment or Election of Business Agents

The General Executive Board recommends that the post of general manager of all joint boards should be filled by a referendum vote of all members belonging to locals affiliated with such joint boards. All posts of business agents of such joint boards should be filled by appointment by a competent committee representing the joint board and the affiliated locals.

As an alternate proposition, in the event of the rejection of the proposal to appoint business agents, we recommend that they be elected by locals, each local sending in its quota and not by a general mixed vote of all the locals. Voting in a general election on business agents we believe to be both inexpedient, unfair and a method which must lead to inefficiency and dissatisfaction. It should not be per-

mitted that two or three locals with a large membership take advantage and pick business agents for all the other locals and crafts of the trade. It is a well known fact in our Union that cloak operators prefer to have their grievances taken up and adjusted by operator business agents, pressers by presser business agents, cutters by cutter business agents, etc. To impose upon these workers as business agents persons not of their own trades and choosing but such as would be selected for them by members of other branches of the trade is not fair dealing and is bound to create mischief.

As a third recommendation we suggest that, in order to give each local full opportunity to express its judgment and preference with regard to the choice of business agents for their crafts, instead of members sending in applications to the Joint Board offices, that candidates for business agents should be nominated by the locals themselves at member meetings, each local to select through such a method of primary nominations twice the number of candidates of their allotted quota of business agents. These candidates should afterwards go on the general ballot and be voted on in a general referendum. This will insure that each local representing a craft in the industry will at all events obtain such business agents as its members prefer to have attend their complaints and shop affairs.

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 the adoption of this recommendation.

The part of the resolution dealing with the election of the general manager of the Joint Board by referendum was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hyman stated that he was rather surprised that locals should be allowed to elect business agents and send

them into the Joint Board. He charged that politics was behind the last election of business agents in the New York Joint Board and further charged that politics was behind the recommendation of the committee in proposing elections. He claimed that the entire membership of the Joint Board should elect business agents. He said in part: Is that the kind of trade unionism you have been advocating? Is it in line with the so-called amalgamation that you are going to divide the union into fifteen or twenty different parts? I say you are doing this for no other reason than to have the kind of elections you had under the Langer machine. A business agent represents everybody and not a particular local. I say whether it is necessary to have local elections or elections through a Joint Board, this should be left to each city separately. Let them decide whether the membership wants it or whether they don't want it.

Delegate Dubinsky: Delegate Hyman formerly advocated the very same thing that we are now supporting. If a wrong has been committed in the past, there is no reason for saying that the same wrong should be reversed and be committed by you. A general election for business agents will create distrust and dissension in the same proportion as you have had it up till now, because in a general election men will be elected not when they represent the sentiments and the wishes of the locals whom they are to represent, but they will be elected when they are labeled by a certain individual or two representing the larger locals. If it is an argument that they are to represent all crafts, the same argument could be applied that various districts should be entitled to select their business agents. But you are not ready to adopt that method, and therefore local elections is the procedure that should be adopted.

Delegate Boruchowitz spoke in Yiddish. He reiterated the arguments advanced by Delegate Hyman.

Delegate Antonini: They, the opponents of this resolution, need not and would not be convinced. This resolution is introduced by Local 89, and let me

tell you, Brother Hyman, you are not better than Langer in this respect; you want to perpetuate an injustice, you are an opportunist; it serves your purpose, and you want it adopted for your immediate need. It is very hard for the membership of even a local to select properly the business agents. Can you have candidates that are entirely unknown to them? I know the secret; it is the "slate" business that interests you, and that's all. Locals who pay business agents are entitled to elect them, because they at least know whether they are fit. Shall we allow Hyman, Boruchowitz and Portnoy to select for us business agents in star chamber proceedings on a "slate"?

Hyman not so long ago wanted local elections; now he has become a politician. Then he was satisfied because he was sure to elect at least his officers; now he is a big man and he wants to control the entire business. It is not right, it is not fair, and I want you to support the resolution of Local 89.

Delegate Ninfo: The arguments presented by Hyman and Boruchowitz contradict their own position of only a short time ago.

You cannot impose upon locals taxes and payments for business agents if you deny them representation, if you deny them the right to select their best choice for business agents.

Are the business agents elected by the members, let us say, of Local 2 capable of doing their business effectively when they are sent to manage or adjust grievances of Local 48? Of course not, and you know it, but you want to railroad this affair. I assure you you could not impose upon the intelligence of the delegates to such an extent.

President Sigman: All in favor of the election of business agents as proposed by the committee will vote by raising their hand.

The vote was 145 for, 105 against, the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Goratsky denied the statement attributed to him that two business agents were asked to resign because they

were not "lefts." Delegate Pinkovsky stated that he can prove that at least one business agent was asked to resign because he was not a "left."

Chairman Ninfo continued to report as follows:

Resolution No. 109

Submitted by delegation of Local 10:

RESOLVED, That Article 6, titled "Joint Boards and District Councils," of the constitution and by-laws of the International, Section 3, be amended by the addition of a new subsection to follow subsection h, to read: "To fix the minimum dues and assessments to be paid by the members to the local upon the approval of the same by a majority of the membership in a referendum vote."

Resolution No. 112

Submitted by I. Stienzor, of Local 2; G. Halpern, of Local 66, and A. Lupin, of Local 22:

WHEREAS, The calling of strikes, stoppages and settlement of same, also levying of taxes, raising of dues, affect the entire membership and require the co-operation of each and every member involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That if any of these questions arise before any local union, Joint Board or the International, they shall not be acted upon until approved by a referendum vote of the entire membership.

Resolution No. 113

Submitted by Local 3; D. Rubin, Secretary:

WHEREAS, The last convention adopted an amendment to the Constitution of the International in Article VII, Section 3 (b) which reads:

"By majority vote of their delegates, representing a majority of affiliated locals, to fix the amount of per capita tax to be paid by the locals affiliated with it to defray the expenses of the Board, and the minimum dues and assessments to be paid by the members to the locals"; and

WHEREAS, This clause in the constitution of the International has caused friction and disturbance among our members to the extent that our Union has suffered a great deal due to it, giving an opportunity to some of the members of our Union to slander and besmirch the name of our Joint Board and International Union, as bodies that hold and believe in undemocratic principles; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this clause in the constitution of the International be amended to provide that, in order to fix the amount of per capita tax to defray the expenses of the Joint Board, the minimum dues and assessments to be paid by the members to the locals be subjected for approval to a referendum vote of the members of all affiliated locals before going into effect.

Resolution No. 121

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Mirenda, delegates of Local 39:

RESOLVED, That in any event when necessary to increase dues or levy a special assessment, such decision in order to become a definite law must be put to a referendum vote of the membership. If such action is taken by the General Executive Board it must go to a referendum of the entire membership of the International, and if it is the action of one Joint Board or District Council, it must go to a referendum vote of all the members of said Joint Board or District Council, and if it is a decision of an Executive Board of one particular local, it must be approved by the membership of this same local.

Resolution No. 147

Article VI, Section 3, Subdivision B, to read as follows:

To decide by a majority vote the sum of per capita tax to be paid by the locals. Also, decide on a uniform weekly dues and assessment for each local union. Increase of dues and levying of taxes to go to a referendum vote of the membership.

Resolutions 109 and 112 of the fifth days proceedings, Resolutions 113 and 121 of the fifth day's proceedings, and Resolution 147 of the fifth day, deal with one subject—the question of submitting to referendum vote of the membership of the affiliated local unions the levying of assessments and the fixing of dues by the Joint Board and District Councils.

Your Committee is of the opinion that the convention would go far towards maintaining harmony in the ranks of our vast membership by the incorporation into the constitution of our International of a clause to this effect. Your Committee adopts in this connection the second whereas of Resolution 113 submitted by Local 3 in the fifth day's proceedings, which reads:

This clause in the constitution of the International (Article 6, Section 3, Subdivision B) has caused friction and disturbance among our members to the extent that our Union has suffered a great deal due to it, giving an opportunity to some of the members of our Union to slander and besmirch the name of our Joint Board and International Union, as bodies that hold and believe in undemocratic principles.

In this connection your Committee bore in mind the recommendation of the G. E. B. in its report to the Convention on Page 191, entitled "Dues and Assessments" which reads as follows:

VI. Dues and Assessments

The right of the locals to raise their own dues should remain unabridged.

The joint boards should have the right to initiate a proposal to raise uniformly dues in all its affiliated locals. But it shall have no right to pass on it, but should submit the proposal to all affiliated locals for a vote. Such a rise in dues may then only become operative if approved by a majority of the locals representing a majority of the membership of the joint board.

Assessments levied by joint boards in cases of emergency may be submitted by them to the membership of the affiliated locals to vote upon and may become operative and in force upon a favorable vote by a plain majority of all the voters. The General Executive Board desires to make this distinction between the raising of dues and the levying of an emergency assessment because in the case of dues the membership is faced with a permanent increase of its most important contribution toward the maintenance of the organization and such a rise should therefore be imposed by as large a majority of the workers favoring it as possible, while an emergency assessment is an infrequent levy and when it is proposed the situation that calls for it is, as a rule, pressing enough to warrant its adoption by a plain majority.

Your Committee therefore recommends unanimously the adoption of the recommendation of the G. E. B. as an amendment to Article 6, Section 3, subdivision B.

Recommendation unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 114

Submitted by D. Rubin, Secretary, Local 3:

WHEREAS, Article XII, Section 5 of the Constitution of the International states:

"The General Executive Board shall have the power to levy an assessment of 25 cents per week per member on all affiliated unions for a period of not more than 20 weeks in any one year for the purpose of assisting subordinate organizations engaged in a strike or lockout. Such assessments shall be collected by each local union from its members and be evidenced by a special assessment stamp issued by the I. L. G. W. U. Assessments shall be levied on the basis of the membership shown in the Record Department of the I. L. G. W. U. at the time of the decision to levy the assessment, but subject to correction based on the average sale of dues stamps between the date of such decision and the next convention"; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this clause of the Constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. be amended to provide that all such periodic assessments after they have been levied by the General Executive Board be subjected for approval to a referendum vote of all the affiliated local unions of the I. L. G. W. U. before they go into effect.

Resolution No. 147

Article XII, Section 5, to read as follows:

Any assessment levied by the G. E. B. shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership. Rest of section to begin with word "for the purpose of assisting subordinate organizations." Rest of section to follow.

Resolution No. 120

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Mirenda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, The increase of the per capita decided at the Boston Convention and the consequent increase of weekly dues decided by the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union of New York was the main reason which brought about the last internal fight in our Organization; and

WHEREAS, Lately, the membership of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union of New York took a referendum in which the vast majority voted for the 35 cent weekly dues; and

WHEREAS, It is therefore impossible for the locals to meet their obligations in maintaining themselves and the Joint Board in case the 15 cent per capita is continued; be it

RESOLVED, That the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in the Eighteenth Biennial Convention, assembled in the City of Philadelphia, decide to restore the 10 cent per capita and instruct the incoming General Executive Board to study a budget system so that with the revenue of the 10 cent per capita the General Office may meet all the necessary expenditures.

Article XII, Section 1, to be amended:

Ten cents per capita instead of 15 cents.

Your Committee carefully considered Resolution 114 of the fifth day's proceeding and Resolution 120 of the same day, both of which aim to amend Art. 12, Sec. 5 (page 61 of the constitution) relating to the power of the G. E. B. to levy assessments. The more th roughly your Committee discussed this resolution the more did it come to the conclusion that these resolutions, in view of the financial condition of our International and the many pressing problems with which it is faced, strongly bares on two other resolutions.

These are resolutions 120, and 147, both of the fifth day's proceedings. These resolutions aim to amend the constitution so that the per capita to be paid by the local unions to the International be reduced from 15 to 10 cents. Your Committee feels that the adoption of both questions dealt with here immediately.

affect organization activities. For in the event that the convention decides for or against the levying of an assessment the hands of the International would be tied in that it would not have sufficient finances to go on with its work. In this instance were a decision made by the convention or the G. E. B. to levy be submitted to a referendum, it would be submitted to a referendum it would take many months before the International could collect it from the local unions. In the meantime the agreements in some of the important markets will expire shortly, particularly in New York City, and our work would be considerably hampered.

According to the financial report of the International it owes a considerable amount of money. Many of the local unions even under the higher rate of dues failed to meet their indebtedness to the International. Part of this report states, "Instead, however, of paying their debts to the General Office, several of the locals had to be helped by it, and the debts of some of them had to be written off our books entirely as it became evident that they could not meet them." Reading from another part of the financial report we are informed that "The International Office also had to liquidate the great dress strike in Chicago which began in the winter of 1924 and lasted until June and was one of the bitterest and costliest strikes ever waged by our Union. Suffice it to say that we still have to pay today large sums for obligations incurred in that conflict, nearly two years ago." Further reference to the report on page 5 will acquaint the delegates with the problems which confronted the International in the Montreal and Toronto, Canada, strikes. As delegates to a labor congress representing nearly 100,000 members and being responsible for the improvement of the working conditions of the many other tens of thousands of workers throughout the United States and Canada engaged in the making of ladies' garments we are charged with a duty of tremendous proportions. Our saner judgment therefore must prevail in the consideration by us of the above-mentioned resolutions.

Your Committee therefore unanimous-

ly makes the following recommendations:

It is unanimously recommended that Resolutions 114 and 147 be consolidated and that the resolve referring to referendum vote the levying of assessments in Resolution 114 be incorporated into Article 12, Section 5, page 61 of the constitution as an amendment to the same.

For the reasons above mentioned your committee unanimously recommends non-concurrence in Resolutions 120 and 147 relating to the reduction of the per capita.

A motion was carried to have one speaker for and one against the committee's report.

Delegate Portnoy maintained that by adopting the recommendation of the committee the locals having to pay 15 cents to the general office will not be able to maintain their office for 20 cents a week per member. He stated that if the International wants to organize campaigns the membership will vote for it, but the locals must not be crippled. He insisted that the per capita to the International should be reduced to 10 cents.

Chairman Ninfo. The committee considers that the G. E. B. must not be hampered in doing the work the convention charges it with. Some of our locals cannot pay assessments because they are constantly involved in expense; and they must even be helped during the year. So in their case there cannot be any talk of collecting assessments. The recommendation is clear that assessments can be levied only in a general strike, and only when decided by a majority of the members of all locals.

Secretary Baroff defended the recommendation of the committee and explained that in the last eighteen months we had general strikes in Canada and other cities but that hardly any money came in from assessments. If you take away from the General Office 30 per cent of its income you will make the work of the International impossible, especially in view of the present deplorable situation of our treasury and its indebtedness. He

expressed the hope that the convention would uphold the hand of the I. L. G. W. U.

The part of the resolution making obligatory a referendum in the event of imposing of an assessment by the G. E. B. was carried unanimously.

On the part of the resolution referring to the proposed reduction of the per capita to the General Office from 15 cents to 10 cents, a roll-call was taken, resulting in a vote of 148 in favor of the report of the committee, 109 against, 22 absent.

Since a two third vote was necessary in order to change the constitution and not even a majority vote was registered in favor of the proposed change, the constitution in this respect remains as before.

At this time Delegate Dubinsky took the Chair.

Chairman Ninfo proceeded to report for the Law Committee as follows:

Resolution No. 128

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, The Cloak, Suit and Dress Finishers' Local 59, I. L. G. W. U., came to the conclusion that some of our larger locals are discriminated, and carry all the expenses of the International on their shoulders; and

WHEREAS, They are still deprived of their just demands to be represented fully, as they are entitled to be; and

WHEREAS, Only now we are represented equally by certain bodies, especially by the Joint Board; and

WHEREAS, We are paying more per capita, and all the pro rata to our union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Eighteenth Biennial Convention assembled in Philadelphia adopt this resolution to have proportional delegates according to the membership of our larger locals in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Resolution No. 147

Article II, Section 2, to read:

Representation at the convention shall be upon the following basis:

Local unions with a membership not more than 500 shall be entitled to two delegates. Local unions with a membership of more than 500, but not more than 1,000, shall be entitled to three delegates. Local unions with more than 1,000 shall be entitled to three delegates for the first 1,000 and one delegate for each additional 1,000 or major fraction thereof. The voting strength of

each local delegation at the convention on any question shall equal the number of members it represents, apportioned equally between the delegates of the respective delegation.

Remainder of Section to follow.

Resolutions Nos. 128 and 147, of the fifth day's proceedings deal with the same subject matter—that is, with the question of representation to the conventions of the International.

Your Committee wishes to point out at the outset that it is fully aware of the fact that the decision it makes in this case, one way or another, will cause considerable dissatisfaction among portions of our membership. However, as a committee charged with a duty hardly second to none, it felt that it must consider this question only from the point of view of arriving at a decision that would make for the greatest good of all of the members of our union regardless of factional differences. Our union is not composed of national and international unions or federated locals. It is composed of language and craft groups, to match the character of the industry in which our members are engaged as workers. For only in this manner are we enabled to carry on the work for which we are organized. Members in local unions of two hundred must have their interests cared for as well as those of a local union of 10,000 members. No human being should be deprived of his voice or the opportunity of improving his conditions. We find the same spirit of enthusiasm in the work required by a local union of two hundred as in locals with a larger membership. There is the same desire on the part of the active spirits of the smaller organizations for a means of expression as in those of larger proportions. No one group, no matter how small or how large, should deprive another group of the opportunity for expansion.

Nevertheless, your committee feels that some measure should be adopted that would give recognition accordingly. While a large body should not deprive a smaller one of its rights, it must be admitted that to have a small body dominating a large one to any degree would also be unjust. This question was carefully considered. The one factor

which most strongly held the committee was that representation of the subordinate local unions must be such as will preserve the interests of every member as much as possible. Your Committee therefore proposes a system of representation, according to the size of the local unions of our International, at the same time safeguarding the rights of the members.

Your Committee therefore adopted the following form of representation to the conventions of the I. L. G. W. U., substituting it for the resolutions above requested and the Committee recommends its adoption as an amendment to Article 11, Section 3 of the constitution.

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 1,000 to be represented by Three (3) Delegates. Local Unions with a membership of more than 1,000 to be entitled to One (1) Delegate for every 1,000 members or portion thereof.

Delegate Rubin spoke in Yiddish. He stated that the revolt of the operators of 1914 was the result of such decisions as this presented by the Law Committee on representation to the convention. He stated that if a question were decided under a system of proportional representation no one would question the justice of the action, but that the adoption of the committee's report would not heal the wounds of the union and would not gain the respect of the members.

Delegate Zimmerman: I offer an amendment that the voting strength of each delegate at a convention should be in accordance with the membership that he represents.

President Sigman: That is the original resolution. If you vote down the report of the committee it means voting for the original resolution.

Delegate Katofsky spoke in behalf of the recommendation of the committee. He said in part: "I feel that the speakers who defend the resolution do not recognize the existence of the other locals. If the original resolution were adopted at the convention it would mean that the New York locals would monopolize the convention and it would mean outvoting every other center. This is

surely not in accordance with democracy. I feel that the recommendation of this committee will solve the problem. We are not ready at this moment to submit to the mercy of the delegates who represent New York and we are not going to be ready for some time, for I see the prejudice that you now have against the country delegates because we disagree with your viewpoint on various matters.

Delegate Hyman: Claessens, the Socialist assemblyman, used to say that the difference between a Republican and a Democrat is the difference between "kiegle" and "koogle." I say that the difference between the present so-called system of representation and the one you propose is the difference between "kiegle" and "koogle." I say that no greater insult was ever offered to a convention than is offered in the reform you propose. There is no one here who would dare to come before a meeting of cloakmakers or dressmakers or members of the union and defend the present system of representation. And this is only typical of your policy. You are changing here and there like an acrobat on a stage in order to show to the members that you have changed, but you have absolutely not changed in the least. Instead of being hypocritical, have the courage to come out and say, "We have the power and we don't give a rap for you." What is your new system? I challenge the chairman of this committee to show me that Local 22 will have another delegate, or Local 9 or any other local. You say you will give 2 delegates for every 300 members or less. That means if a local has 7 members, it will have 2 delegates. Then you say you will give 3 delegates for the first thousand and an additional delegate for each thousand. That means that Local 2 with 10,000 members is going to have 3 delegates for the first thousand and then 9 delegates for the additional 9,000 which makes 12 delegates. Has not a local under your old system 12 delegates where they have 10,000 members? Katofsky said that the country locals are not ready to submit to the mercy of the New York locals. So what have you done this morning? You have taken away the right from the New York Joint Board

which is composed of 50,000 members—you have decided that they have no right to decide their destiny. Count the number of members we represent and then you will find who and what portion of our membership approves of your policies:

I say the New York locals have no different interests than the country locals have. When you go out on strike it is the New York locals that supply you with the ammunition. The New York locals have been the sponsors and the main fighters for you and if it were not for the New York locals there would not be any locals anywhere else. The small locals are being used by the administration to disregard the membership and act against the interest of the vast majority. Such a system of representation also hurts the small locals. It works out satisfactorily only to a group of officers who have maintained themselves and who are willing to maintain themselves in spite of the fact that they cannot face their own members in whose name they make all sorts of laws. So far as this system of representation is concerned that you give us an alternative, it does not change anything. Therefore I say in accordance with our peace agreement that we made with the representatives of the International, the system of representation will have to be submitted to a referendum vote of the entire membership, and if you are not going even to be truthful, and are not going to live up to your own agreement, to your own negotiations, to your own promises, then we will be able to show the people who claim to have the interest of the workers at heart. I say you went far enough and you are not going to go any further. (applause)

Delegate Antonini: Listen, Brother Hyman, and the rest, you are very hungry. But don't eat too much because you will get indigestion. The recommendation of the committee is something in the way of giving you full representation in due time, but you want everything today. You don't want to save anything for tomorrow. I will give you a better proposition. Let us do away with the convention. It is not necessary to have a convention. All that is necessary is

to have Locals 22 and 2 meet together and decide everything for the International and we can save the expense of a convention. You put together these two big locals and you can dispose of all the matters of the International and we will not have a voice. We will be your colonies. You will be like the British Empire and will hold us under subjugation. Why don't you look further ahead than your nose? Today you have these three big locals with you. Perhaps in a couple of years to come one big local will switch over from your camp and, if you have your system adopted now, where will you be then? This report should satisfy everybody who wants to have peace in our union.

You speak for the country locals. You would like to have them vote for your program. If you can convince these people to vote for your program, you will not dare to jump up in this convention and say that it is an insult. I appeal to the delegates who are not prejudiced to vote for the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Zimmerman: I have here the report of the G. E. B., page 53, containing the peace agreement. Clauses 2 and 3 state that "on the subject of proportional representation the next convention refer the final solution of it to a general vote of the membership of our International Union, and that both majority and minority viewpoints be submitted in this referendum vote. After the question of representation is determined by the convention and is referred to a referendum vote of the members, the committee to be elected or appointed by the convention to supervise the referendum to be composed of an equal number of members representing all shades of opinion on this question."

Chairman Dubinsky: As you have read this statement, both parties have agreed that it is their opinion that whatever is decided at this convention, this matter should go to a referendum vote. This will be submitted to the convention and whatever the convention will decide on this matter the office of the G. E. B. will carry out. This committee gives their opinion to this convention

and the convention is to act on each and every proposition before it.

Delegate Horowitz spoke in Yiddish. He reiterated the fact that the peace plan had been adopted because it was understood the question of proportional representation would be considered according to the peace plan and the membership would be allowed to decide important questions. He urged that the peace plan be lived up to.

President Sigman: I have made my position clear more than once,—first, on the question of business agents, and, second, on proportional representation. I believe that an election either way of business agents by locals or in a general election does not serve the interest of our movement and does not secure the best men for such service. I believe that the general manager should be elected by a referendum vote of the membership and he should select the business agents. To me personally it makes little difference which method of election you have, although I find that there is less evil and inefficiency when you permit at least the local to have its elections, because then the local will have the opportunity to select for its own craft whomever it thinks best.

As to the question of proportional representation when the so-called peace treaty was signed, I said openly and frankly that if you want me to stand up for any proposition at the convention and defend it, I must believe in it, and if you want to exact promises at the point of a gun, I will make them to you, but no convention is obliged to take it even on my advice if you exact such promises. I will not even defend them. And it is very definite and clear that I never consented to proportional representation. I believe it is an unjust measure in our union if you consider the composition and character of our markets. I did say that I favored a more just measure of representations than we have today, but you cannot tell these delegates that in the so-called peace negotiations I consented to and did not oppose the idea of proportional representation.

Delegate Hyman: I want to ask two questions: first, did you not agree in

the peace treaty to submit the question of proportional representation to a referendum vote? Second, in what way is the system you now propose any better than the old system? If you are going to vote us down on this proposition, you will make a mistake.

(At this point a riot occurred in the gallery as one of the visitors persisted in shouting and creating a disturbance, until he was removed. After quiet was restored, Delegate Hyman resumed as follows:)

Delegate Hyman: After having a fight for a number of months with the officials of the Joint Board and of the International, we came together as two equal parties representing two factions, and we concluded an agreement. Amongst the most important items of this agreement is that the present system of representation is unjust and undemocratic and both sides agreed to alter the present system. It is true that Brother Sigman said that he was not in favor of absolutely equal proportional representation as we demanded it; therefore he said that he would present his point of view so far as a more just system of representation is concerned, and would put in our demands for equal proportional representation. It was agreed that the minority as well as the majority opinion would be submitted to the entire membership for a vote and it was agreed that we would be represented in equal number in carrying through the referendum. If you come here and want to abrogate this treaty if you say that you will permit these delegates to decide whether they will give this over to a referendum of the membership or not, I say that you are not only disregarding your membership, but don't give a rap for the agreement which you have signed. I am going to take my hat and coat and I will call on everybody that is in sympathy with the people who have been fighting with the Joint Action Committee to take their hats and coats (applause.)

Several delegates thereupon bolted the convention.

President Sigman: Some of the delegates that are in sympathy with those who left the hall are still here and I hope

that they will transmit the statement I am about to make on this matter. During the entire convention on more than one occasion these threats have been made by Delegate Hyman and others on the floor of this convention. It is not our fault that these so-called progressive delegates do not understand procedure. On the basis of the agreement that they have referred to, it is understood that if there are three, or for that matter 10 different proposals before the convention, these proposals should be submitted to a referendum of the membership. At this time we had a counter proposal before the house made by the Committee on Law to the resolution submitted proposing full proportional representation. If the convention had adopted the recommendation of the committee, then would be the time for the progressive delegates to make their fight that the two proposals be submitted to a referendum. If the convention had refused them this proposition, from a strategic point of view they would have acted more cleverly in bolting the convention than they did at this time. If the question of submitting this proposition to a referendum had come up, my voice would go out at this convention to uphold the promise I had made and to comply with the agreement.

Why should we fool ourselves? Formal information has come to some of our delegates more than once through the duration of the convention that these progressive delegates will withdraw at an opportune time. I personally think that they did not pick the right time. If these delegates will not return to the afternoon session, this convention will proceed in accordance with legal procedure that is required in order to legalize the further procedure of this convention, we will complete the business and the problems before us, and we will be obliged to consider the withdrawal of these delegates as bolting the convention and as seceding from our International Union. If they want this, good luck to them, (prolonged applause) I want further to state that because of the bolting of these delegates at this time we will not be able to take this report of the committee to a vote until the

convention is properly and legally organized again.

Delegate Woikowitz: I agree with President Sigman that the convention cannot act on this question at the present time. I believe we have nothing to fear in giving this question to a referendum vote. I believe there was some misunderstanding on the part of the delegate who left due to the statement of Brother Dubinsky that if Brother Sigman made an agreement, it is up to the convention to decide; we have seen at previous conventions how these things are decided.

I will go to my delegation and ask them to come back here to take up the questions in a proper manner and I appeal to the majority to vote and consider this question as members of the union and not as members of the majority.

Chairman Dubinsky: Permit me to repeat my statement. This question will come up separately before this convention. It was agreed by the conference committee that no matter what the convention will decide, all the propositions submitted on this subject will be submitted to a referendum vote, and the convention will have to decide whether this matter should go to a referendum vote or not. At all conventions the action of your general officers has been subject to the approval of this convention and no act of any individual or group of individuals is superior to the congress of the International—be it the President, or be it the G. E. B. We came here as free representatives of our organization and we will not submit to any threats or any terrorizing. (applause) There was no reason for the tactics pursued by your colleagues during this convention. If you wanted to have your way and no other way, why did you keep us here for three weeks? You should have told us at the beginning.

One thing should be uppermost in the minds of the delegates and of every conscientious trade unionist, that in these fights even when you win you lose the union. You know it. You won a victory in New York but you lost the union. I say that the membership in New York

are sick and tired of the fighting and your threats. Instead of concentrating your efforts on fighting another part of the union they want you to prepare to fight the employers that are destroying the union. You know the whole issue depended upon Locals 64, 82 and 45. In the Joint Board you claimed they had equal representation with some of the most important locals. The report of the Law Committee covers that point. It eliminates 90 per cent of their representation to the Joint Board in order to meet this issue. You speak of solidarity and of cooperation and of organizing our efforts to combine against our common enemies, but you expect to have everything as you want it. The committee's recommendation spells compromise. I say in conclusion you have picked the wrong moment and it is not your fault or their fault, because they came with that decision. I want to tell you that on Monday night in New York a caucus meeting was called by the so-called "rank and filers," where they received instructions and preparations were made for this act of yours today. We have to consider each and every proposition from a trade union point of view but not at the point of a gun and not by threats. If your group gives up these methods, you are welcome to call them back and we will be able to conclude our convention in order to achieve something. The other way you will be in hell and we will be in hell. By fighting you will not defeat anybody, you will only defeat yourselves. Make up your mind that you will work for the improvement of the conditions of the workers instead of playing to the gallery. (applause) This convention will now stand adjourned until 3:30 p. m.

At 2 p. m. the session adjourned to reconvene at 3:30 p. m.

**15th Day, Afternoon Session
Wednesday, December 16, 1925**

President Sigman called the session to order at 4:15.

President Sigman: Delegate Snyder will meet with the Credentials Committee and report to this convention the accredited delegates present and seated at this convention.

While this report is being prepared, I desire to make a statement. You all know what took place in the morning session. All delegates and visitors who were present since the opening of the convention, except those affiliated with a certain group, know as a matter of record that during the entire convention the Chair as well as the majority of the delegates to this convention have done everything in their power to lead the factions at this convention to unification. This was done with one thought in mind, and that was, that when this convention is adjourned we shall be in a position to take up our vital problems. From the reports and discussions, you all realize the serious problems with which the organization is confronted in the field of organizing the thousands of workers whom we have not as yet enrolled in our organization. Those delegates that have dared to disagree with the opposition faction which in my judgment is at this time under the full influence of the communist group and communist leaders, have been ill-treated in the meanest and most inhuman way. But we have tolerated all this with one thought in mind, that we know how difficult it is to organize and how easy it is to destroy. It was with the purpose of keeping our organization intact and clearing away all differences and returning as a unified force, that all these insults and abuses have been tolerated. I was informed that the opposition was contemplating bolting the convention. As I stated before, Delegate Horowitz of Local 2 so stated on more than one occasion. Other delegates were so informed. We did all we possibly could to prevent an action of this kind, and because of that we also tolerated every act of intelligence on the part of the leaders of the opposition. But they had to carry their intention into effect. My attention was called to the fact that before Hyman made his statement, some of the opposition delegates had prepared themselves and had put on their coats so as to be ready to leave the convention, knowing what his statement would be. I also received information that in New York a general mass meeting had been arranged for one o'clock this afternoon to receive the returning delegates from the opposi-

tion and play up to the spectacle that was prepared for them. I don't know how true that information is, but it is quite plausible. This again shows that this was prepared on the part of the so-called opposition influenced by certain forces, who in my judgment have very little regard for the trade union movement.

Let us get clear before us the issue upon which they have bolted this convention. It is possible that in the excitement not all heard it or understood it. We had before the house the question of proportional representation. The resolution submitted involved a change in our present bylaws and was therefore submitted to the Committee on Law. The committee brought in a counter-proposal, which they considered to be an improvement over our present system. After passing on this question the convention had to consider another proposition concerning an arrangement between myself in behalf of the G. E. B., a committee of shop chairmen and a group of the opposition which represented the three suspended executive boards. That agreement proposed that after the question of proportional representation was passed upon at the convention, all propositions submitted, together with the proposals adopted by the convention, would be put to a referendum vote of our entire membership. It was further agreed that a committee should be elected at this convention representing each of the groups and shades of opinion on this matter in equal numbers, which committee should visit each locality and advance to the members arguments for their particular point of view; and then a vote be taken to decide which would be the ~~law~~ of our International for future conventions. This question had not as yet come up before the house and the Chairman informed the convention that it would come up next. I believe that if the opposition had bolted after this proposition of a referendum had come up and the convention had defeated their desire, they would have had a more justified cause for bolting. In my judgment they did not pick the proper issue and they bolted at the wrong time. It seems that some of them realized that it was not the proper time and there was some controversy between the one who made the

statement and a few others of the opposition, but he was instructed and forced to make his statement then, and I think that there is where they made a mistake. It is certainly a tragedy not only for our own organization, but it is a tragedy for the labor movement. The seeds of discontent spread by communism in the labor movement in this country have had their first effect in our organization. They had partly disrupted it before we came to this convention. It was our hope to be able to patch things up here, but, in order to carry out their aim to the fullest satisfaction of those who want to shape the policies of the American trade union movement—and I have in mind Russia with its form of unionism—they have gone to the extent of taking the action that they did, not giving a care for the sacrifices and the sufferings of the tens of thousands of men and women in our union who have built it up. They don't care if the union goes to smash once they can demonstrate that communism is on the high horse in the American trade union movement and in our International. It is not a secret that millions of dollars have been spent in this country year in and year out by organized employers of industry to destroy labor unions, and here without a cent of cost to the enemies of labor, but rather with the pennies of the workers in this country and Russia, this work in the interest of the enemies of Labor has been performed.

I know how badly you feel about it and I know how I feel about it. A good many of you know the part I played in the days before the wage workers were organized. A good many of you know that in the gigantic strike of 1910 I and others with me almost paid with our lives for this union, and not only would we have been electrocuted unjustly but the entire union would have been electrocuted if the employers had succeeded in carrying out their plans to destroy this union. Whenever unions have to be organized they must make this sacrifice, but I would not like to see the men and women who will have to rebuild this union going through the same tortures and sacrifices and conspiracies and frame-ups that we who built this union experienced. No one can kill and wipe out the trade

union movement. It may be thrown back for a short while but there is that strong economic force that will always call it back into life to fight for the rights of those that are exploited. If this task falls now upon you, those with more energy, because you are younger and stronger, I know you will be glad to do service for this great human cause and see to it that our union will again be strong to fight our enemies. (prolonged applause) I and the others will be ready to help you with all our energy, with all our experience, with all the wisdom that we possess, but you will have to do the fighting. You will have to take the place of the Sigman of 22 years ago and you, I am sure benefiting by the experience we have had, will be able to do it better than we did because at that time we had very little experience in what trade-unionism means.

Secretary Baroff: Delegates, Brothers and sisters, it is very painful for me to speak, as I know what it means to build an organization. We have given our life to bring into existence an organization for the workers. I remember the time when we were enslaved, working all kinds of hours for a meagre few dollars. I remember the time when it was not a question of long hours and little wages, but when we were slaves in the full sense of the word. And we worked our heads off and struggled and sacrificed hundreds and thousands of our men and women, young and old, to establish an organization. After so many years of sacrifice, after we have succeeded in organizing a union that has been the hope of the down-trodden people, they have used a method that will cause nothing but suffering to the unfortunate workers, and I protest with every fibre of my heart against this action.

All these manoeuvres that have been going on for two and a half weeks were only a play to the gallery. They have intended to bolt right from the very opening of this convention and, from information that I received from New York, they have been making all arrangements to continue the fight. Nothing will satisfy them. Sigman tolerated their actions because he wanted to show them

that he is democratic; he wanted to bring about harmony and unity and preserve the conditions we have attained during the years of struggle and sacrifice.

I am sure that if you will pledge your loyalty and devotion, we will again be able to bring about an organization that will again be the pride of the labor movement in American and the entire world. (great applause) I will do all I possibly can, whether I am an officer of this union or not, I will give my soul and my heart to work with you for a strong union. (great applause)

Delegate Shalley spoke in Yiddish. He made an appeal to the members that the question of proportional representation go to a referendum vote, and suggested that the session adjourn until tomorrow to give the bolting members an opportunity to return to the convention so that the convention could once more proceed as a united and not a divided body.

Delegate Rosenberg: I believe that I lost a few nights' sleep in building up this organization. You see in me an old man. When I started to be active in the labor movement, there was no union of any kind in our trade; that is as far back as 43 years ago. I know the calibre of our workers and, with the exception of those who came as communists from the other side about three years ago, I know everyone of the members of my local. Let me tell you that, so far as Local 2 is concerned, I am not afraid of the results. I am sure that when we start a real well-organized campaign, we can get not only a small minority but a big majority of the members of Local 2 to stick with us. The reason these people have had easy sailing was because they have taken as their issue the question of raising dues. I am a Jew myself and so are the members of Local 2 and 9 and the rest of them. A Jew likes to get as much as he can, and pay as little as he can.

Delegate Antonini: The Italians are the same.

Delegate Rosenberg: Shake hands, then we are brothers. It was a question of higher dues, and naturally the mem-

bers voted for 35 cents dues, so during the fight these people became the leaders.

My opinion is that we should proceed with our business as if nothing had happened. Let us all put our shoulders to the wheel and if we will make up our minds to have a strong union, we will have it in less than six months' time. I thank you. (great applause)

President Sigman: The Chairman of the Credentials Committee will submit his report:

Delegate Snyder thereupon reported as follows:

After the number that seceded this morning left the convention, 159 delegates have remained in accordance with the roll call prepared by the Secretary.

I move that the report be accepted and the delegates seated.

(This was unanimously carried.)

At this point Delegate Shalley left the hall bent on a peace mission of his own to win back the delegates who had bolted.

Delegate Tuckman of Boston delivered an appeal in Yiddish for unity.

Delegate Snyder: I want to announce that the number of delegates that have withdrawn are 109, but there are 11 others who are not present. These 11 have gone home during this week. There are 1 or 2 of them that have never reported here although we received their credentials. The number of delegates present here is 159.

President Sigman: With this procedure the convention is again in order, properly organized and I think with further business. The hour is about 6:30 and I think we will adjourn until 7:30 p. m.

At 6:30 p. m. the session adjourned to reconvene at 7:30 p. m.

15th Day.. Evening Session

Wednesday, December 16, 1925.

..President Sigman called the session to order at 8:00 p. m.

President Sigman: We will continue the discussion of the Report of the Committee on Law, on Resolutions 128 and 147, dealing with the question of proportional representation.

Chairman Ninfo: The difference between our recommendation and the recommendation of the representatives of the bolting locals is that we recommend two delegates up to 300 and they say two delegates up to 500. The argument that has been made to you by Delegate Hyman and a few others that the delegates of their locals will not gain anything by the recommendation of the Committee is not true. The recommendation we make would give Local 2, for example, in accordance with the membership they claim, 17 delegates instead of the 12 they now have. The same thing is true of Local 22.

On the other hand, Local 10, with a membership of 4,400, which now has 9 would only have 7 delegates, thus losing 2. At the present time if a local has 502 members, it is entitled to 4 delegates. Under the new law, those locals that had a membership of from 300 to 1,000 would lose one delegate because instead of 4 they will be entitled only to 3. The big locals that have made all this cry are not losing anything, they are gaining. But the rest of the locals outside of Local 48 would lose.

(Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.)

President Sigman: I will now call upon the Resolutions Committee to report.

Chairman Dubinsky reported for the Resolutions Committee as follows:

CHILD LABOR

Your committee received Resolution 28 dealing with the question of child labor. This resolution reads as follows:

WHEREAS, at the present time there are more than three million children of the work-

ing class toiling in industries and on farms, enduring some of the most brutal conditions, such as the 12-hour day, low wages, intense exploitation, undernourishment and lack of education; and

WHEREAS, child labor in America ranks higher than in any other country except China, despite the fact that America is the wealthiest country in the world; and

WHEREAS, we find child labor chiefly prevalent in those industries which are unorganized, such as textiles, agriculture, small manufactures and fisheries, and is increasing rapidly each year; and

WHEREAS, the prevailing conditions of society which force three and a half million children of the working class to enter industry and slave for a living, deny the worker's child its inherent social rights to health, strength and adequate education; and

WHEREAS, the attempts of "sentimental" organizations to have laws adopted and enforced are impractical because no provision is made for the maintenance of the worker's child, only beclouding the issue and not diminishing the extent of child labor; and

WHEREAS, the National Child Labor Law, after being passed twice, has each time been declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we urge and work for the passage of national legislation which prohibits all child labor up to the age of 16 years and provides for their maintenance by the State, the money for same to be appropriated through taxation of the owners of industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we express ourselves in favor of free education of all workers' children up to the age of 16, the school to be administered by a joint council of the trade unions, teachers' union and parents' council; and be it further

RESOLVED, that until the above measure goes into effect we work for more energetic measures to be taken by the A. F. of L. than those adopted at its last convention (state legislation and boycott of child labor manufacturers), namely, that we work for the removal of all discriminatory clauses in the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and urge the lowering of initiation fees, as well as dues, for all child workers, simultaneously conducting an energetic campaign for the unionization of all the working-class children in industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the convention of the International expresses its willingness to cooperate with all other working-class political and economic organizations in a united effort to eradicate child labor from American industry on the basis of the above line of policy; and be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent for publication and information to all the trade unions and the press; and be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the A. F. of L. and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

In as much as the question of elimination of child labor requires an amendment to the constitution of the United States and is therefore a political question, and the enforcement of the above resolution necessitates the cooperation of

the citizenship of the whole country, your committee believes that the cause for the abolition of child labor would best be served by the elimination of the fifth Whereas of this resolution which reads:

WHEREAS, the attempts of "sentimental" organizations to have laws adopted and enforced are impractical because no provision is made for the maintenance of the worker's child, only beclouding the issue and not diminishing the extent of child labor.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the above resolution with the proposed amendment.

So far as the third Resolve is concerned, we could not ascertain the veracity of the statement made therein, and we therefore recommend that this also be eliminated from the resolution.

(The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously carried.)

IMMIGRATION

The Committee on Resolutions has received Resolutions Nos. 15, 16 and 17, dealing with the question of lifting the ban on immigration in the United States. The resolutions read as follows:

Resolution No. 15

Submitted by Local 20, New York:

WHEREAS, the working class in Europe today finds itself in a terrible plight as a result of the recent imperialistic war; and

WHEREAS, we recognize the fact that the workers of all countries are of one class and that they must help one another in the struggle against their oppressors; and

WHEREAS, the immigration restriction law passed in the United States is the work of the capitalists, who are against the workers; and

WHEREAS, the representatives of our International to the A. F. of L. have ignored the decision of the last convention, in which they are instructed to oppose any restriction of immigration; be it

RESOLVED, that in the future our delegates to the A. F. of L. convention shall work for the lifting of the ban on immigration.

Resolution No. 16

Submitted by Local 91, I. L. G. W. U.:

WHEREAS, this country of ours has always been an aspiration for those people of Europe who suffered oppression and persecution; and

WHEREAS, by historical tradition all those for whom it was impossible to maintain themselves decently in their homelands have emigrated to America; and

WHEREAS, at this time conditions in Europe are almost impossible; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct its delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention to introduce a resolution urging that the doors of America, the land of hope for those who have suffered privation and misery in other countries, shall be open.

Resolution No. 17

Submitted by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Wislunewsky, of Local 38; V. Milletsky, of Local 41; A. Kravitz, of Local 3, and Rebecca Schwartz, of Local 46:

WHEREAS, laws have been passed making it very difficult for workers to enter the country; and

WHEREAS, these laws are especially directed against those workers loyal to the cause of labor; and

WHEREAS, these laws are part and parcel of the hostile legislation being enacted against the working class irrespective of creed, nationality or color; and

WHEREAS, the delegates representing our International at the last convention of the A. F. of L. have not carried out the instructions of the last convention of the International against restriction of immigration; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this convention goes on record as disapproving the action of our delegates to the A. F. of L. convention, and again reiterates its position against any restriction of immigration; and be it further

RESOLVED that a resolution to that effect be introduced and voted for by our delegates to the coming convention of the A. F. of L.

The Resolves of the above-mentioned resolutions dealing with the question of free immigration to the United States, can be summarized in the following Resolve: (from Res. 16):

RESOLVED, that this Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct its delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention to introduce a resolution urging that the doors of America, the land of hope for those who have suffered privation and misery in other countries, shall be open.

Your committee finds itself unanimously agreed and recommends adoption. But as for the last whereas of Resolution 16, which reads:

WHEREAS, the representatives of our International to the A. F. of L. have ignored the decision of the last convention, in which they are instructed to oppose any restriction of immigration; and the first resolve of Resolution 17, which reads:

RESOLVED, that this convention goes on record as disapproving the action of our delegates to the A. F. of L. convention, and again reiterates its position against any restriction of immigration;

your committee in looking up the decisions of the last convention finds that no instructions have been given to the delegates of the A. F. of L. to introduce such a resolution, and therefore recommends non-concurrence.

President Sigman: Before we proceed to discuss this resolution, I am informed that Brother Zimmerman and Boruchowitz have appeared with a mission to this Convention. Are you ready to state your mission at this time?

Brother Zimmerman: I came to clarify the occurrence this afternoon. The reason why I left this convention this afternoon was that the peace agreement which was concluded between the New York locals and the General Executive Board after a struggle of fifteen weeks which threatened to destroy our Union, it seemed to us was about to be abrogated. We came here with the intention of bringing about unity in our ranks. This is an extraordinary convention. This was supposed to be a harmony convention. The only way we could get harmony was by bringing in certain reforms for which the workers had been fighting for a long period of time. Right from the beginning of this convention it seemed to us that the way the proceedings were going on, the Peace Treaty was being abrogated right along. Particularly was it noticeable when it came to the most vital reform for which the membership of New York has been fighting, the question of proportional representation. During the peace conference we never intended to force upon anybody certain principles with which they disagreed. In the peace conferences, President Sigman, as well as other representatives of the G. E. B., stated that they are not in favor of pure proportional representation, that they are in favor of gradual representation. We insisted upon full proportional representation. Neither side wanted to force anything upon the other. We then agreed that this matter be referred to a referendum vote of the membership, and as the membership will decide so will it stand. We also agreed that both sides be represented on a committee that would supervise the referendum. It was agreed that this would be recommended by the delegates of the New York locals

as well as by the administration of the International. This Peace Treaty was approved by the G. E. B., by the Joint Board, and the shop chairmen and the membership of New York City, and it was understood that this would be the recommendation of the administration to this convention.

However, this afternoon we found that this was not the case and that the peace treaty was being abrogated. We saw that there was no use of our staying here any longer when every vital reform that we have introduced was rejected. At no time did we intend to split the International. At no time did we intend to secede from the International. We do not intend to do it now. Even during the fights that were taking place in New York City, we have always maintained as we maintain now, that we are legitimate locals and legitimate members of the International, that we are not organizing a dual union and don't intend to do so. We are members of the International, and we intend to remain members of the International. We felt that there was no use of our staying here, and we left the convention.

However, the secretary of the impartial committee on whose initiative the peace conferences were held, informed us that President Sigman stated here that this question is coming up and that the administration will recommend the adoption of this clause of the peace treaty, that they do not intend to ask the delegates to abrogate this clause in the peace treaty. If that is the case, if the administration will recommend to the delegates and will use its influence so that the peace treaty shall be lived up to, we are ready to come back and proceed with the work of this Convention.

Delegate Hochman: I am glad that Brother Zimmerman spoke without passion, without hatred and behaved like a gentleman, and I want in reply to say a few words in the same spirit. I was one of the committee representing the Union during the conferences while negotiations were going on to bring about peace. During the conferences when Brother Sigman agreed to any proposition that required the consent of the con-

vention, he always emphasized the fact that he cannot guarantee that this convention is going to approve what he agreed to, but that he and those who were present with him would do everything they could to see to it that these clauses of the treaty were adopted by the convention. It is most logical that Sigman should have taken such an attitude, for while he is President of the International, he cannot in advance guarantee the decision of any convention.

President Sigman: Before you proceed I would ask Brother Zimmerman if this statement is correct.

Brother Zimmerman: It was understood that the administration was going to recommend this and was going to use all its influence to see that it was carried.

President Sigman: Naturally, but I always called attention to the fact that I could not guarantee what the convention would do. I said I would use all my efforts to carry out the agreement.

Brother Zimmerman: We understand, but if the administration recommends certain things to the convention and uses its influence the administration is not defeated.

President Sigman: I am not arguing with you on that point. I want to make clear to this convention my own position in the matter at the time we negotiated the so-called peace.

Brother Zimmerman: Yes.

Delegate Hochman: Now we will proceed to the reading of the clauses exactly as they were agreed upon, and we will see whether the administration did not do what was agreed upon. On Page 53 of the Officers' Report, points 2 and 3 deal with this question.

2. On the subject of proportional representation. It is agreed that, since the present method of representation at International conventions and joint boards is causing dissatisfaction in our Union, it is the unanimous opinion of the conferring parties that this question of representation be taken up and decided by the next convention. To settle this matter in an adequate and satisfactory manner, it is, in our opinion, necessary that the next convention refer the final solution of

it to a general vote of the membership of our International Union, and that both majority and minority viewpoints be submitted in this referendum vote.

3. After the question of representation is determined by the convention and is referred to a referendum vote of the members, the committee to be elected or appointed by the convention to supervise the referendum, be composed of an equal number of members representing all shades of opinion on this subject.

I want to make clear the fact that it was not agreed upon that this question should not be decided at this convention. First it had to be decided upon by this convention and then all the views were to go to a referendum vote.

This convention proceeded to act on the question of changes of representation at a convention and at joint boards according to the agreement that we signed. Then the question of the referendum had to be taken up, and the President and those who were represented at that conference were honor bound to carry through their promises. Before we had an opportunity to come to that point you walked out of this convention. You cannot say that we did not carry through our promise because you did not give us an opportunity to do so.

The first clause of the Treaty of Peace reads:

1. On the subject of tolerance of political opinion. It is agreed unanimously by the conferring parties that tolerance be recognized as a basic principle in the Union and that all discrimination for political opinion be abolished.

That means that we wanted to have peace and tolerance and proceed to adjust our differences like Union men in a manner becoming to people organized in the labor movement. I am sorry that I make it my habit to read documents that some people do not like, but I am going to read another document:

BUREAUCRATS ORGANIZING A SECRET BLACK-HAND SOCIETY

A skunk cannot change its foot prints. The old bureaucracy cannot rule except by their old methods. Their promises of reforms are not worth the paper they are written on, unless the members are on their guard and finish up the job. Attempting as they do to impose their yoke anew on the membership, they have created a secret organization called "Friends

Don't Worry." This organization is headed by the deposed Breslaw, Heller, Feinberg, Perlstein, Levy and still imposed Dubinsky, Ninfo, Sigman and Antonini keeping good company. The membership consists of the black old guard of the sluggers, gangsters, deposed petty officials, the Fascist group among the Italians, so-called anarchists and hundred per cent Forward'ists. They are well connected with the bosses' association, with the police and underworld. Through a prominent lawyer at their first meeting they mapped out their policy which consists of harassing the new leadership of the Joint Board and defy it. Make trouble through the bosses' association and if possible, make the next strike a failure. Then if they cannot capture the Union, split and create a new one. The same procedure as in the United Garment Workers, only the other way around. Dubinsky, by his threats of withdrawing from the Joint Board and having separate business agents, is carrying out that policy ahead of time.

FELLOW WORKERS! From all this it is clearly apparent what dangers beset our Union. This is no time to sink into indifference, to let up in the struggle. If we want a united Union, one that can really fight and improve our conditions in the next gigantic struggle against the employers in the industry, then Sigman and his crew must go! Enough fakes, enough of their infamy. Forward to a clean, strong united union!

National Committee, Needle Trades Section, Trade Union Educational League, 108 E. 14th St., New York City.

Brother Zimmerman, to my knowledge, you are a member of the Executive Committee of that organization. I ask you in all fairness and sincerity, do you believe one word of this article? Do you believe it is in accordance with the spirit of unity that you claim you came to establish at this convention? I don't want to aggravate matters at this time, but if we are to come to an understanding, if we are to have unity, do you think that such a thing can be permitted, that such a thing works for the best interests of the Union?

Here you come and blame a man for not carrying out a promise before you give him an opportunity to carry it out, and here is a promise that you have made and you have broken it a thousand times. Here you come and want this man to stand by the things he has promised and you tell him that he is a slugger and a gangster, etc. I don't think this can go on. If you want a united front we must agree upon decency, we must agree upon tolerance. I have no objection to fighting a man as to a union policy in a way that is becoming to a

gentleman but when it comes to this slander, if you don't say it in words isn't it a thousand times worse to put it in print? Do you think that these circulars going into the hands of non-union workers and employers are making the Union stronger and mightier, or that they are protecting the interests of the workers in the shops? We must do away with this thing once and for all. We cannot go along like this. You say you don't want lip-service. I say the same thing to you. Stop lip-service. Do have a united front. Do have an understanding. Brother Zimmerman, I am sure if you have to sign your name to this pamphlet, you never would do it. You would be ashamed, but through an organization you are doing the very same thing. Why should we continue like this? I am asking if you come to an understanding and then break it and proceed with the same policy, what will be the use of the understanding? Therefore I say to you, Brother Zimmerman and Brother Boruchowitz, you are responsible people and as Union men very good people and you know I have my respect for you in many ways. I say, please don't only criticize, do a little introspection, look into yourselves and your methods and see whether you have not yourselves to blame for a great deal of this animosity, of this hatred. How can you have the courage to ask men to cooperate with you when you call them skunks and blackguards and gangsters, when you say they have combined with the employers to break up the next general strike that the cloakmakers are going to call? Do you believe it? Does anybody believe it? Is it possible? And I say this, before we come to an understanding, if you are going to continue the same policy, we will have no unity. The condition of the workers will become worse, strikes will not be carried on because no leader will be able to get the respect of the workers. If you have constructive criticism, make it like gentlemen but not in such a cheap, mean, detestable manner. (prolonged applause)

Brother Zimmerman: I did not come here to discuss this circular. Brother Hochman has accused me of being a representative on the committee that issued that circular. I deny that I was repre-

sented on that committee. You make accusations of intolerance and you accuse us of abrogating the first principle of that document. I refer you to the pages of the Justice. Look at it the second, the third week after the peace treaty was concluded, and you will find an editorial which is the official expression of the administration that this is only an armistice, that you are going to carry on war against us.

President Sigman: Against whom?

Brother Zimmerman: Against the same elements with whom peace was concluded.

President Sigman: No.

Brother Zimmerman: That the peace treaty was merely an armistice. If it is a peace treaty, it is a peace treaty. If it is an armistice it is an armistice, which means that preparations for a new war are being made just after we signed the peace treaty.

Then proceed further. You will find, when we agreed on the question of business agents, when we came to the Examination Committee, there were cynical expressions on the part of the members of the G. E. B. who voted on this question of the peace treaty, ridiculing the entire proposition, laughing at the agreement, taking off people for no reason whatsoever, stating, "We don't agree. We have a majority here and we are going to do whatever we please," although it was specifically agreed upon that elections for business agents must be general, and, on the question of tolerance, that everybody must be permitted on the ballot provided they are eligible. Dubinsky himself stated at the Examination Committee in the case of several individuals before they were examined: "I can tell you in advance that this particular individual will answer all of the questions 100 per cent. perfect and you can excuse him." And as soon as he walked out Dubinsky said, "I move to take him off the ballot." You had the votes and that's all there was to it. The agreement was abrogated by you first but we did not stop at these little things. We did not stop all through this convention when

you kept defeating every proposition that came from the New York locals. We knew that we had the grave responsibility of the Union upon us, that the Union is on the verge of bankruptcy, that it was on the verge of being broken up, and we tolerated your treatment in the past three weeks until it came to the final break, when it came to the question of one of the most vital reports and we saw that you were going to rule upon it the same as before.

President Sigman: Why didn't you call on us to explain?

Brother Zimmerman: We put the question direct to the Chair. We read from the same document that Brother Hochman just read. And what was the answer? The same as in all our matters.

President Sigman: What was the answer?

Brother Zimmerman: That the delegates were going to vote on it. The question was put directly to President Sigman, I believe by Hyman. President Sigman did not indicate in any way this question was going to be taken up and that the administration was going to recommend its adoption. Therefore we saw that there was no use in our staying any longer. If you want tolerance, if you want unity, if you want peace, you should act, not merely talk about it. We were for unity before, we are for unity now, and we will always be for unity. We are not going to quit the International. We are going to stay in the International whether it may be to the liking of some people or not, and we will continue to fight for these reforms. If the peace treaty is deliberately abrogated, there is no use in our staying here any longer. You have the majority and you can just as well decide without us. If, however, we see now or we hear definitely a declaration that the administration is going to be in favor of and will recommend a referendum of the membership on this proposition, we will come back to this convention and proceed with the business of the union.

Delegate Feinberg: Would it be possible for Zimmerman to state here that, if the majority of the delegates should

not desire to accept the advice of the administration, would he and his colleagues abide by the decision of the Convention?

Brother Zimmerman: I do not care to answer that question.

Delegate Nagler: I'd like to know which resolutions or propositions proposed as Brother Zimmerman says by the progressive delegates, were not adopted by the Convention.

Brother Zimmerman: Look through the proceedings. It is not a matter of backfire and cross-examination. We came to clarify one particular point at this time and that is the question of the referendum vote on proportional representation.

President Sigman: Let me say a few words on this question, so that after we get this matter clear and you make up your minds to return to this convention as delegates, we will not have to go through the same experience that we did during the seven days that we have been in session. I do not want to add more to what Delegate Hochman has said and read before you. I think he presented the matter very clearly, and I am certain that everyone will fully agree that this is not criticism; nor is it an honest and fair method of fighting for reforms in an organization. Last night when I spoke I tried to show the distinction between criticism, as I understand it, and criticism as the opposition understands it. Brother Zimmerman referred to an editorial that appeared in our official publication. There would be no objection to anyone's using similar reasoning and argumentation as contained in that editorial to bring about a reform. But this sort of criticism as read to you by Delegate Hochman cannot be tolerated by any human being with dignity and decency. If we did, then everything you say here would be fully justified.

Brother Zimmerman further says that during the entire convention every measure of reform that they have proposed has been defeated. I don't remember any proposition submitted by the opposition dealing with a vital problem in the economic life of our organization that

has been defeated. The only crime committed at this convention, for which I am as much responsible as the majority at this convention, was at the time we deliberated upon one of your resolutions dealing with the economic changes in the life of our union, that is, the resolution in which you proposed a definite decision against arbitration, the abolition of overtime and other similar measures. If this convention had adopted these measures the way you proposed, them, they would have placed it, and particularly the New York locals, in a position of not being able to move, to function, fight and accomplish. And even in these recommendations the convention did not effect any changes without your consent. It is true that I gave you advice and I was glad that you accepted it. I am certain that you are glad that I gave you such advice, because after all I think that you are sensible and responsible people and realized yourselves that you cannot tie up your organization hand and foot so that it cannot move.

What other constructive proposals dealing with the economic welfare of our organization have been rejected or voted down by this convention? Only at this morning's session before you withdrew from the convention we passed upon a few organization matters dealing with procedure in the organization—the question of how dues should be raised. Show me one resolution that you proposed in this matter that is as fair and as democratic a measure as was proposed by the General Executive Board through its Officers' Report. It is we who have been trying to meet this issue to your satisfaction. The next question is the one concerning assessments in the Joint Board. Have you any other measure to propose than the measure that was proposed and adopted by the convention? It was to your liking because you participated in the vote with all the other delegates.

What have you in mind when you say that we have overthrown every constructive proposition that you presented at the convention? On one thing the convention defeated you, but there is no crime in that because the decision which may not be to your liking affects every individ-

idual member in the union and every individual local in the union, and so far as the size of locals is concerned, in my judgment is not of great significance in this question. If I pay 15 cents in New York whether my local has 50 members, 500 or 1,000 members, I pay 15 cents just the same. That was the only measure dealing directly and intimately with our organization that you did not succeed in getting through. These things happen. I have not succeeded in carrying out many of my own convictions dealing with reform in the organization. If I did not succeed I had to bow to the majority. The next thing I could do was to keep on advocating the same reform again and again.

I had been preaching for the introduction of the week-work system in our industry long before I was a member of the International. A day came when my voice was heard by a majority. I don't know whether they were right or I was right. This we cannot account for yet. The proper method of procedure, in my judgment, is to try and imbue the membership with your ideas up to the time that you are able to get the majority with you, but do it in a sane and civilized way. Do you expect me to help you and cooperate with you after you came and slap me in the face? These days we are living in a civilized state of humanity. I am not interested in going into the question of obligations, but let me remind you that when the peace treaty was signed it was understood that your Joint Action Committee must be completely dissolved. Isn't that a fact, Brother Shalley?

Brother Shalley: Yes.

President Sigman: Isn't that a fact, Brother Zimmerman?

Brother Zimmerman: Yes.

President Sigman: Isn't that a fact, Brother Boruchowitz?

President Sigman: And here is the proof that it did not disappear. On the floor of this convention one of your comrades, when the Credentials Committee was delivering its report, threatened this convention by saying: "The Joint

Action Committee is here." I saw Smith there and I saw Katz there and I saw several others, and up to the time of the convention the Committee kept acting and functioning. But we did not pay any attention to it. It was our sincere hope that when we got to the convention things would adjust themselves. What happened next? Any time one of your people spoke on the floor, not only did he pour poison into this convention but he constantly threatened with such remarks as, "We will not live up to the decisions of this convention. If you don't do this, we won't do that, we will go back to New York and revive the Joint Action Committee."

How long do you think that human beings can tolerate a condition of this kind? As long as any one of these human beings remains in this international and continues with this policy, his coming back will not make any more difference than his staying out will. That is very plain and clear. When I say these words to you, I do not say them to you only on behalf of this International Union, and I want you to understand it very clearly and definitely. I am saying this on behalf of the American trade union movement. (Applause) I want to repeat this—I say it with full authority, you understand. It is not my own guess or my own thought, and you can easily verify it early tomorrow morning. These tactics and methods can perhaps be tolerated if they come from outsiders, but not when they come from your own flesh and blood, from your own membership.

Now, as to this matter, I don't think I have to repeat it. I was informed that some of the newspaper men, particularly the American newspaper men, did not understand me. It is not my fault. I am not an American. I am a Jew, I have learned English only since I came to this country, and perhaps my accent and vocabulary are poor so that I cannot make myself understood. What I did say before you withdrew from the convention, when Hyman asked the question, was that the chairman was perfectly correct when he stated that the question of submitting these proposals to a referendum vote was not yet before the House, and would have to be taken up

after we got through with the first proposition, which was the Committee's recommendation on how representation should be arranged for the future. I further stated that, so far as I am concerned—perhaps in the course of the excitement you did not hear me—I would do all in my power to plead with the delegates to approve my action as stated in Clause 2 of the peace treaty, but you did not have the patience to wait until that question came up. When you left, one of your group remained here, Sister Wolkowitz, who heard me make this explanation again in clear language, and in conclusion I said, "If the delegates who seceded will come back, they will be welcome." I further said, that if you had used better judgment you would not have timed your withdrawal from the convention as you did. Even in this respect I tried to advise you, although I am a gangster and a blackguard and a traitor and what not, according to your conception. I said that if you wanted to withdraw on a basic issue, you should have waited until the question of submitting the matter to a referendum had been taken up on the floor of this convention. If the convention had defeated it and you had then withdrawn, you would at least have had a justifiable issue, and, although I would not have considered it proper action on the part of organization men, you would at least have had an appealing issue.

And by the way, I said to some of your people before this convention, that, if you want to carry a proposition at this convention, the proper way to do it is to try to get the sympathy of as many locals in the International as you can so that their delegates to the convention can be instructed to vote the way you desire. To give you an example, you know that the delegates of Local 89 are our allies. They did not leave the convention although they differed with us and differed with you. When the question of per capita came up, the delegation of Local 89 was instructed to vote a certain way and, whether their sympathies go one way or another, they had to vote that way. That is organization procedure. Assuming that 90 per cent. of the delegates to this convention were instructed by their locals as Local 89 was instructed,

the proposition would have been carried without much discussion and haggling. That is the way things have to work in an organization.

That is the way people should try to accomplish their aims, and I think you could make further progress this way than the way you have tried. No matter how much popular psychology you may develop, no matter how much you may incite the membership under given circumstances to throw out, to kill, to lynch, to do what not, it is not a lasting proposition. The tables may turn in a very short period of time because there is no substantial basis for it. You have not educated your members to really understand the importance of the problems you are facing and the reforms you are fighting for. We certainly desire to have a unified union. We are ready and willing to sacrifice our lives, to be thrown in jail and lynched by the enemies of labor, but never shall we permit ourselves to be lynched by our so called fellow-workers. There is the difference. You can come here. You can come back, but please, if it is your desire to come back, come back with a different spirit, come back with the spirit that you are trying to express in words in your heart and in your soul. If you have the spirit there, there may still be a possibility of combining and unifying our union, but please don't come back on any other basis. No more camouflage. We are not going to stand it any more. That is very clear. (Great applause)

We are ready and willing to reciprocate in the same manner and in the same spirit that you will show in conducting yourselves at this convention, and the spirit will be a friendly one, a brotherly one, if you will in the future stop this kind of criticism. Peace will then once more reign in the union. (Applause) If not, I want to say to you now that while we may conclude this convention in peace, if we go back and have repetitions of what occurred in the past, there is not going to be peace. If you progressives really want to have a unified union and be in a position to meet the problems with which we are confronted, it can only be accomplished on the basis which I outlined. And in this spirit, with this

understanding, I am certain that the delegates of this Eighteenth Biennial Convention now assembled in this hall will heartily welcome you. (Prolonged applause)

Brother Zimmerman: It seems to me that as President Sigman spoke here, there should be no reason why the membership should feel as they do about the general officers or about the former officers of the Joint Board. It seemed that everything was nice and wonderful in the International, and that there were only a few people whose intentions were merely to discredit and assassinate the officers of the General Executive Board. But I think that the facts are a little different, that even in the report of the G. E. B. you admit the cause of this revolt—or you give credit to the opposition that they were able to exploit the just dissatisfaction of the membership because of certain abuses committed by the officers of the union, and in this way we succeeded in gaining the membership.

Coming again to the question of the peace agreement, I will cite a few facts. In the peace conferences we agreed that Local 2 would get a representation equal to the one that Local 11, 17 and 1 had before. This was the understanding, wasn't it, Brother Hochman?

Brother Hochman: I believe there was a misunderstanding.

President Sigman: It was corrected right there at the time too.

Brother Zimmerman: It was not included in the peace agreement, but it was the verbal understanding that Local 22 would get a representation equal to that of Local 22 and 25. This was forgotten and the Executive Committee of the Executive Board took it up with you and the answer was "Constitution." Then coming to this convention the appointment of the Credentials Committee was of such a nature that it was not complimentary to the respective locals. It showed your spirit of unity. It showed your spirit of trying to harmonize the different groups. The question of the election of business agents to the Joint Board I also touched upon. Then came the question of a constitutional amend-

ment on the question of election of business agents. This was defeated. The New York membership, the New York delegates, fought for it. The peace agreement was for general elections. This was defeated.

President Sigman: That was for the last election. It has nothing to do with the convention.

Brother Zimmerman: The New York delegates fought for it. It was defeated. The question of dues was voted upon very recently by the New York membership. They voted for a decrease in dues. On the question of the per capita tax we were defeated. The constant insinuations that we were preparing for splits, and your stalling on the floor of this convention this afternoon that some of the delegates who walked out had already arranged to go to New York to address mass meetings—bringing out such false information and trying by all means to provoke the delegates naturally did not lead to harmonizing the different groups. You are the administration. You want to exact promises from us that we will be good little children, that we will be very nice and very good. It is up to the administration to set the example. It is up to the administration to show that there is no cause for dissatisfaction amongst the membership. It is up to the administration to gain the confidence of the membership and not to arouse dissatisfaction. If it is not Zimmerman, if it is not Hyman, if it is not Boruchowitz, it will be others who will lead this revolt if you keep on acting as you did. If it is a question of harmony, you must show us that you are trying to satisfy the wishes of the membership and not overrule the membership, and there will be no cause for dissatisfaction. If you want to abolish the results, get rid of the causes. You as the administration must abolish the cause and then there will be no results.

Delegate Shalley: I move that the convention adjourn until tomorrow morning.

President Sigman: We have got to finish this convention. The delegates who have withdrawn their credentials are welcome to come back to this convention with the understanding that this con-

vention will have to act upon the matters that are still before it, and that none of the parties will indulge in past or current history. In this way this convention may accomplish the work of unification.

Delegate Shalley: I insist upon my motion.

Delegate Dubinsky: Point of order. No motion can be entertained while there is a proposition before the house.

Delegate Nagler: I move, Mr. Chairman, that we suspend the rules at this time in order that we may be able to take this question up again tomorrow morning.

(This motion was carried. Delegates Shalley's motion was next put to a vote and carried.)

(At 10:30 p. m. the session adjourned, to reconvene Thursday, December 17, at 9:00 a. m.)

Last Day, Morning Session, Thursday, December 17, 1925

President Sigman called the session to order at 10:00 a. m.

The delegates that had bolted the previous day were present without exception.

Delegate Antonini: I wish to present the following motion:

Resolved:

1. That this convention wind up its business and adjourn today, the 17th day of December.
2. That the election of general officers be taken up as a special order at the opening of the afternoon session.
3. That the only business to be transacted by the convention aside from nomination and election of officers be the consideration of the basis of representation at international conventions and Joint Boards, the motion for a referendum on these subjects and the question of amnesty.
4. That on each of these questions one speaker be heard on each side, the speaking time to be limited to 15 minutes.
5. That all unfinished business be referred to the incoming General Executive Board with power to act.

Delegate Portnoy: I amend to leave out of the motion the proposition that all finished business be referred to the

G. E. B., because there may be some business that we may not want to give over to the G. E. Board with full power to act.

President Sigman: I will accept such modification, that if, in the remaining business that is to come up before this convention, some of the delegates find such matters as they consider to be of such vital importance that they will want to dispose of them here, they may then if time permits, suggest some other way of disposing of it.

Delegate Antonini: I accept it with the understanding that the convention must adjourn to-day.

(The motion of Delegate Antonini, as modified was unanimously carried.)

President Sigman: The Law Committee will proceed with its report.

Delegate Ninfo thereupon continued to report for the Committee on Law as follows:

Resolution No. 137

Submitted by G. Halprin, George Triestman, Rose Auerbach, S. Halperin, Nathan Blesel, of Local 66:

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record believing that it is in the interest of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and its membership that the Joint Boards of the I. L. G. W. U. and other central bodies within the I. L. G. W. U. be so organized as to give proportional representation to the local unions affiliated with such Joint Boards or Central Bodies on a basis fair to the smaller unions and without discrimination against any large local represented in such bodies.

Resolution No. 126

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amica, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Miranda, delegates of Local 89:

WHEREAS, Section II, of Article 6, of our Constitution reads: "The Joint Boards shall be representative bodies consisting of an equal number of delegates from each Local Union affiliated with them," and

WHEREAS, Such representation is undemocratic and unjust, which practically puts large locals at the mercy of small locals, and

WHEREAS, On the other hand a strict proportional representation would put in the future all the small locals at the mercy of one large local not repairing the evil which we have experienced until now, be it

RESOLVED, That Section II, of Article 6, be amended to read: "The Joint Board shall be a representative body in which the dele-

gates shall be in a graduated proportion and not in numerical proportion to the membership of each local."

Resolution No. 130

Submitted by delegates of Locals 21, 134, 136, 140, 139, 143, 85, in Jersey District Council; A. Rosenberg, president:

RESOLVED, That Article VI, Section 2, be amended to read as follows:

"Representation to the Joint Board shall be on the following basis: Local unions with a membership of 800 or less to be entitled to two delegates to the Joint Board; those above 800, to five delegates.

"In cities where the strength of the locals is about equal or where the majority of the locals have less than one thousand members, the representation to the Joint Board shall be on an equal basis."

Resolution No. 134

Submitted by Local 100, Chicago:

RESOLVED, That Section II, Article 7, of the constitution be amended to read as follows:

"The Joint Board shall be a representative body consisting of a number of delegates in proportion to the membership of each local union affiliated with it. The basis of proportion to be determined by each Joint Board respectively, in conformity with the census of the International."

Resolution No. 145

Introduced by Sarah Hurvitz, of Local 46; I. Steinzor, of Local 2; S. Domblatt, of Local 3; D. Wishevsky, of Local 38; A. Lupin, A. Goldberg, G. Halpern, Beasie Helfand, J. Krooglick, P. Starkopf, A. Wolkowitz, J. Saraf, J. Prokop, J. Goretaky, M. Shur, J. Melsack, A. Weisman, B. Soil, Philip Hanser, V. Miletsky.

WHEREAS, The present system of representation to our Joint Board and conventions is such that the decisive power on all matters of union policy rests with locals representing but a small minority of the membership; and

WHEREAS, The small locals of our International are being used not for the purpose of organizing the unorganized workers, but as an instrument for internal politics in our Joint Board and conventions; and

WHEREAS, This arbitrary system of representation has given rise to the development of a leadership that is not responsible to the needs of the workers, and has for years been the cause of the most bitter internal conflict in our union, which has greatly weakened and demoralized our ranks; and

WHEREAS, The recent conflict in the Joint Board of New York has been the direct result of this unjust form of representation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the constitution of our International be so amended that all delegates to the Joint Board and convention shall vote in proportion to the membership they represent.

Resolution No. 147

Article VI, Section 2, to read as follows:

To end with the words "The Joint Board" shall be a representative body consisting of five delegates from each local union affiliated with the Joint Board. The vote cast by each delegate shall be in proportion with the membership he represents.

Your Committee has had referred to it six resolutions dealing with the question of representation of local unions affiliated with a joint board. One of these resolutions No. 145 introduced by Locals 2, 3, 38 and 46, page 21 of the fifth day's proceedings, also deals with representation to conventions. This question is dealt with in another report of your Committee. In this report the Committee will only consider the question of representation to the Joint Board. Your Committee has combined all of the six resolutions, with the exception mentioned. These are Nos. 134, 145 and 147, dealing with representation in proportion to the numerical strength of the membership, and Nos. 125, 130 and 137 dealing with the question of a graduated form of representation.

Your Committee has carefully studied this question and has thoroughly discussed it. It feels that the question is one which should be given considerable thought before making any decision. In this question there must be carefully considered the structure of our organization, the manner in which the industry where in our members are employed as workers, is carried on and the methods by which ladies' garments are made. Each operation in the making of these garments is practically a unit. The workers have daily problems of their own in their shops. The Union consequently must so arrange the manner of conducting its work as to take care of the interests of all of the workers. Quite a number of the crafts are vastly outnumbered by others. There are created therefore differences of interests. Nothing must enter into the government of our Union that would tend to negligence of the interests of one craft for the benefit of another. The common needs of all of our members, the presentation of the decent working conditions which we have gained and further improvement in them, are elements that must guide us in deter-

mining this question. It is this ideal that has dominated our International in its activities. And for the purpose of uniting the membership our International has organized wherever possible central bodies so that we may be in a better position to combat our common enemy. For these reasons your committee feels, in fact it is convinced, that we must consider no form of representation except such as will guarantee to every member his rights and enable the elected representative to better attend to the daily shop problems of the members. Any other form will make membership in the union a farce to our members.

In this connection your committee refers the delegates to Page 190 of the report of the G. E. D. touching upon the system of Joint Board representation.

VII. Systems of Representation

The General Executive Board recognizes that the present form of representation in the New York Joint Board has been the cause of considerable dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of several of the big locals affiliated with it, inasmuch as it has made possible for a minority to have a predominant influence on the affairs of the Joint Board.

On the other hand, the General Executive Board recognizes that a system of proportional representation which would hand over the control of the Joint Board to a few big locals, would result in a majority domination which would have a deplorable effect on the smaller locals and would rob them of their independence.

The General Executive Board would, therefore, recommend that the convention consider this subject very carefully and devise a method of representation for the New York Board which, while giving the big locals their due share of influence, would at the same time not deprive the smaller locals of the freedom of action which belongs to them.

The General Executive Board also recommends that the convention enact a revision of the present representation system at our conventions.

Your Committee therefore proposes as a substitute for the six resolutions on this question the thought expressed in resolution No. 125, submitted by the delegation of Local 89 contained in the resolve, and that in resolution No. 137, submitted by the delegation of Local 66. To this end Article 6, Section 2 of the constitution (Page 39) shall be amended to read: The Joint Boards shall be representative bodies on the following basis of representation: Affiliated Local Unions with a membership of not more

than 250 shall be entitled to 1 delegate; those with a membership of not more than 500 shall be entitled to 2 delegates; those with a membership of not more than 1,000 shall be entitled to 3 delegates; those with a membership of not more than 3,000 shall be entitled to 5 delegates; those with a membership of more than 3,000 shall be entitled to 7 delegates. In localities in which no L. U. has a membership of more than 1,000, representation to the Joint Boards shall be equal.

Your Committee unanimously recommends the adoption of the amendment to the constitution above proposed.

Delegate Portnoy: I amend it to read representation on the Joint Board should be founded on the following basis:

Locals up to 250 members should have one delegate, up to 500 two delegates; 1,000, three delegates. All those unions having more than 1,000 members should have one additional delegate for every additional thousand. No locals should have more than 10 delegates to the Joint Board.

Delegate Bruck: I propose a substitute to this amendment, that no local should be represented at the Joint Board with less than 2 delegates.

Delegate Dubinsky: I offer a substitute for the whole. I am willing to accept Portnoy's amendment with this modification, that no local have more than 8 delegates.

Delegate Antonini: I think that the amendment offered by Delegate Dubinsky should be accepted by all of the delegates if we mean business. Between the proposal of Portnoy and Dubinsky there is a difference of only four delegates.

In order not to lose time, I expect this convention will agree with the amendment of Brother Dubinsky and let us go on with our business.

Delegate Dubinsky: If this does not meet with the approval of the other side, I withdraw my substitute.

Delegate Solomon: I want to make clear what the so-called progressives are proposing for the country locals. Take a city with a few locals where none

of them have a big membership, if every local is represented by one delegate as will be the case if we adopt the amendment, we will have a Joint Board consisting of three or four members. I want to ask the progressives in all fairness when they propose this, are they doing it for the good of the organization?

President Sigman: You see, Delegate Portnoy does not know the situation of the other localities.

Delegate Portnoy: It is up to each city to decide. They can have as many members of the Joint Board as desired in the same proportion. They can double it if they want to. I suggest the same proportion. If Philadelphia has only three or four hundred members, no one will stop them from doubling or tripling the representation.

President Sigman: If we make a law it is a law.

Delegate Dubinsky: If that substitute had to be withdrawn, I am in favor of the original recommendation of the Committee. The recommendation of the Committee and the first part of the amendment by Delegate Portnoy are in agreement. Up to 1,000 members they agree. The only disagreement comes in the case of other locals. I want to say that the issue in New York has developed as it has today not because Local 10, or any other local with even a smaller membership than Local 2, had an equal number of votes with the other locals, but it was because Local 62 or 64 or 82 or 45 had an equal representation comparatively with the cutters and the operators and all the other crafts. By the recommendation of the committee, this is completely eliminated. Naturally, you never in all your arguments to the membership or in your literature, challenged the right of the cutters to have the same representation as the operators in the trade. You knew this would be a weak argument. You knew that this would not appeal to anyone and you have resorted to talking about Local 64 and 45 and 82 and 21. Local 82 and Local 3 have been the issue until about three weeks ago, but now Local 82 or Local 3 is on the verge of becoming all right. You know what I mean by being all right.

The reason why the committee brought in this report was mainly in order to eliminate that argument and any cause for just dissatisfaction, and they have eliminated it. Then they came to the other locals. I want to confess to you that the committee had intentions of making it seven delegates for 5,000 membership instead of 3,000, as they have recommended. Local 89, with a membership of over 4,000 through a concentrated campaign in the dress industry would have gotten their 5,000 members, so they would have classified with the big powers. There would have been however one local that would have been left out and would have been classified among the insignificant, unimportant locals in the Joint Board, Local 10, by virtue of the fact that even with all your drives you cannot gain for them 100 members and, with all your attacks and slander and mischief, you could not make them lose 100 members. They are at the wall and they will remain where they are, and they were that way even before there was a powerful union. The membership in that local does not change. If you go back to the history of the development of the trade you will see that Local 10 is as important a factor, even though it has a few thousand members less, as Local 22 and 2. The cutters have played their part in the industry and they are considered by the employers as a more important factor, even with less members than some of the locals have. They are a distinct class with distinct interests and, important as they are in the trade, we should not legislate to deprive them of their equal voice with the locals that have two or three thousand members more, because you will not solve your trade problems if you do that.

You came here with the cry that you do not want to impose yourself, but what you are doing today demonstrates that you are not serious about it. The substitute which I suggested was one for peace and harmony, in order to be able to work in the New York Joint Board. Although we were instructed to vote for equal representation, I was willing to make that substitute because I knew if I told my membership that I violated their instructions but that I had created

a condition whereby this antagonism was eliminated, I am confident that they would not only forgive me but that they would applaud me. You would not accept my substitute, and why? Because you figured out that with your proposition you will have four delegates more, and on account of the four delegates you are willing to lose the one opportunity at this convention to have unanimous consent on such a vital aggravated issue. We went 99 per cent. to meet you. You did not have the courage or the desire to go 1 per cent in order to meet us. You will not eliminate the hot blood, you will not eliminate the fight, but you are inviting it again because you know that we are a factor in the industry. We might be smaller in numbers, but we cannot submit to being swallowed up. We are willing to compromise with you, but we will not be swallowed up. We can create as much trouble as you can, although I do not make this as a threat. If you are not willing to accept a compromise which gives in to you 99 per cent., I hope that the delegates will vote for the original recommendation of the committee, and let us wait for future results. (Applause)

Delegate Rubin: If we submit to your substitute, will this substitute go for a referendum before the membership?

Delegate Dubinsky: That will be the only proposition before the membership.

Delegate Rubin: I make a motion that this substitute be accepted by our side too. (Applause).

Delegate Portnoy: I want to deny the impression that Dubinsky tried to make that it is a question of trying to swallow up the other locals. The only correction I'd like to make is that it should be understood that when we say a delegation of 250 means one or up to 500 means two, it means a major fraction of the majority of 250.

President Sigman: It is agreed.

(Upon being put to a vote, Delegate Dubinsky's substitute motion was unanimously carried, amidst applause.)

President Sigman: The substitute offered by Dubinsky referred to only the first portion of the Committee's report.

We will now take up the second portion. The Committee recommends that in cities where there are locals that have less than 1,000 members, the representation to the Joint Board should be the same as we had up to this time, that is, locals shall have an equal number of delegates. If there are locals with a thousand or more, that will apply in the same proportion.

Delegate Metrick: This will not solve the problem in Chicago because Chicago has the same problem as New York. This is the same thing as it was before.

Delegate Wolkowitz: I amend that the proportion of representation be the same in the country locals as in New York.

President Sigman: That cannot be done. You will have Joint Boards of four delegates.

Delegate Otto: As far as the country delegates are concerned, the members of the various country delegations came to the conclusion that the recommendation of the Committee was the proper one, for even with our equal representation some of the smaller locals had no voice at all and the bigger locals have all the voice. The only way to keep those small locals organized is by having a few active members in them, and the only way you can have active members is to have an equal representation on the Joint Board. Then naturally in the course of time they become active.

(Upon being put to a vote, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously carried.)

Chairman Ninfo continued to report as follows:

Article II, Section 4, to read:

The same number of alternates to be elected at the same time when delegates to the convention are elected.

Your Committee substitutes the following for the proposed amendment: After the words "for delegates" on the 9th line of Section 4 of Article 2 of the Constitution the rest of the section shall read "and the same number of alternates to the convention and fixing the date of election, which shall be at least 40 days prior to the day of opening the conven-

tion. Election of delegates and alternates shall be by ballot, and the persons receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected. In case of death, resignation, disability or other disqualification of a delegate, or on his failure to serve, the alternate who has received the highest number of votes from among those elected shall succeed to the vacancy. In case a delegate does not present himself or is not seated at the convention, the G. E. T. shall immediately mail a duplicate credential to the alternate. . . . "the rest of the section to follow."

Your committee unanimously recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

(Recommendation unanimously carried.)

President Sigman: We will now take up the matter of referring to a referendum of the membership the question of proportional representation to the convention.

Delegate Ninfo: That is the business of the Resolutions Committee. We have nothing to do with it.

Delegate Portnoy: I believe that should be the business of the Committee on Officers' Report.

President Sigman: Has the Committee on Officers' Reports considered this matter?

A Delegate: No.

President Sigman: It seems to me in order to save time it would be advisable that we proceed in this matter by having a motion come directly from the floor of the convention.

(This was decided upon unanimously and the matter was placed before the delegates for their consideration and action.)

Delegate Hochman: In the report of the G. E. B., page 52, there are printed the terms of the peace concluded to terminate the internal fight within our New York Joint Board.

In the negotiations the Committee consisted of President Sigman, Halpern, my-

self and some other delegates, and President Sigman distinctly declared before this Committee in unmistakable terms, that this Committee cannot guarantee that this is the law, and President Sigman said that, while he is the President of the International, he himself is subject to the decisions of conventions. This Committee undertook, however, to use its influence at this convention to see that the terms of this treaty, insofar as they dealt with decisions that require the consent of the convention, shall be adopted.

I as one of the Committee therefore make the following motion, that this convention concur in the procedure agreed upon by the peace conference. I further move that this referendum vote shall take place not before six months and not later than a year after the close of this convention.

Delegate Antonini: I second the motion.

Delegate Hochman: My reasons for making this as a part of the motion are the following: First of all, with the present state of mind of our membership during the fight and after the fight, I don't think that our membership is in a fit state of mind to coolly deliberate upon this proposition and give an unbiased decision, second, because of the industrial problems that face us at this time, it would not be proper to introduce again before our problems are settled, matters of a political nature which would require an agitation on both sides and therefore would create more turmoil; third, in order that the membership should understand what it is voting upon, a certain amount of time is necessary in order to become acquainted with the proposition. Furthermore, since the question of Joint Board representation has been decided by a unanimous vote, and there will be therefore no friction at the next election of the Joint Board, I don't see any need for speeding up this matter inasmuch as the next convention is far away.

Delegate Antonini: It is understood that proportional representation to the Joint Board will be operative at the next election to the Joint Board.

Delegate Ninfo: Thirty days after the convention.

Delegate Dubinsky: If it goes to a referendum, how can it go into effect before the referendum decides upon it?

President Sigman: It may be that the convention will agree that the part referring to the joint boards will not be submitted to referendum because it has been unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hyman: I know that Brother Hochman is mistaken when he says that the workers, especially in New York, are not in a state of mind where you can submit to them the question of representation, and that we need six months for it. The membership have made up their minds in the last ten or twelve years. It is not a new problem. The workers have not changed their minds. There is not a man who doesn't understand the proposition.

Delegate Zimmerman: Will the proposition that we adopted in regard to proportional representation to the Joint Board go into effect immediately?

President Sigman: The agreement is that it goes into effect thirty days after the convention.

This matter was agreed upon by both sides.

Delegate Zimmerman: I want to speak on the question of representation to the joint boards. I understood that it was not only a local affair but that it is a matter for the entire International Union. We were not discussing it from a local viewpoint so that it would affect New York more than any other center. It is the same problem to a lesser extent in Boston, Chicago and the other centers. It affects all of these markets and, if there are differences of opinion, then there should be a referendum in those markets where there is this disagreement.

President Sigman: We are not going to decide on this basis. We have had definite recommendations brought before this convention by the Law Committee. One was settled by the substitute to which the entire convention has agreed. The other was adopted by this convention in the original form as sub-

mitted by the Law Committee and that has settled the affair.

As regards the question of submitting to referendum proportional representation of delegates to the convention, you can readily understand that, so far as I am concerned, and for that matter I may say that portion of the G. E. B. that was actively involved in the so-called peace treaty, I cannot take any other position at this convention than to insist that the arrangements reached must be carried out by this convention. That does not necessarily mean that the delegates at the convention must take our advice, but they must bear in mind that if we should not be upheld, you would simply make it impossible for any of the people who are responsible for these arrangements to continue relations in an official capacity with this International in the future. Therefore I advise and I plead with you delegates to vote in favor of the motion made by Delegate Hochman to submit these two proposals to a referendum vote of the membership.

(This motion was carried.)

President Sigman: The next motion is that this referendum vote be put into effect not before six months and not later than one year.

Delegate Antonini: The cloakmakers and the dressmakers are anxious to carry on an organization campaign at the present time. This is not a time to make referendums. Our union especially in New York has lately become a general election institution. We have elections every day. I don't believe people are anxious to vote at the present time. This question must be intelligently brought to the members. I think that the organ Justice should carry the views of both sides and in six months' time we can have the referendum.

Delegate Portnoy: My amendment is that the referendum be taken not later than the end of ninety days. I believe it is about time that we stopped fighting amongst ourselves and the only way to do this is to stop the issues that have been hanging over us for so many years. If you will delay the referendum you will not stop the fighting. We are willing

to accept the decision of the membership.

Delegate Nagler: The next convention will not take place for more than two years and there is no reason to hurry this proposition. Let the members get acquainted with it and then they can vote intelligently upon it.

Delegate Dubinsky: I offer a substitute that the referendum take place within eight months.

Delegate Antonini: Does Brother Portnoy know that in case a special convention is called the same delegation that attended that convention will have to attend the next convention?

President Sigman: I think we should worry a little more about the immediate problems in the trade than as to whether the referendum will take place six months from now or seven months from now. As there are two opinions on this matter I believe that a sufficient time should be given to both parties to represent their views. But if you do not mean to carry out an agitation in an organization-like manner, you are again telling this convention that there is going to be trouble and, if so, I assure you that you are mistaken that a condition similar to the one we experienced will not repeat itself. It is no use holding down to a habit. It does not serve a very good purpose for this organization and please stop referring to it.

All in favor of submitting the question of proportional representations to a referendum vote to take place not before six months from now will signify by saying "Aye."

(This motion was carried.)

President Sigman: I suppose the convention will agree that when we get ready to submit this proposition to a vote we will ask both sides to select a number of people to represent both views and they will proceed to take care of the votes in all the markets throughout the industry?

(This was agreed upon unanimously.)

Delegate Zimmerman: Is it under-

stood that the G. E. B. is so instructed to select such a committee?

President Sigman: Naturally that is the decision of the convention.

We have the privilege of having with us a friend of the labor movement, who is known to everyone in this convention, particularly the New York membership. He is our legal adviser and chief attorney for the International as well as for the Joint Board in New York. When we are in need of consultation, the division between lefts and rights disappears and we go to his office for advice. I know no one who knows as much about our industrial and organization troubles, and I consider it a privilege to have Brother Hillquit with us this noon. It gives me pleasure to present to you Mr. Hillquit. (Great applause.)

Mr. Hillquit: I understand that there is a limit of fifteen minutes for each speaker. I promise to keep myself within that limit and to talk straight from the shoulder. I could not resist the opportunity when it presented itself to visit your very interesting convention and say a few words to you. I do not consider myself in relation to you as a friend of the labor movement, as Comrade Sigman so kindly said, nor as a mere friend of the International, nor even a mere legal adviser. I consider myself as part of the International and as such I have a right to say a few words to you. For the last fifteen years I have been closely and intimately connected with most of your struggles. I have represented your organization not only in legal fights but in most of your industrial struggles. I have been with your leaders going over your needs, your demands, your aspirations, time and time again. I have been fighting with you shoulder to shoulder. I have been arguing your claims, your rights, before every conceivable public body of arbitrators or conciliators and before the public at large. I have come to consider myself as one of you and I hope you will consider me as such.

I know your struggles. I know the difficulties which you have been facing. I have watched closely all of your fights and perhaps I am in a better position

than many others to appreciate the heroic struggles of your membership, and let me say frankly also of the leaders of your organization. It has become fashionable in the labor movement to scoff at leaders, to elect men to responsible positions and then to consider them as targets for attack. I have watched your leaders. I know their weakness. I also know that there has not been a body of men more ready to give themselves freely to their constituents, to sacrifice themselves, than your leaders. It has not been a question of mere time or mere material sacrifice.

I know of cases where the liberty, where the life—and I mean it just in that sense—of some of your leaders was at stake for the service of your fellow-workers, and where they took the risk and took the chance, cheerfully working for the cause. I may grow much older than I am now if I am spared long enough, but I shall never forget those minutes and the concluding days of the time when some of your men, including President Sigman, were picked out by a foul crowd, a combination of unscrupulous employers and a criminal gang, the like of which has never existed before, for the deliberate purpose of physical slaughter. I remember those weeks and months when Sigman and the others were sitting in jail awaiting trial for their lives, charged with foul murder, where the conspiracy had been hatched so skillfully that it was a question whether or not the prosecution would lie itself convincingly enough into a death sentence for these men. During those months my friends were in jail I was with them every minute,—if not physically, my mind was there every minute. Not only was your leader's life at stake, but the life of your organization as well, for it was a blow primarily at your organization. Those two weeks of trial have taken more of my life and my health than anything else that I can tell you. And during those minutes when the jury was out holding the lives of these men in the palm of their hands, deliberating, keeping us anxiously waiting with hearts beating until the minute they came out with the verdict of "Not Guilty," what I have passed through in those minutes, my friends, was sufficient initiation

in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. (Applause).

It has been my good fortune since that time to address practically every convention of your International and it has always been a festive occasion. We have had praise for the record of achievement. We have had the spirit of militancy and confidence. We have had a message of hope at every one of such conventions. And I have watched from a distance this convention of yours with misgiving and dismay. I don't know how it strikes you. I don't know whether in the heat of the fight, of the struggle, you realize what is at stake.

I have not been taking part in your deliberations day after day, but I am vitally interested in the fate of your organization. To us it has become perfectly clear that what is at stake here now is not carrying this point or carrying that point by the one side or by the other side, but that the very life, the very existence of the International, is at stake. I know very well that there is no smoke without some fire, no disturbance without some cause. I know perfectly well that there is not a person here who deliberately sows discord in your ranks. Oh, I can see pretty well how that occurred. There is no doubt at all in my mind that certain abuses have developed in your organization. They have unfortunately developed in most organizations in the last few, demoralizing years of public life. I know that there are causes for grievances.

I have said to you before, I don't want to make a Fourth of July oration to you. I want to speak to you straight from the shoulder. I also know that the underlying causes of dissatisfaction which you translate into terms of issues are not theoretical, not legal, but deeply economic. Do you know, when business is bad, partners begin to quarrel,—and your business has been bad for the last few years. The entire development of the cloak, suit, waist and dress industry, the disappearing quantity of work and earnings, your inability to cope with this situation, has created dissatisfaction, and it is human nature to look for a concrete victim of every unfortunate situation. A

great many of you have found it in the leadership, where the leadership is not responsible for the economic condition.

And then unfortunately the discussion has assumed a political coloring. You have divided yourselves along lines of rights and left, no more operators or finishers, or pressers, but rights or lefts, so-called progressives and so-called conservatives, and you have talked yourself into the idea that this is an issue before the convention.

I have heard it said from some sources that the entire labor movement of the United States represented by the A. F. of L. and otherwise is watching this convention to see whether the true principle of trade unionism would prevail. I have no doubt there are others who feel that the Communist Party, even the Third International if you want it, is watching this convention to see whether the radical principles of the left wing prevail. Let me tell you, my friends, I know of some parties who are watching this convention with greater interest than either the labor movement or the Third International, and that is the Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Protective Association. For them it is a very important question. For them it is not a theoretical question. They don't care a snap for your theories. They have none of their own. What they do know is that if this convention breaks up or if it weakens the organization, if the mass of the workers in the shops who have taken fifteen years of constant work and sacrifice to build up some defense against their oppression, if you fall back into the same condition of absolute impotence in which you were fifteen years ago, why then they will have their day, they will dictate the terms, they will again be the undisputed czars of your industry, and woe to your constituents woe to the great mass of the workers.

Now my friends, I am not naive, I am not a child just born. I don't believe that existing differences can always be smoothed over by a speech or by a sermon. I know they can not. But there are a few things I want you to bear in mind, and those are the following: I am not here to take sides, in the first place. I have my very definite views undoubted-

ity, but I have in all the years of my connection with you formed the habit of trying to represent the interests of all the workers of your organization in their struggle to improve their conditions, to make their lives more livable, to bring a little joy into their homes, regardless of their political views, regardless of their personal stand in the matter—and I prefer to do so now. I prefer infinitely to fight your battles against your employers than the battle of any one section against another section of you. I furthermore recognize that this should not be purely a business organization which should discard all questions of theory, of philosophy, of idealism; by no means. I would lose interest in you if you would lose your ideals. I recognize that the strength of your organization particularly, and of all similar organizations, has been in the idealism of its members, in the fact that they are interested in the labor struggle, not merely from the material point of view, but from the point of view of the labor movement as a whole, as a mundane force, making for the elevation of mankind—and hope you will always continue in the spirit. And you may be Socialists and Anarchists and Communists, as much as you want to, and be as zealous and enthusiastic in your political beliefs as you want to be and have as many discussions in your clubrooms and otherwise on these topics, and get as much heated and excited over them as you want to, but what I want to impress upon you is the thing that is seems to me you have forgotten, and that is that in this convention you have come together for a concrete purpose and that purpose is not to ventilate your views, but to serve the tens and thousands of men and women who have entrusted you with their power and responsibility and sent you here to this convention. (Applause) You know it is easy to destroy, it is hard to rebuild. You can easily become obstinate at each point, and the longer you discuss the greater these issues appear to you. It does not take long to disintegrate the morals of any organization, no matter how strong. But I do not fear at all that the workers in the women's wear industry will remain without an organization forever. Their needs will compel them to maintain a union—but to create

a chaos which will last a couple of years, a chaos which will surrender the workers to the arbitrary treatment of your employers, that is easy my friends, that can be done by any little dissension, let alone a big dissension.

And this is the text of my speech. I was glad to notice that the tendency has set in to adjust your differences. I am not deceived much about it. I don't want you to be deceived about it. A formal agreement of peace just to pass over this convention means absolutely nothing. Your work will begin when this convention ends—not the debate, not the discussion, but the facing of concrete problems. You will go back to your respective homes where you will face your employers, you will face the problems, and you cannot avoid them. You will be able to face them only as a unit. You will be able to face them only if you will give your joint attention to this all-absorbing, vital task of your union. You will have to make up your minds, if you want an effectual organization, not merely to pass compromise resolutions here but to go home and work together. You may have your grievances undoubtedly. You may have your disagreements undoubtedly. Your union is there, the press of your union is or should be there, for the purpose of giving representation and expression to all these various opinions. Outside of your own organization, in the face of the world, in the face of the press, you are one and must be one if you are to survive.

Now, my friends, let me close with this. I say once more, I have absolute faith and confidence in the ultimate revival of your organization. I have absolutely no doubt about it. But let me remind you that any one short period of dissension and weakness may become fatal not to you ladies and gentlemen, but to the tens and thousands of operators and pressers and cutters and other workers in the shops throughout the country who fight not for theory but for bread. Your responsibilities are heavy. Your responsibilities are important. Bear that in mind, and let every member realize that he is taking an awful chance, an awful responsibility, in bringing in or continuing discord within an organization that

should be united, united in a common fight against the common enemy, without any animosity within its own ranks. (Great applause.)

Delegate Nagler: I move that this convention go on record thanking Comrade Hillquit for coming here to address our convention, and that the talk made before this convention should be printed in full in our minutes.

(This motion was overwhelmingly carried.)

At 1:00 p. m., the session adjourned, to reconvene at 2:00 p. m.

Last Day. Last Session.

Thursday, December 17, 1925.

The final session of the convention was called to order at 2:30 p. m. by President Sigman.

President Sigman: According to the decision made this morning the first order of business will be the nomination of officers. The first nomination is that for President.

(At this point Vice-President Ninfo took the Chair).

Delegate Dubinsky: I rise to nominate the man who has been the most outstanding figure at this convention, not by virtue of his office only but by virtue of the judgment and excellent ability which he has demonstrated on so many occasions. He has won the respect of his most bitter enemies for the courage that he has shown on so many occasions. He is the only one within our International who undertook and solved some of the most complicated questions which faced our organization, problems which former conventions did not dare to tackle and could not solve, questions that former presidents of ours dodged and did not solve. He was the only one with the courage and conviction to go through with these reforms, even though he knew he would be opposed by his own friends as well as by his enemies. He is the one who started the amalgamation of Locals 1, 11 and 17. He is the only one who had the courage to undertake to solve the question of amalgamation of the

Dress and Cloak Joint Board. He has won the respect not only of those who admire him but of the labor movement as a whole, in spite of the slanderous attacks that have been made on him within the last few months. He has stood like a loyal soldier at the gun without leaving his post in spite of some cliques and groups who, because of his activity as a leader of the organization, have opposed him. I know that if elected as President he will continue his useful service for the International, for the membership, and for the entire labor movement. It is indeed to me an honor and a pleasure to place before this convention the name of Morris Sigman as President.

(President Sigman was given an ovation).

Delegate Antonini: It is a high honor and privilege to me to second the nomination of Brother Morris Sigman as President of the International for the ensuing term.

Delegate Snitken: I also rise to second the nomination in behalf of my local.

Delegate Portnoy: The man I am about to nominate has won the respect, the love, the admiration, of our membership. I consider it an honor and a privilege to nominate for President of our International, Brother Hyman. (Great applause).

Delegate Goldberg: As the chairman of the delegation of Local 9, I second the nomination of Brother Hyman.

Chairman Ninfo: Brother Sigman, will you accept?

President Sigman: I do.

(President Sigman was given another ovation).

Chairman Ninfo: Do you accept, Delegate Hyman?

Delegate Hyman: I do.

(Great Applause).

Chairman Ninfo: We will now have the nomination for Secretary-Treasurer of the International.

Delegate Reisberg: The man I am about to nominate has given long years of faithful service to the International. During the past critical period when we have had so many financial problems to face, he has stood like a man of courage and, with his wonderful warm smile that comes from the depth of his soul, he has encouraged all who came to see him and given them new courage to face our battles. It gives me a great honor and pleasure to nominate for Secretary-Treasurer, Brother Abraham Baroff. (Prolonged applause).

Delegate Yaninsky: I take great pleasure in nominating Brother Charles Zimmerman as Secretary-Treasurer. (Great applause).

Both nominations were seconded.

Chairman Ninio: Brother Baroff, do you accept?

Brother Baroff: Yes.

Chairman Ninio: Brother Zimmerman, do you accept?

Brother Zimmerman: Yes.

(At this point President Sigman resumed the Chair).

Delegate Nagler: It is an honor and a great pleasure for me to rise and nominate as the first vice-president of our International a man whom it has been my privilege to nominate at two preceding conventions. He is not a stranger in our ranks. He has shown his ability at all times that he has been called upon. He is responsible today for the number of Gentile delegates that we have at this convention. It is due to his activity since the year 1910 to get our President Sigman to make a drive among the workers of his nationality that so many of his fellow-workers are enrolled in our union. He has shown his ability in keeping his local together in the City of New York, and has made it one of the most powerful locals of the International. He has shown no racial distinctions between Jew and Gentile. It gives me great pleasure to place in nomination as first vice-president Brother Salvatore Ninio. (Great applause).

(There were no further nominations).

President Sigman: Do you accept?

Vice-President Ninio: With the greatest of pleasure. (Applause).

Delegate Nagler: I move that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Salvatore Ninio as first vice-president.

(This motion was carried and Secretary Baroff cast one ballot for Vice-President Ninio, as instructed).

Delegate Portnoy: I move that before we proceed with further nominations for the members of the Board, that this convention first votes on the candidates for President and Secretary-Treasurer, and after they are elected we can proceed with further nominations.

(This motion was unanimously carried).

(The election was held by roll call. President Sigman being elected by a vote of 158 against 109 for Hyman; and Secretary-Treasurer Baroff being elected by a vote of 158 against 110 for Zimmerman. 12 were absent. 2 were marked present in the case of President Sigman, and 1 was marked present in the case of Baroff. Both President Sigman and Secretary-Treasurer Baroff were given an ovation).

The convention next proceeded to nominate the members of the General Executive Board as well as delegates to the American Federation of Labor, after which the following official ballot was printed and distributed among the delegates:

OFFICIAL BALLOT

Eighteenth Convention, I. L. G. W. U.
December 17, 1925
For General Executive Board

Mark cross in the Box along side name of Candidate of your choice.

Members from New York
(Vote for 3)

Jacob Halperin, D. Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, J. Boruchowitz, J. Portnoy, D. Glin-

gold, L. Hyman, J. Goretaky, H. Greenberg, S. Zimmermad.

Members from Out of Town

(Vote for 6)

Elias Reisberg, Max Amdur, Mollie Friedman, Charles Kreindler, Ray Glassman, J. Hochman, Max Shur, Wolf Wiener, D. Godes.

Delegates to American Federation of Labor

(Vote for 5)

Basile Desti, Isidor Nagler, Phillip Oretsky, Louis Pinkofsky, Rose Wortis, Earl Nadel, Sal. Amico, Abraham Snyder, George Triestman.

(While the votes were being counted, the convention continued to carry on its work).

President Sigman: Delegate Amdur will report for the Committee on Appeals.

Report of The Appeals Committee

Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

Greetings:

In considering the resolutions for amnesty proposed by several individual delegates and by some local delegations, and also a number of appeals from individual members, your committee has to say the following:

From the outset we desire to state that in our Union, as we know it and as every other honest observer of the Labor Movement is bound to admit, there is no such thing as a political offense. We cannot state too emphatically, that we do not believe any one can seriously maintain that either the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. or any of its subordinate locals ever punished any member for adhering to any political belief. Time and again, the I. L. G. W. U. has gone on record in stating that, as far as politics are concerned, it tolerates in its midst persons belonging to every political faith and party, and certainly the Communists are not excluded from that.

Our Union, however, recognizes trade union crimes and offenses committed by members against the laws and regulations of the I. L. G. W. U. and against the ethics and laws of the Labor movement as a whole. It could not be otherwise, as a trade union is a voluntary association of men and women banded together to achieve certain results through mutual effort and joint activity; it is an association which prescribes for its membership rules of conduct in the shop, and in regard to conduct outside the shop as it affects labor conditions and relationship with their fellow-workers, rules that are the expression of the will of the majority of the members. These rules, if they are to have any meaning at all, must be observed rigidly, and this system of observance of union rules by union members is what passes in our language for trade union discipline, a term which is held lightly by some people and is looked at askance by others, but which is, as every good union member knows, the very essence of working class solidarity and the bond which holds a labor body together.

In facing the question concretely, we may state that in the last two or three years several members of our organization have been found guilty of acts unbecoming union members and were first suspended from the union, but later reinstated to membership, save for the right to hold office for some time to come. Their violations consisted in slandering the officers of the union, of forming nuclei of certain leagues under the guidance of an outside organization and directed by a national agency which is interested in promoting the fortunes of a political party—the Communist Party. These members have indulged in the practice of breaking up meetings, distributing literature of a slanderous nature against the elected administration of the I. L. G. W. U., obstructing the normal activity of the locals of which they were members, and otherwise acting to the detriment of the Union as a whole.

It is this kind of anti-organization activity which is termed in the resolutions with which we are dealing as political offense. Your committee strongly resents this designation, as it fails to see in it any trace or color of political opinion,

nor can it honestly characterize the punishment even in a remote sense.

Your committee is therefore honestly convinced that there exists no basis whatever for misnaming the violations committed by such members as political crimes, and no amount of sophistry or verbal artistry can avert it from its viewpoint. We nevertheless believe that, while disagreeing entirely with the premises of the introducers of these amnesty resolutions, there is a substantial basis for them insofar as they reflect a desire on the part of every honest element in our union to strengthen the spirit of unity in our ranks, to wipe out old scores, and to bring about better feeling and healthier relations between all the factors and factions which make up our great union.

Thus, viewed as a whole, your committee believes that there is sufficient ground at this time to recommend that such a resolution for amnesty be adopted by this convention. Your committee feels that never in the history of our union was there such an urgent necessity for unity in our ranks. We are aware that the near future holds for us a period of trial that will put to a test the vitality of our organization. We cannot overlook the prospect of a tremendous struggle in our trades the country over for the preservation of labor standards already achieved and for the winning of radical industrial changes upon which actually depend the livelihood of our workers. So while your committee does not propose that the convention either condone or encourage violation of trade union laws and ethics, or the commission of any offense under any name whatever that tends to demoralize our strength and weaken the morale of our organization, it is nevertheless of the opinion that the convention concur in the amnesty proposal for the sake of greater unity, for the sake of strengthening our organization which we all love so dearly.

Your committee has received seven resolutions dealing with the subject of amnesty to members of our Union who have committed offenses against our organization and were punished for it. These resolutions are the following:

WHEREAS, the expulsion policy initiated by the General Executive Board in 1923, directed against the most active and militant elements in our union, has proved to be destructive of the best interests of the workers and has been the cause of the most bitter civil war in our union, bringing with it chaos and demoralization into our ranks, thus weakening our power of resistance against the employers of our industry; and

WHEREAS, this expulsion policy, which aims to discriminate against members for holding different views on matters of union policy or general working-class problems is a gross violation of the most fundamental principle of trade unionism, because of the fact that a union is composed of workers representing various shades of opinion and can best fulfill its functions by giving free expression to all tendencies; and

WHEREAS, the recent internal conflict with the Joint Board of New York has proved most conclusively that the rank and file of our union is emphatically opposed and will not tolerate any policy which discriminates against members for holding certain political views or affiliations; and

WHEREAS, the General Executive Board was compelled to recognize the failure of this expulsion policy by reinstating the executive boards of Locals 2, 9 and 22; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention repudiates the destructive expulsion policy and grants unconditional reinstatement to all members who have either been expelled, suspended or otherwise deprived of their rights of membership.

Resolution No. 23

Submitted by J. Goratsky, of Local 35; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; D. Wishnevsky, of Local 38; I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Kravits, of Local 3; Sarah Hurwitz, of Local 46:

WHEREAS, our Union is on the eve of a great struggle with the employers to wipe out the present evils existing in our industry, and to secure better conditions for the workers; and

WHEREAS, to carry through this struggle successfully the union must make every effort to secure the active support and cooperation of the great mass of workers in our industry; and

WHEREAS, there are many members in our Union who have been convicted for offenses committed in their shops, and are therefore barred from any participation in the work of the Union; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that in view of the present emergency in our Union this convention grants general amnesty to all offenders, except scabs, so as to rally and prepare the entire membership for the impending struggle.

Resolution No. 104

Submitted by delegates of Local 100:

RESOLVED, That this convention grants amnesty to all expelled members who were involved in the last controversy, and that they be reinstated as old members; and be it

RESOLVED, that the future policy of the International shall not permit outside groups or parties to dictate or interfere with the

carrying out of its policy, which shall be determined at this convention.

Resolution No. 103

Submitted by Local 5, of Chicago, B. Soll, chairman:

WHEREAS, For the last few years the I. L. G. W. U. General Executive Board carried on an expulsion policy against some of our active militant, loyal members of the union; and

WHEREAS, In carrying out this policy the organization in all centers where it was carried out on a large scale was either destroyed or largely weakened; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention reinstates all members who were expelled or disfranchised during this expulsion campaign to full rights, and that they be restored to their old standing.

Resolution No. 100

Submitted by Local 56, M. Shapiro, chairman; Wolf Winor, secretary:

WHEREAS, A union is composed of members who have different political viewpoints, different opinions about forms of organization that they deem best for the welfare of the membership; and

WHEREAS, The policy of expulsion practiced by the General Executive Board of our International against members for having different opinions about tactics of our union has brought about chaos and disruption in our ranks; and

WHEREAS, In order to be able to fight our real enemies, the bosses, successfully, we must all be united and peace and harmony must prevail; and

WHEREAS, Permanent peace can be established only after we all recognize that the creeds and beliefs of every member must be tolerated; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention declares a general amnesty to all members who were expelled or otherwise punished for their political views or opinions.

Resolution No. 101

Submitted by Local 18:

WHEREAS Our International has just concluded a bitter struggle, due to the expulsion policy against some of its members for their activities in organizations which disapprove of the constitution of our International; and

WHEREAS, In the truce which was recently achieved in New York, it was clearly understood that the members will not tolerate the expulsion policy under any circumstances; and

WHEREAS, Our International, during the past term, has not been in accord with the wishes of the members at large due to its indirect cooperation with the manufacturers by combining with and upholding the Governor's Commission of New York and not with the principles of our union workers for the betterment of their conditions; and

WHEREAS, Through the peace terms just concluded in our union it is shown that the majority of our members believe in class

struggle and have laid down a basis for organization reforms, in order to give the control of our union to the rank and file so that they will have the privilege of placing the union on a basis which will strengthen their conditions; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates of our local to this convention be instructed to ask and vote for the following measures:

1. To grant amnesty to the members who were punished for their political offenses and to demand that no expulsion policies be practiced in our International in the future.
2. The right of the members to determine by their own vote questions of dues, taxes, etc.
3. The right of all expelled members to be eligible to run for any office.
4. That the constitution be amended to this effect.

(The second Resolve by this resolution was referred to Committee on Law).

Resolution No. 102

Submitted by Local 59:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is just emerging from a bitter struggle brought about by the expulsion policy launched against some of the most active and loyal members of the union; and

WHEREAS, This expulsion policy was a struggle between the reactionary officials and the left wing over basic policies and tactics, class-collaboration or the class struggle; and

WHEREAS, The expulsion policy and that of class collaboration has resulted in demoralizing the union in Chicago as well as in the other centers, resulting in the loss of job control in many shops that prior to the expulsion were 100 per cent union shops; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Local 59 of the I. L. G. W. U. demand general amnesty for all members who have been disciplined because of left-wing activities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the general amnesty shall include the restoring of these disciplined members to full and complete membership in the union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct our delegates to the National Convention to fight for the endorsement of general amnesty as explained in this resolution.

Your committee, for the reasons outlined in the preface to this report, is in sympathy with the spirit underlying several of these resolutions. The spirit of tolerance is a fine spirit and we certainly subscribe to it wholeheartedly.

But your committee strongly objects to and repudiates the first two preambles of Resolution No. 22 which grossly insult the International Union and are anything but an expression of the tolerance which should inspire us all. They are so biased as to contradict entirely the

sense and spirit of this resolution and of the intent of all the other resolutions.

Your committee, as we stated, believes that tolerance is a fine spirit, but it can only be so when it is mutual, both in letter and practice. When it is practiced on one side only it becomes a travesty and a joke and places the other side at a great disadvantage that may lead to disagreeable consequences and to anything but harmony.

In the case before it, your committee is forced to recognize that there are two distinct groups of disciplined members. One group consists of persons who have been deprived of the right to hold office in the Union for belonging to leagues which were banned by the Boston convention, but who have otherwise not committed any overt acts that in themselves could be regarded as disruptive acts that would demoralize our organizations. To these we recommend that all rights be restored and that they be made eligible for holding office in the Union.

Delegate Hyman: We adopted a resolution here about freeing political prisoners in this country and also in Russia. It is clear that you hold liberal views except when it comes to our own union. Even in Russia they make a distinction between political prisoners and criminal prisoners. When it comes to our union you do not make this distinction. If a man has been expelled from the union because he disagrees with this party or another party, he should be reinstated with full rights. Your interpretation defeats the purpose of this resolution. If I am in the minority and the chairman will tell me to sit down and I fight for my opinion, you will be able to term my act as insubordination and you will say, "We will not expel you from the union for your views." These distinctions cannot be drawn because otherwise you will be throwing a joker into the resolution.

Delegate Jacobs: We have a concrete proposition before us at present and that is that all members who belong to the Union shall be reinstated with full rights. That is the only proposition before the house. Brother Hyman is talking of something that is not before the house.

President Sigman: I suppose Brother Hyman has imagined what follows next and is not confining himself to the question before the house. The report says that all members should be reinstated with full rights, which is a concrete proposition.

Delegate Portnoy: I am in favor of the recommendation of the Committee but I am against the preamble. I want to vote against the preamble and for the recommendation. How can I do it?

President Sigman: The subject matter before the convention is the recommendation, and on this naturally the convention will vote.

Delegate Hochman: I am really surprised at the attitude of Brother Hyman. He tries to draw an analogy between political prisoners and criminal prisoners in a government and in a union. If we were to try merely to expel people for attempting to kill the President, we would have very few people to expel. In the union there are certain acts committed that can be considered criminal and others that can be considered political. You don't mean to say that, because a man goes to a meeting and cause it to be broken up, claiming that he wants to defend a certain idea, and does not listen to the Chairman and insults everybody, that is not an offense for which a member shall be punished. When a member, either through a group or through himself, is issuing circulars in which he makes statements that are full of lies and in which he calls the President a gangster and every official a thug, etc., do you mean to say that a union can tolerate such action and consider it a political offense, an expression of belief and opinion on the part of the member? You know you are talking nonsense when you claim such a thing. Do you mean to say that a union must have no discipline at all upon its membership?

I say if you were men of courage you would at least sign the statements you have circulated amongst the membership about our officers. I say it only in a spirit of unity and of amnesty that this recommendation is given, but I say again that for men who are so mean and contemptible as to spread such lies, the

union must have discipline, and I say, Brother Hyman, if you are a leader you ought to agree with me at least on this proposition.

Delegate Weiss: The committee states that there are no political crimes in our union, that no one is punished for political opinion, yet the Joint Action Committee signed an agreement a few months ago with the President, which states "On the subject of tolerance of political opinion, it is agreed unanimously by the conferring parties that tolerance be recognized as a basic principle in the union and that all discriminations over political opinions be abolished. That means that we have political opinions.

President Sigman: When this proposition was submitted I was very glad though I felt it somewhat of an insult to the traditions of our International. Our union has been recognized by the entire labor world as an organization with a free and open platform for the expression of thoughts and opinions having any relation to the interests of labor. Now then, there was a new modern invention of tolerance that we experienced in New York at least. When a meeting was called and there were two dozen or a thousand so-called progressives, if any of the rights rose to the floor to speak, the first demonstration of tolerance of the so-called progressives would be to boo him down. I have not witnessed such intolerance in all the years that I am connected with the labor movement. The impartial delegates, Horowitz and Shalley, will verify my statement when I say that a thousand cloakmakers gathered in Cooper Union were praying and pleading with me, saying that I was the only one who could bring to an end the war between brother and brother. What happened when we came to the second Cooper Union meeting? What was the first measure of tolerance? Delegate Hyman had to use very undesirable language to his own followers, telling them that they were not acting like civilized human beings, although they had revolutionary colors, and that that was not the way for union men to act. I thought that this recommendation was a good measure, not for the large membership that understands tolerance but for that portion of

the membership that you have so greatly enthused and who have a false conception of tolerance.

(Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the Committee was adopted).

Delegate Amdur proceeded to report for the Committee as follows:

The other group consists of persons who have been actively engaged in disrupting union meetings, in attacking, slandering the duly elected officers of the Union and in advocating sabotage of every organizational function of our Union in order to bring it into disrepute among the masses. This group, your committee is not prepared to reinstate to full rights or to make eligible for office holding. We propose that such as belong to this category should be reinstated as members, but that each local Union be given full right to deal with them in accordance with its best judgment and interest. The principle of local autonomy can in this respect produce results that will satisfy not only the principle and spirit of tolerance, but will give each local the opportunity to exercise tolerance with a degree of self-protection and whenever and wherever it can be most benefited by it.

Delegate Portnoy: I think this recommendation is a disgrace and crime against our membership. Brother Sigman, you promised at the meeting of the Committee that you will come to the convention and recommend that for every political offense there will be general amnesty. This shows that you want to keep certain officers in office and keep others from running for office. If you want real unity tear up this recommendation not because I say it but because the membership will feel sore. In 1923 when you expelled 19 members from Local 22 I warned you that you were making yourself unpopular. I say by the recommendation of the committee you are not going to establish unity.

Delegate Wolkowitz: My amendment is that all political offenses up until now, no matter of what nature, shall be pardoned and that the offenders be reinstated as members with full rights.

President Sigman: You will defeat this motion and then you can make your motion.

Delegate Wortis: This recommendation will perpetuate the civil war in our union. Now you can see what they mean with all their talk of unity.

President Sigman: I want to remind you that it was your desire that the G. E. B. should consent to a general amnesty. I explained to you over and over again that the G. E. B. cannot do this, that it is a matter for the convention. Then we argued for a half a dozen days on the framing of this proposition. I say that the understanding to which we obligated ourselves in a direct manner was carried out at this convention. If our union will give up every measure of discipline and permit such actions as were described and can be proven fully, I tell you now before this convention adjourns that our union is doomed to destruction. The agreement we came to reads: "As regards all other members of the International Union punished for political offenses, it is the opinion of President Sigman that, as the next convention is to be a harmony convention, it will doubtless adopt a measure for amnesty." This is an opinion of mine and carries no direct obligation either for myself, and certainly not for the Board. Even if you should charge me with not carrying out the terms of the agreement and blocking the new efforts for unity, I will still maintain that this was not more than an opinion of my own. In my judgment the locals have a perfect right to judge on such matters because the membership of each local knows best of each situation. Where is the crime if you refer it to the membership? That is what this report does. We leave it to the local itself to decide, which I think is more competent than even this convention when it comes to such particular cases.

Delegate Rubin: If this resolution was approved as was the previous resolution that deals with general amnesty, will it include the out-of-town locals?

President Sigman: It applies all over.

(Upon being put to a vote the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.)

Delegate Amdur proceeded to report as follows:

A committee consisting of Brothers Morris Leventhal, Abe Shapiro and Louis Hyman, executive board members of former Local 17, appeared before the Appeal Committee on behalf of the executive board members and officers of their former local, and asked to have the charges against them disposed of.

After the decision of the General Executive Board to merge Local 17 with Locals 1 and 11, they were twice called on charges before Local 2, the newly merged local, but no decision in their case had been given to them. They understood that the case was referred to the G. E. B. for action, although they had not been officially informed to this effect. They feel that the case is being prolonged in order to deprive them of participation in the activities of the local of which they are now members. The only reason they want their case disposed of, they claim, is not in order to be able to run for office, but to clear their names, as all of them are at present working in the trade.

The charges against them, they claim, are as follows:

1. Non compliance with the decision of the G. E. B. in regard to the merger.
2. Holding illegal meetings.
3. Misappropriating funds of the local.

Brother Leventhal, as spokesman of the committee, states that they did not misappropriate any money, as all their actions were sanctioned by the members at the membership meetings; and that the books which are now in the office of the International will prove it.

They do admit holding illegal meetings, but explain that they felt justified in so doing at that time, because they had the interest of their membership and local at heart, to which they had belonged for twenty years. Everything had been done, they explained, only for the love of their local.

Brother Leventhal states that in the recent internal struggle in the Union, many members who defied the Interna-

tional were vindicated and have become leaders in the Union. He further claims that they are entitled to be cleared of these charges, as they have had no personal motives in any of their actions.

The committee further states that they have appeared before the Appeal Committee to ascertain their status in the Union,—whether or not they are full members of Local 2. At the last election in Local 2, they were not permitted to go on the ballot as candidates for office, and they believe that they have been sufficiently punished for their actions.

Your committee has given the utmost consideration to that appeal and we wish to state that we can only express our deepest regret at this occurrence and we are decidedly of the opinion that the methods and tactics employed by former officers and members of the former Local 17 in their endeavor to offset the decision of the General Executive Board are deplorable and should be condemned by every fairminded union man and woman.

Nevertheless, your committee believes that, from this occurrence the members of former Local 17 have learned a great lesson and in their request for clemency they do not fail to admit that they realize now the error and crime that they have committed, but at the same time they claim that they already have paid the penalty.

We therefore recommend that this appeal be granted and that all former members of Local 17 who are now members of the I. L. G. W. U. and are working in the trade be restored to their full rights of membership in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

(Recommendation unanimously adopted).

Delegate Antonini continued to report for the Committee on Appeals as follows:

Delegate Antonini: Brother Farblash made some accusation in the course of the convention against Brother Hochman and Brother Hochman at that time challenged him to prove that such a thing had occurred after the internal war

was over. Brother Farblash came with a story which was not connected with what Brother Hochman explained on the floor of this convention. He repeated the history of what happened during the fight, and the Committee decided unanimously that the charge be dismissed because there was no ground whatsoever for it and we asked that the statement of Brother Farblash be withdrawn from the minutes. This recommendation was unanimously carried.

Delegate Antonini continued to report for the Committee as follows:

The Committee has received an appeal from Brother Jacob Appel, of Local 2 against a fine of \$100 imposed upon him by his local union, which had later been reduced to \$50 by the Grievance Board of the Joint Board. The Appeal Committee decided to recommend the reduction of his fine to \$25.

(Recommendation of the Committee was unanimously carried.)

The attention of your committee has been called to the fact that there are a number of members in various local unions upon whom fines have been imposed for various trade violations committed by them many years ago, which fines are standing against their records up to the present time and do not permit them to enjoy the full rights of membership.

Your committee is of the opinion that all members upon whom fines have been imposed for trade violations other than scabbing, which date back two years or more from the present day shall be restored to their full right of membership.

(Recommendation unanimously carried.)

Delegate Antonini continued to report for the Committee as follows:

Case of Local 62

Your committee has received an appeal from the Sisters Bessie Helfand and Jennie Krooglick, both of Local 62, against the election of Local 62, on the ground that the elections were conducted in a

way not consistent with the provisions of the constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. and were therefore illegal. Their objection reads as follows:

To the Appeal Committee of the 18th Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

Greetings.

We the undersigned members and delegates of Local 62, I. L. G. W. U. herewith present the following facts in appeal against the seating of the delegation of Local 62, I. L. G. W. U.

At a regular membership meeting of Local 62, held on Oct. 15th. 1925, an objection committee was elected consisting of Sisters Sophie Goodkin, Lille Wax, Yetta Zucker, Goldie Kashdan and Nattie Kaplan, who were in accordance with the Constitution of our International, to examine all candidates, make all necessary arrangements and carry thru the elections of delegates to the convention.

The objection and Election Committee held three meetings in the office of the Union with the officers of the Local participating as ex-officio members of the Committee. The secretary of our Local Union whose duty is to attend to the secretarial work of our committees did not inform the various candidates to appear before the Objection and Election Committee for examination and, with the exception of a few candidates against whom objections were made by members of our Local, no examination of candidates took place.

The Committee did not approve of the list of candidates to be placed or removed from the ballot, nor did it decide on the date of the elections.

The officers of Local 62, who were candidates and are now sitting as delegates to this convention representing Local 62, usurped the functions of the elections committee and arbitrarily placed some of the candidates on, and removed others from, the official ballot, decided on the date of elections and made all necessary arrangements to carry thru the election, thus ignoring the Objection and Election Committee regularly elected at a membership meeting of Local 62, which

is the highest authority of Local 62, I. L. G. W. U.

When on November 8th, a notice of elections in Local 62 appeared in the press, the Objection and Election Committee was called to a meeting on Nov. 9th in the office of our Union and requested the officers of Local 62 to submit to them the list of candidates which are to appear on the official ballot. This information was flatly refused by the officers of Local 62. The Committee then called at the office of President Sigman, where they waited for the rest of the day but were unable to meet him.

The day of elections, Nov. 10th, the Objection and Election Committee found out that some candidates who were eligible to be delegates to the convention were removed and thus deprived of the fundamental constitutional rights as members of the International.

About 6 p. m., on election day, while the polling places were still open and a number of members of our Local were waiting to cast their vote it was found out that there were no more blank ballots and many members could not take part in the election for delegates to represent their local union at this convention.

The Objection and Election Committee called on our President Sigman and informed him of the above facts, demanding a new election. President Sigman faithfully promised to take up this matter with the officers of Local 62 and the Objection and Election Committee, stating to the Objection and Election Committee that they should have not proceeded with this election but failed to take further action in this matter.

Since this election has taken place there were no membership meetings of our Local and therefore the methods of elections were not approved, nor any instructions given to the delegates.

We, the undersigned, therefore appeal against the seating of the entire delegation of Local 62 on the ground that the elections were conducted in a way not consistent with the provisions of the con-

stitution of the I. L. G. W. and were therefore illegal.

Fraternally submitted ,

BESSIE HELFAND
J. KROOGLICK.

Delegate Snyder, the manager of Local 62, appeared before the committee and stated that the election was a legal one, since the executive board set the date and time for it, which was approved at a general membership meeting, and then the date and time were advertised for three days prior to the election. An election and objection committee was elected at a general membership meeting for the purpose of helping carry through the election in accordance with the plan worked out by the executive board of the local. This local has an advisory board which is a standing committee in their executive and which was ordered by the executive to work with the election and objection committee and help carry through this election.

It had been decided at the executive board and approved at a membership meeting that this election be a double one. Officers of the Union, as well as delegates to the convention, were to be elected. Two sets of ballots were printed, one for the officers and one for the delegates. When the election and objection committee was informed by the advisory board that a certain four members of the Union cannot run as officers because they were under charges, the committee wanted to split the elections so that the officers' elections should be held after the convention. They had no right to do this, however, because all the plans for the election had been approved both by the executive and the general membership.

Miss Bessie Helfand, one of the objectors in this case, was a member of the advisory board and therefore was one of the members that worked with the objection and election committee. The only nominees that were taken off the ballot were the two that were ineligible to run for any office because they were not members of that union. They went to Mr. Baroff and he agreed that these people are not eligible to run for office. Ballots were delivered.

The only other member taken off the ballot was Miss Rose Aster, against whom objections were brought on the ground that she not only refused to pay assessments, but agitated at shop meetings and in the shop, in the presence of the manager of the Union, that the other members do not pay their assessments.

The election and objection committee decided to put her on the ballot, but the executive board ruled that she could not run. As to the charge that the members were removed from the ballot without being notified of the reason, the objectors are referring to the case of Sister Clara Friedman. Her name was omitted from the officers' ballot by a mistake of the printer. Clara Friedman is an outspoken "right" and was running as an executive member and not as a delegate to the convention. When she called to our attention the omission of her name from the ballot, we decided that the matter would be taken up with the executive board after the convention.

This local has six delegates to this convention, and the objectors, Delegates Helfand and Krooglick, were third and fourth in number of votes received for election. The two delegates following them were of the so-called "right" wing.

In reference to the charge that there was a shortage of ballots, Delegate Snyder says for his delegation that there were more than enough ballots printed. The only thing that happened was that the ballots were not distributed evenly to all the polling places, so that some were short and some had too many. When the Forsyte Street polling place, at which Miss Helfand was stationed as a member of the election committee to see that the election was carried on in an orderly manner, was short of ballots, they called up another polling place and ballots were immediately brought to them. Mr. Snyder says that Sister Helfand, instead of seeing that everything went on in an orderly manner in the polling place at which she was stationed, raised a commotion in the hall, slandering the officers of the Union and informing voters that there were no more ballots and that they should go home, instead of asking them to wait until more ballots were delivered.

Delegate Bessie Helfand appears before the Appeals Committee and said that Brother Snyder, also a delegate of this local, made out the list of candidates himself, and did not give the committee a chance to do anything about it. She says that she can prove that Snyder was distributing slates before the election. Sister Helfand also says that after the nominations, when they asked Miss Lifshitz for the list of candidates that are going on the ballot, Miss Lifshitz made all sorts of excuses and they did not get the list until Monday, when Mr. Snyder told them the ballots were already printed. They were not satisfied with the ballot as it appeared and went to Mr. Sigman two days after the election. Mr. Sigman said that if they thought the ballots were not right, they had no right to go to the election. He also promised to arrange a meeting with the officers of the union, but this was never done.

As far as the ballots are concerned, Miss Helfand says that after six o'clock there were no more ballots left either of the officers' ballots or the convention ballots. By the time the ballots arrived, which was about half past seven, most of the people had gone home and the committee was ready to leave.

Miss Molly Lifshitz, secretary of Local 62, appeared before the committee. Delegate Lifshitz said that after the people were put on the ballot, these people wanted a list of the names of the candidates. She said she would give them a list, but for the minutes, as that was the only one she had. She gave them a typewritten list of the candidates and they were pasted into the minute-book. As to what Sister Helfand said about Mr. Sigman promising to call a meeting, Mr. Sigman told her he wanted to hear the other side of the story before he could decide, but then the convention came on and there was no time to do anything. As to the four members that were taken off, Mr. Sigman told them in a letter in reply to their letter, that these girls could not run since they were under charges and their case would come up to the convention.

As to the ballots, she repeated Mr. Snyder's statement that more ballots

were printed than were needed and that the ballots were sent from one polling place to another if they were needed. When the election was over, the committees all brought their boxes and the ballots were counted. When the convention ballots of the Forsythe Street polling place were counted, the committee signed them. Later, when they counted the officers' ballots, they delayed the signing of them. It was only two or three days later, after they had participated in the election, and after the convention ballots had been counted and signed, that they said that ballots were missing; but they said nothing about convention ballots; there were just a few officers' ballots that were missing.

Sister Krooglick corroborated what Sister Helfand said about the ballots.

Sister Helfand was asked why, since she considers the election an illegal one, she came to the convention. She said that if the committee declares the election illegal, they would go home; but if it was legal, then she has the same right to be here as the others.

After giving the matter due consideration, the committee is unanimously of the opinion that there were no irregularities as far as the objection and election committee is concerned and therefore the appeal of these members is rejected. However, the committee is of the opinion that there was an unintentional error of the committee in the way of distributing the ballots to the various polling places and recommends that in the future all local unions should see that there are enough ballots in each polling place, rather than to economize on printing of ballots.

(The report of the Committee was unanimously carried.)

This finished the report of the Committee on Appeals, and its report as a whole was adopted, the following delegates being the members of the Committee:

Max Amdur, Chairman, Montreal Joint Board.

L. Antonini, Secretary, Local 89, New York.

Maurice W. Jacobs, Local 10 New York.
 J. Hoffman, Local 18, Chicago.
 S. Turk, Local 37, Cleveland
 Rebecca Schwartz, Local 46, Boston
 Morris Grier, Local 82, New York.
 Paul Goldberg, Local 78, Boston.
 A. Cooper, Local 14, Toronto.
 A. Brick, Local 64, New York.
 Helen Mattheis, Local 93, Long Branch.
 Sam Lederman, Local 81, Chicago.
 Mary Yankelawitch, Local 91, New York
 Alex Freeman, Local 92, Toronto.
 Pasquale Nicita, Local 48, New York.
 Clara Wels, Local 50, Philadelphia.

President Sigman: Delegate Dubinsky will conclude the report of the Resolutions Committee.

Delegate Dubinsky: The Resolutions Committee received various requests for financial assistance, such as the following:

Resolution No. 167

Introduced by the delegates A. Rosenberg, J. Halpern, A. Lupin, G. Rubin, H. Greenberg, M. Sirota, M. Lifshitz, L. Pinkofsky, A. Cottone, J. Boruchowitz.

WHEREAS, the Ex-patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colorado, 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, Colorado, is the only hospital that keeps incurable cases for an unlimited time, and teaches its improved patients a suitable profession, in order that they should not have to be compelled to return to their previous occupations thus preventing them from relapses; and

WHEREAS, in the Ex-patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colorado, 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, Colorado is not being supported by the 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, Colorado takes care of a number of patients from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of America; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the eighteenth convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of America, assembled at Lulu Temple, in Philadelphia, Pa., appropriate a liberal allotment for the Ex-patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colorado, the Workers' sanatorium, in recognition of their great humanitarian work; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union should help the Ex-patients' Tubercular Home to enlarge its capacity for many more workers who are

stricken with the proletarian disease of tuberculosis.

Resolution No. 47

Introduced by Max Stoller, of Local 10; G. Rubin, of the Philadelphia Joint Board; H. Davidoff, of Local 52; A. Rosenberg, of the Jersey District Council; Louis Pinofsky, of Local 23, and Nathan Reisel, of Local 66:

WHEREAS, the Jewish Consumptive Relief Society has demonstrated during the three years of its existence its great success and service in saving hundreds of tubercular patients from this dread disease; and

WHEREAS, this sanatorium is so located, at Browns Mills, N. J., that its service is of particular value to tubercular patients in Philadelphia, New York and Boston, and nearby cities; and

WHEREAS, this institution in 1925 alone admitted eight members of the I. L. G. W. U. on the recommendation of the Union Health Center and treated them free of charge; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Convention of the International assist the Deborah Jewish Consumptive Relief Society to successfully complete its present campaign for the installation of 100 new beds for advanced cases, in a new building to be erected this year.

The Committee recommends that the incoming G. E. B. be empowered to make donations to these organizations.

(This recommendation was unanimously carried.)

Delegate Dubinsky: Ours is the first labor union to hold a convention in the Labor Institute of Philadelphia. We have no doubt that every delegate will have a word of praise and appreciation for the workers of Philadelphia who were successful in building this institution. We recommend that this convention give a unanimous vote of appreciation to the Labor Institute for giving us the opportunity to hold our convention here.

(This motion was unanimously carried amidst applause.)

President Sigman: This Labor Institute was built principally by the labor movement of Philadelphia, but the International contributed by the decision of our last convention \$5,000 to help build this institution. In other words, we are to some degree responsible for it. I am only sorry that the great city of New York where the bulk of our trade union movement is, at least in our industry, has not as yet grown up to the under-

standing of establishing its own institute there.

Delegate Dubinsky: We wish also to thank the Arrangement Committee of Philadelphia for its splendid work during this entire period and also to thank the officers as well as the sergeants-at-arms for the good work that they have rendered.

(This motion was unanimously adopted.)

Delegate Dubinsky: This concludes our report.

Respectfully submitted.

David Dubinsky, Chairman, Local 10, New York.

Julius Hochman, Secretary, Local 83, Toronto.

Bernard Schub, Conn. District Council.

Albert Eaton, Local 19, Montreal.

Samuel Fremed, Local 23, New York.

Morris Stein, Local 27, Cleveland.

Meyer Berkman, Local 42, Cleveland.

Luigi Merolla, Local 44, Cleveland.

Leopolda Polancia, Local 47, Philadelphia.

Eduardo Mollisani, Local 48, New York.

Nathan Reisel, Local 66, New York.

Anita Levitt, Local 76, Philadelphia.

Federica Dorsa, Local 80, Boston.

Leon Rosenblatt, Local 82, New York.

Antonini, Crivello, Local 89, New York.

Morris Ciota, Local 91, New York.

President Sigman: There is a resolution introduced by some delegates to this convention challenging the right of the General Executive Board in levying an assessment of \$2.50 on the ground that, according to the Constitution, an assessment should be levied only for the purpose of a general strike. We will have a discussion on this matter.

Delegate Ninfo: The reason the G. E. B. levied the \$2.50 assessment was because during the past year and a half the International has had a great number of campaigns and strikes in Canada and other cities, and especially in the city of New York with Locals 62 and 91, for which the expenditures alone without legal fees amounted to over \$160,000.

Delegate Portnoy: The assessment

was levied not for the purpose of carrying on a strike but to carry on organization work. It is true there were a couple of strikes that cost about \$15,000 according to your report. As far as that strike was concerned, there was an assessment of fifty cents. The assessment of \$2.50 was raised to carry on organization work and the G. E. B. had no legal right to do so.

President Sigman: Let me explain to the delegates that if it is a question of technicalities and if we want to just go on this basis, then there would be cause for discussion at this convention; but as a matter of fact the strikes that Delegate Portnoy refers to that cost \$15,000 or thereabouts were only a remnant of the series of strikes that have cost during the last period maybe over \$400,000. If technicality is an argument let me give you a certain technical point. Assuming you have accumulated in the treasury from the per capita tax \$200,000 for organization purposes, but meanwhile we have involved ourselves in strikes, and since the time was not favorable to levy assessments, the money of the organization fund is used up in order to meet the needs of the strike. When this fund becomes exhausted, wouldn't we be justified in levying an assessment for the organization fund that was supposed to be levied in the first instance for the purpose of the strike, in order to replenish the organization fund? It is true that we got a fifty cent assessment for the Chicago strike, but it is also true that due to the injunctions, due to the various charges against our members for contempt of court, today we have enough cases as yet which the entire amount collected by the fifty cent assessment will not cover. I want to say furthermore that a number of our locals have paid this assessment and, if this action of the G. E. B. were overruled, we would have to pay them back which in my judgment would not work to the advantage of the International. I ask this convention to approve the action of the G. E. B. dealing with this assessment.

(This was carried.)

President Sigman: Delegate Ninfo will continue to report for the Committee on Law.

Delegate Info:

Resolution No. 147

Article III, Section 13:

To end with words, "not to exceed salary of \$75.00 per week."

Your Committee substitutes the following for this amendment:

Section 13. The salaries of general organizers shall be fixed by the G. E. B. but shall not exceed \$75 per week. The G. E. B. shall also fix the salaries of all other employees.

Your Committee unanimously recommends the adoption of the substitute amendment.

(This was carried unanimously.)

Your Committee has carefully considered the salaries to be paid the President of the International and the Secretary-Treasurer. It is of the opinion that the head of such an organization as ours must conform to a higher standard of living by virtue of his office. However, the time at present within our International is one of economy. The International, as well as many local unions and the New York Joint Board, has been financially dry. The work which confronts your officers upon their return to their respective localities, however, is of great importance and must go on. Your committee therefore, much as it regrets it, recommends unanimously that the salary of the President of the International be fixed at \$100 per week for the ensuing term, and that the salary of the Secretary-Treasurer be fixed at \$85 for the ensuing term.

(This recommendation was carried.)

Your Committee is of the opinion that the delegates chosen by our membership to represent them at the biennial congresses of our International are representative of the most active and experienced element and were chosen for that very reason. It is these representatives that are best fitted to choose the heads of our present organization for the close contact they maintain within the local unions and with the International and all of the activities of our other organizations. The many tens of thousands of our membership spend almost their entire time in the shops and the great

majority of them only infrequently attend meetings. They are therefore not in a position were a referendum instituted, to know enough about the nominees of the convention to be able to judge them properly.

Since the delegates to our conventions pass upon the most important legislative matters of our union and since to them is entrusted the great task of preparing every two years the work of the following two years, it follows of necessity that the delegates should elect the officers to whom are entrusted the results of their deliberations. Your Committee therefore unanimously recommends the rejection of the proposed amendments to Art. 3, Sections 2 and 3 and the new section proposed; similarly Resolution No. 140 is recommended for rejection as it deals with the same subject. These resolutions are quoted herewith:

Resolution No. 147

Article III, Section 3, to read as follows: The nominations shall be by ballot.

Article III, New Section to follow Section 4:

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. The referendum for President and General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board shall take place not later than two months after the adjournment of the convention. The referendum to be carried out by an election committee elected at the convention for that purpose.

Resolution No. 147

Article III, Section 2, to read as follows:

The President and General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board shall be nominated at the convention and elected by a referendum of all the members of the I. L. G. W. U. The names of all those nominees who receive a minimum of 1-4 of the votes cast shall appear on the ballot as candidates for President or General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board.

Resolution No. 140

Introduced by I. Steinhilber, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 9; P. Starkoff, of Local 36; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; J. Prokop, of Local 45; B. Soll, of Local 5; D. Wishnavsky, of Local 38; A. Weisman, of Local 104; J. Goretsky, of Local 35; M. Shur, of Local 14; P. Hauser, of Local 100; V. Miletsky, of Local 41; A. Kravitz, of Local 3:

WHEREAS, The General Office of our International are vested with the authority of

supervising and controlling all the affairs of our union between conventions; and

WHEREAS, To fulfill these most important duties successfully, the General Executive Board must have the fullest co-operation and confidence of the entire membership; be it

RESOLVED, That the President, General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board be elected by a referendum vote of the entire membership.

President Sigman: I am opposed to the resolution or that portion of the resolution which proposes the election of the G. E. B. by a referendum vote, but I am in favor that the general officers like the President and Secretary be elected by a referendum vote. My arguments are the same arguments that I advanced before of having a general manager elected by a referendum vote, the business agents to be appointed by him.

If this convention had taken place under different circumstances, I for one would not submit to being a candidate on any other basis than on the basis of a general referendum election. I am sure that the Secretary feels the same way, although I have not discussed it with him. If, God forbid, I should again be candidate for the office of President and the convention represents a normal condition, I for one would hold to this principle, not only because I believe that the members should have the right to choose their highest officers, but for another underlying reason—I believe that the President should feel that measure of confidence that only a referendum vote of the membership can give him, because, with all the measures that we may adopt to prevent certain things that happen in our local elections, I as one who has had the experience am convinced, whether you will have progressive or conservative elections, as long as they are based upon the support of groups, they cannot be fair and do not at all events represent the honest judgment of the membership. When it comes to a general election where the entire membership of the International participates, I think the measure of judgment in the election of the chief officers would represent more fairness than it would present in a local union.

Still I find that all those with whom I have discussed this matter differ from my opinion: I have discussed it with

unions that do not practice this method of election and I have taken it up with unions that do have this system of election, and those that have it and practice it do not consider it to be such a great and tremendous reform. Maybe they are right, but in the experience that I have had as the President of this International I felt that I would have found myself on a good many occasions in a more convenient position if I had been elected by a referendum vote.

At any rate, this matter represents various opinions. The only way it can be disposed of is by an action of this convention at this time and, if not carried the way the resolution proposes, I suppose those who have the privilege of being delegates at the next convention will carry it then, if that is the prevailing sentiment of the locals that compose this International. And then again we may dispose of it at this convention without the need of again putting the question before another convention. I just wanted to make this statement and express my opinion.

Delegate Rubin: The way the President argued this question, I don't know whether he is for a referendum or not. In principle he says that he is for the resolution, but if the convention will approve the recommendation of the committee it will be a matter for the next convention. I feel that, under the circumstances when the Union finds itself in such a demoralizing shape, it would be healthy and wise for the workers to have a say about the higher officers of the International, especially when it is shown as at this convention, for the first time, that such a large majority has registered its votes against the higher officers. At the present time when we are confronted with a struggle, for the employers to hear it said that the President was elected by an artificial majority would do us harm. If the President is elected by a referendum vote of the membership, I, as the biggest opponent of Sigman, will take off my hat to him, but if he becomes President by an artificial majority, I will not respect him and I will have the opinion that he is a coward.

Delegate Feinberg: The membership

are not in a position to be well informed of the vital problems and situations confronting the organization, and they therefore place their confidence in the delegates to decide upon the vital problems confronting the union and at the same time entrust them with the duty of selecting the best personnel to solve the problems. I must, however, disagree with President Sigman in his opinion that the chief executives should be elected by a referendum vote while the G. E. B. should be selected by the convention, for the following reason: You are possibly aware of the fact that in governments there is a movement on in opposition to the appointment of cabinet officers. It is stated that, due to the fact that cabinet officers are appointed, they do not consider themselves responsible to their constituencies or to the nation as a whole. I therefore see an inconsistency in the point of view expressed by the President; namely that the convention selects the President and that the President becomes the power supreme. If such a thing were carried through there would be no necessity for having the G. E. B. at all. My dear Brother President, there is no comparison between your cabinet and business agents over whom Hyman has jurisdiction at the present time, for as you know Hyman's staff is not called upon in the union to shape policies. They are called upon in the union to do expert work. The shaping of the policies of the union is the business of the Joint Board in conjunction with the chief executives that you have elected. The General Executive Board is not sent into the Board as so-called experts to adjust matters. They are practically the body that is shaping, moulding and conducting the affairs of the entire International not only in a legislative capacity but also occasionally to perform executive work. Today we have a very good President and we hope that he will remain with us for years to come, but where should we be if we get a man who is not good who will have full power to control the International? I say that we are not ready to submit to anyone, having the supreme power, and for that reason I say that the members of the G. E. B. should

be elected in the same manner as is the President.

At this time especially it is not advisable to again start out with referendum votes. You will have all you can do to carry on the struggles that are confronting the union. Elections, whether you like it or not, must contain a certain element which is poisonous. At this time, since you are all anxious to have peace and harmony and a united front against the employers, it would do harm to hold a referendum. You are faced with graver conditions than a theory. I therefore ask you to accept this recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Hyman: I agree with Brother Feinberg that the G. E. B. should also be elected by a referendum. There is no reasonable argument to advance why the President should be elected by the membership and the G. E. B. should not be elected by the membership, and therefore with all my heart I am for the resolution, that the G. E. B. as well as the general officers be elected by a referendum vote of the membership.

Delegate Antonini: This reform is a very democratic reform, if you want to throw smoke in the eyes of the people. Other organizations like the Amalgamated have such a law but it is a joke. They don't decide anything but what the convention decides. It is simply a waste of time and an expense. All of these referendums seem to be specially made for the benefit of the printers. What we have to do is to work for the benefit of the entire International at this time.

Delegate Shenker: We are composed of locals from all over the country and not of the locals of one city. According to what the introducers of the resolution propose they want to shift the International into New York City and into the hands of the three large locals there and disfranchise every other local in the United States. That is what the resolution means. The question of referring this to a referendum is a joke because there is no more representative body than the convention itself. Every one of us comes in contact with our members and knows their wishes and desires.

And let me say this, Brother President, in my opinion you have been elected unanimously by this convention because if there was a desire on the part of the opposition not to see you elected unanimously, I doubt whether Brother Zimmerman and Hyman would have accepted the nomination for President. We understand what the election by roll call meant. We know it was merely held in reserve. If you meant to make a fight, your names would have appeared on the ballot the same as every one of the candidates appeared. So I say that the President and the Treasurer were elected by the unanimous consent of this convention and don't let us fool ourselves. You know that Zimmerman and Hyman wanted to be free to run as vice-presidents.

(Upon being put to a vote the report of the Committee was adopted.)

President Sigman: I wish to say a few words to the delegates before the convention is over. In presiding over this convention no one will say that I have an easy task. There has been much criticism coming from every corner of the house. Everybody thought that they could do better than I did. Now that the convention is about to adjourn I desire to say just a few words. I first want to touch upon the question of the referendum and the remarks that Delegate Rubin made. I want to remind the delegates that at another convention where the President was elected there were a certain number of votes against him, and the reason the opposition vote at the Cleveland convention was not as large as at this convention was the following: In the first place, in the so-called opposition to the President and to the members of the Board at that convention 115 votes were registered as demonstrated on many occasions, and in my opinion the opposition then was fairer in its judgment because it had in mind more serious fundamental issues than the delegates at this convention had in mind when they voted, because here passion has superseded judgment. You may not admit it openly, but the majority of you will admit it in your heart and soul. Another reason for the difference in the vote was that at that time the op-

position was under no obligation to anybody to place itself openly on record outside of its membership. At this time there is such an existing condition. I am not saying this with the thought in mind of reprimanding you for it, but I am certain that in your heart and soul you will admit that there is something in what I said just now. Third, in other cases the President has been connected with a definite movement. In my case that condition does not exist. I am not tied up in any way. The only party I am tied to is the union itself. In the other case, delegates who wanted to vote one way had to vote the other because of a certain sense of obligation. I don't consider a situation of this kind a healthy situation in a trade union.

As to the referendum and the criticism of Delegate Rubin, I think he is right from his own point of view, but I want Delegate Rubin and all the other delegates to remember that this issue of election or referendum for general officers was brought up, by me during this controversy and not by you and not by anybody else. It was not even one of the demands or proposals of the so-called opposition. And I again say that, if not for these extraordinary circumstances, my action would be different. Before I consented for a moment to waive my point of view I consulted as great authorities and men of such high principle and standing as Delegate Rubin. Yes, if I have at this time, I don't know for how long, receded from this point of view, I am doing it with a very clear conscience because I think that, from all that has taken place in our organization during the strike and since the peace, I am duty-bound to the International and to the movement at large, my movement, the only one for whom I have to act the way I do, and I am not ashamed of it. As to the question of respect on the part of Rubin, I do not expect any respect from you, even if I were elected by a referendum, because it is your nature, and I will vouch for it, that in a short time you will be in opposition even to the colleagues with whom you are now joined. It is in your blood—it cannot be helped.

When Delegate Portnoy suggested

that we dispose of the election of President before we proceed with further nominations, I understood immediately what he had in mind; namely, that they have practically given up, at least for the time being, the issue of a referendum election. Otherwise this proposition would have been insisted upon before nominations and elections had taken place.

Further, I want to say that, on your return to New York, you must begin tackling the various problems that confront our organization and particularly the New York situation, and for a while forget the political side. First and foremost, we will have to rebuild our union, and then you can indulge in democratic politics, if there are such in this world. I at least don't know of them. And when the expected improvements have been accomplished, when our people will have bread and a piece of butter, when they will feel more contented, I don't give a snap how many referendums you will have; I will certainly be the last one to plead that our membership keeps me in office. If I at this time impose myself on a portion of our membership, it will be for the first time in my life since I have been connected with the union. Even you, Brother Rubin, will have to agree that it has been my record to have left the union frequently when it was not to my liking. I did not leave in the last three years because I thought I was duty-bound to stick, and I am not leaving today, even though my election is not to my fullest satisfaction, because I believe that the union needs me; and while it may be true that a large number of the membership does not think that way at the moment, I have not lost my head. I can see and understand the situation and when such a condition demonstrates itself, I think that I am duty-bound to stay. How long I shall stay I will not say now. Maybe a full term and maybe less than that. It will all depend upon conditions and circumstances. I shall never leave, however, just because certain elements have the desire to cast me out. Oh no, I will stick and fight. I am giving you a good hint; just take that into consideration.

As far as I am concerned, there will

be no animosity or ill-feeling because one has cast his vote one way or another. If you can raise any animosity in me, it will be because of other action, and you know what I have in mind, but not because of the vote. If I had been defeated at the convention, there would be no animosity whatsoever. I was defeated once in my own local during the prosperous days when I ran against Dubinsky and Dubinsky defeated me three to one. When there are two running, one must be defeated. Bigger people than labor leaders are defeated and you know it, and so your voting one way or another will have no effect upon me and will have no bearing on the future work of the organization. And I plead with you upon your return to New York, that we must begin our work. Please remember that there is work to be done that will need your full energy, your full strength in order to accomplish it, and I hope that, no matter what took place before and during this convention, you will make up your mind that it must be forgotten and that we will all work together to make our organization stronger, more beautiful, more impressive, before our members as well as the entire labor movement in this country and the world over. I thank you. (Applause).

The results of the balloting were then read to the convention, as follows:

For General Executive Board:

Jacob Halpern
Luigi Antonini
David Dubinsky
Max Amdur
Ellas Reisberg
Charles Kreindler
Julius Hochman
Harry Greenberg
Louis Hyman
Mollie Friedman
David Godes
Joseph Boruchowitz
Julius Portnoy
David Gingold

The delegates to the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor are:

Basile Desti
Isidor Nagler
Philip Oretsky
Louis Pinkovsky
Abraham Snyder

After the vote on the candidates for the General Executive Board was announced, the elected members were invited to the platform and the G. E. B. was inducted into office by Abraham Ro-

senberg, former president of the I. L. G. W. U.

After this solemn ceremony was over, the convention was on motion adjourned sine die.

Resolutions not Acted on by Convention.

Referred to G. E. B.

From report of the Resolution Committee:

AMALGAMATION

Your committee has received Resolutions No. 35, 37, 38 and 39 dealing with the question of amalgamation. These resolutions read as follows:

Resolution No. 35

Submitted by Local 5, Chicago; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, improved machinery and efficiency methods of production have made it possible for the bosses to produce garments in great quantity in small open-shop centers; and

WHEREAS, through the growth of the jobber the sweatshop system is returning to our industry through the contractor and corporation shop; and

WHEREAS, all needle workers, women's wear, men's headgear, furs, are faced with the same great problems; and

WHEREAS, experience has proved that the organization of the growing open-shop markets out of town is impossible by each of the various internationals acting separately; and

WHEREAS, united action on the part of the various internationals in the needle industry would strengthen us in dealing with the jobbers and all other problems, and since the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Cap and Millinery Workers, have already gone on record for amalgamation; be it therefore.

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the Eighteenth Biennial Convention stand instructed to vote favorably on the question of AMALGAMATION of all the needle trades internationals.

Resolution No. 37

Submitted by Local 58:

WHEREAS, improved machinery and efficiency methods of production have made it possible for the bosses to produce garments in great quantities in small open-shop centers; and

WHEREAS, through the growth of the jobber the sweat-shop system is returning to our industry through the contractor and corporation shop; and

WHEREAS, all needle workers, women's, men's, headgear, furs, are faced with the same problems; and

WHEREAS, experience has proved that the organization of the growing open-shop markets out of town is impossible by each of the various internationals acting separately; and

WHEREAS, united action on the part of the various internationals in the needle industry would strengthen us in dealing with the jobbers and all other problems, since the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Cap and Millinery Workers, have already gone on record for amalgamation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the convention stand instructed to vote favorably on the question of AMALGAMATION of all the needle trades internationals.

Resolution No. 38

Introduced by L. Antonini, G. Di Nola, S. Amico, A. Crivello, R. Faranda, J. Gelo, J. Salerno, A. Radosti, G. Mirenda, delegates to Local 39:

WHEREAS, the workers, due to the prevailing lack of solidarity of organization, mainly caused by the narrow trade lines of these organizations, which divide their forces against themselves, have suffered severe defeats in the struggle to maintain the standard of wages and working conditions once gained; and

WHEREAS, the manufacturers of our industry, in their efforts to reduce wages, lengthen hours and establish the open shop, are concerting their combined forces in violent attacks upon the different branches of the needle trades industry at different times in an attempt to force them into submission one by one, thereby preventing any effective resistance on the part of the union; and

WHEREAS, the only remedy for this deplorable condition is for the needle trades to present a united front to the employers by the complete amalgamation of all needle trades unions into one organization covering the whole industry; and

WHEREAS, our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at the Chicago Convention and in the following Convention of Cleveland, gave this matter due consideration and decided to take steps for the formation of the Needle Trades Alliance as the first step towards amalgamation; and

WHEREAS, the experiment of the Needle Trade Alliance ended in a complete failure for obvious reasons; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we, the delegates of the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, assembled in Philadelphia, go on record in favor of complete amalgamation of all unions

in the needle trades industry into one centralized organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, that a committee be elected by this convention to negotiate with the other organizations within the needle trades for the calling of a convention of all unions of the needle trades based on local representation for the purpose of establishing one organization covering the whole of the needle industry, and that this committee, in conjunction with the other organizations of the needle industry or with any committees elected by them, be empowered to set the date for such convention; and, be it finally

RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the executive boards of all the organizations in the needle trades, and published in the Labor press.

Resolution No. 39

Submitted by I. Steinzor, of Local 2; A. Lupin, of Local 22; A. Goldberg, of Local 3; G. Halperin, of Local 66; P. Starkopf, of Local 36; A. Wolkowitz, of Local 123; J. Prokop, of Local 46; J. Goretzky, of Local 35; M. Shur, of Local 14; A. Weisman, of Local 104; B. Soll, of Local 5; P. Hauser, of Local 100; V. Mijetsky, of Local 41; D. Wishevsky, of Local 38; A. Kravitz, of Local 3; Sarah Hurvitz, of Local 46:

WHEREAS, the employers of the needle industry, being bound by a common interest, are continually solidifying their ranks in order to carry through their open-shop campaigns so as to destroy the union standards and conditions gained through years of struggle and sacrifice; and

WHEREAS, in order to carry through their nefarious schemes, they are transferring their factories to the small towns and suburbs which are not easily accessible to the unions; and

WHEREAS, the needle trades unions, because they are divided amongst themselves into separate internationals, are unable to offer effective resistance against the combined forces of the manufacturers, and cannot through their individual efforts and resources cope effectively with the great problem of bringing the thousands of workers who are still unorganized into the union fold; and

WHEREAS, the Cap and Millinery Workers' International, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Fur Workers' International, have already gone on record in favor of amalgamation, our international remaining the only obstacle to putting it into effect; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of our International goes on record in favor of amalgamation of all the needle trades unions into one powerful international of needle trades workers, and the incoming O. E. B. be instructed immediately after the adjournment of the convention to join the Fur Workers in a call for a conference of representatives from all the needle trades unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that our delegates to the A. F. of L. urge the A. F. of L. to call a series of conferences of representatives of various

unions in the respective industries for the purpose of launching a movement to amalgamate all the craft unions in a particular industry into one single organization, each of which shall cover an industry.

Your committee is of the opinion that amalgamation on the basis promulgated in the above resolution is at the present time not feasible and practical. Our International Union has had considerable experience in the last five years in endeavoring to organize a needle trades workers' alliance, which was planned to include all the American needle workers' organizations, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Garment Workers, the Journeymen Tailors' Union, the United Hat and Cap Makers, The Furriers' International Union and the Neckwear Workers. This needle trades alliance, after a sporadic or rather a nominal existence, which lasted but a short time, died out.

The principle underlying the formation of the needle trades workers' alliance was based on the advisability of carrying on joint organization work in every needle trades center, by the affiliated organizations, pooling their resources and the saving of time, money and energy, and reaching more substantial results. It was not intended to amalgamate all these organizations into one union, as that seemed an entirely impractical organization, but was intended as a first step towards federation, the first move in the direction of uniting these labor bodies for common action in fields where common action is both expedient and practical.

As was stated above, the first experiment failed. Nevertheless, neither the General Executive Board, as stated in its report to the Boston Convention, nor your committee, have lost their faith in the practicability of uniting these organizations on a federative basis. But before considering the question of amalgamation of all the needle trades, your committee believes that there is a great deal of amalgamation to be done within the unions of the needle trades themselves. And insofar as our International is concerned, we call the attention of this convention to the fact that during

the last few years the present administration has carried on a consistent policy of bringing together and solidifying the forces of our own organization in every one of the centers under our control.

The present administration has amalgamated the Joint Board of Waist and Dress Makers with the Joint Board of Cloakmakers in the City of New York. In Boston our International has amalgamated our different locals into one Joint Board. We have organized the Miscellaneous Trades of New York, into a District Council, thus bringing about a closer relation and cooperation between the various locals. And the administration has also amalgamated Locals 1, 11 and 17 into one cloak operators' local No. 1.

The consolidating of these Joint Boards and locals has brought about no little friction the effects of which are not yet past. We point out these things in order to show that in so far as our own organization is concerned a very consistent policy of amalgamation has been followed up in the last few years.

We believe that the amalgamation of the needle trades, if it is to be successfully brought about, must grow out of the actual needs of these industries and must represent a real desire on the part of the workers of these industries. And insofar as we are aware, such a condition does not yet exist. We are, nevertheless, of the opinion that there is need for a close relationship between the organizations representing the needle trades.

And we therefore recommend that the following Resolves be substituted for Resolutions No. 35, 37, 38 and 39:

RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board stand instructed to participate in any conference that may be called for the purpose of bringing about a closer relationship and better understanding between the needle trade organizations and that our International cooperate with all the other organizations on the question of organization and other questions which will serve the best interests of all the organizations concerned.

Approved by convention.

Resolution No. 27

Submitted by Local 5; B. Soll, Chairman:

WHEREAS, our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is an economic organization whose main purpose is to elevate the conditions of its members in their everyday struggle for existence; and

WHEREAS, our membership is composed of men and women who have difference of opinion as to how the organization should be governed; and

WHEREAS, the recent trouble within the Union was due to lack of tolerance and respect of other members' opinions and also due to the interference of outside influence, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this convention in framing the policies of our International for the future should embody in the constitution that our members shall be free to express their opinions, and those opinions shall be tolerated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 27

Our committee has called for a hearing by the introducer of Resolution No. 27.

In appearing before the committee, Brother Soll, the introducer of the resolution, asked that your committee make a change in the resolution, striking out the words, "and also due to the interference of outside influence" from the third Whereas of the above resolution.

Your committee informed Brother Soll that the committee is not in a position to make any changes in the resolution and that if he desires such change he will have to take it up on the floor of the convention.

Brother Soll, rather than do this, asked the committee to permit him the withdrawal of this resolution.

The committee therefore considers this resolution withdrawn.

Resolution on the Demands of The United Designers of Ladies' Wear Industry of New York and Vicinity

WHEREAS, the designers form a definite Branch of the Garment Industry, engaged in the creation and development of constant style changes, and

WHEREAS, these style-changes are the life-blood of the industry, especially so during the life-term of capitalist order of society, making the designers a permanent factor, a keystone in the industry, which, if neglected and permitted to remain unorganized may cause a considerable hardship not only to themselves, but to the whole class-movement of organized labor in our industry, and

WHEREAS, on the other hand, the existing designers' local is determined to organize all unorganized designers into a solid unit of the I. L. G. W. U. and thus help to bring about the final sealing up of leaks within the army of our International, and

WHEREAS, the existing Designers' Local has not obtained the necessary contractual recognition by the various employers' organizations on the same basis as other branches have, nor even the necessary support and co-operation from the Joint Board and the General Executive Board in the enforcement of the meager clauses embodied in the present agreement, in consequence of which hundreds of designers are unemployed and the rest suffering under unbearable conditions in their trade, and

WHEREAS, these conditions force the designers' local to immediately launch an all-embracing organization drive and prepare their forces for a militant campaign not excluding the possibility of a strike, in order to establish a regulation and control of conditions in their trade according to their just conception, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we the UNITED DESIGNERS OF LADIES' WEAR INDUSTRY of New York and Vicinity, Local 45, I. L. G. W. U. go on record and demand, that the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of our International sanction and prepare for the imposition of the following demands of the Designers:

1) That every shop in our industry be compelled to employ a designer, and that all shops which are so small as to be financially unable to comply with this request, be discarded.

2) That this Convention adopt as the permanent policy of our International that every Jobber in the Ladies' Garment Industry be allowed to employ designers and sample-makers.

3) That our International enforce to the full extent the clause in the present agreement, which requires that no manufacturer or Jobber be allowed to do his own designing of styles, cutting, or performing any other manufacturing work in the shop.

4) That the Incoming General Executive Board stand instructed, to extend to the designers' local full moral, financial and active help, in their impending membership drive and militant campaign, for the enforcement of all the above mentioned demands.

Jack Prokop for Local 45. —
Abe Kravitz for Local 3.

Your committee is thoroughly in sympathy with that part of this resolution expressing a desire on the part of the designers to organize all members of their craft and to enforce conditions for the benefit of the designers of the City of New York.

But in so far as this resolution presents a series of recommendations

which deal primarily with the enforcement of the present agreement in existence and the introduction of new clauses in agreements to be concluded and since Local 45 is affiliated with the Joint Board of Cloak, Suit and Dress Makers' Unions of New York City, we believe that the contents of this resolution are actually a matter to be dealt with by the Joint Board. We therefore recommend that the Incoming General Executive Board call the attention of the Cloak, Suit and Dress Makers' Union of New York to the above resolution.

Resolution No. 97

Introduced by Local 22:

WHEREAS, The Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the International approved the report of the General Executive Board in amalgamating the Waist and Dress Joint Board with the Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Reefer Makers, so as to eliminate the friction arising out of the existence of two separate locals of the same branch of the industry; and

WHEREAS, In defiance of this decision Local 23 has refused to transfer many workers engaged in the dress industry and continues the dual system of control which is highly detrimental to the workers because of the different standards and hours of labor; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Biennial Convention of our International, assembled in Philadelphia, goes on record in favor of revoking the charter of Local 23, which is in reality a dressmakers' local and whose further existence is a violation of the constitutional provision which states that not more than one local shall exist in any one trade in a particular locality; and be it further

RESOLVED, That immediately after the adjustment of this convention the Incoming General Executive Board transfers all the members of Local 23 to the Dressmakers' Union, Local 22.

Your committee had before it the representatives of Locals 22 and 23 and after all arguments were presented for and against this resolution it was admitted by Local 22 that there may be justification for the existence of Local 23, for the reason that there are, according to the movers of this resolution, about five hundred skirt makers in Local 23.

We have also been informed, according to the records of the Seventeenth Biennial Convention of our International that it approved of the report of the General Executive Board to amalgamate the Waist and Dress Joint Board with the

Joint Board of Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Reefer Makers' Unions, and that at the time when the merger took place between the two Joint Boards in New York City the question of Local 22 and Local 23 came up. It was at that time decided by the General Executive Board that the dressmakers of Local 23 be transferred to Local 22, and, according to the in-

formation we have received from Local 23, about two thousand dressmakers of Local 23 were transferred to Local 22.

Your committee therefore believes that the request made by Local 22 is not justifiable and therefore recommends non concurrence.

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	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	2101	2102	2103	2104	2105	2106	2107	2108	2109	2110	2111	2112	2113	2114	2115	2116	2117	2118	2119	2120	2121	2122	2123	2124	2125	2126	2127	2128	2129	2130	2131	2132	2133	2134	2135	2136	2137	2138	2139	2140	2141	2142	2143	2144	2145	2146	2147	2148	2149	2150	2151	2152	2153	2154	2155	2156	2157	2158	2159	2160	2161	2162	2163	2164	2165	2166	2167	2168	2169	2170	2171	2172	2173	2174	2175	2176	2177	2178	2179	2180	2181	2182	2183	2184	2185	2186	2187	2188	2189	2190	2191	2192	2193	2194	2195	2196	2197	2198	2199	2200	2201	2202	2203	2204	2205	2206	2207	2208	2209	2210	2211	2212	2213	2214	2215	2216	2217	2218	2219	2220	2221	2222	2223	2224	2225	2226	2227	2228	2229	2230	2231	2232	2233	2234	2235	2236	2237	2238	2239	2240	2241	2242	2243	2244	2245	2246	2247	2248	2249	2250	2251	2252	2253	2254	2255	2256	2257	2258	2259	2260	2261	2262	2263	2264	2265	2266	2267	2268	2269	2270	2271	2272	2273	2274	2275	2276	2277	2278	2279	2280	2281	2282	2283	2284	2285	2286	2287	2288	2289	2290	2291	2292	2293	2294	2295	2296	2297	2298	2299	2300	2301	2302	2303	2304	2305	2306	2307	2308	2309	2310	2311	2312	2313	2314	2315	2316	2317	2318	2319	2320	2321	2322	2323	2324	2325	2326	2327	2328	2329	2330	2331	2332	2333	2334	2335	2336	2337	2338	2339	2340	2341	2342	2343	2344	2345	2346	2347	2348	2349	2350	2351	2352	2353	2354	2355	2356	2357	2358	2359	2360	2361	2362	2363	2364	2365	2366	2367	2368	2369	2370	2371	2372	2373	2374	2375	2376	2377	2378	2379	2380	2381	2382	2383	2384	2385	2386	2387	2388	2389	2390	2391	2392	2393	2394	2395	2396	2397	2398	2399	2400	2401	2402	2403	2404	2405	2406	2407	2408	2409	2410	2411	2412	2413	2414	2415	2416	2417	2418	2419	2420	2421	2422	2423	2424	2425	2426	2427	2428	2429	2430	2431	2432	2433	2434	2435	2436	2437	2438	2439	2440	2441	2442	2443	2444	2445	2446	2447	2448	2449	2450	2451	2452	2453	2454	2455	2456	2457	2458	2459	2460	2461	2462	2463	2464	2465	2466	2467	2468	2469	2470	2471	2472	2473	2474	2475	2476	2477	2478	2479	2480	2481	2482	2483	2484	2485	2486	2487	2488	2489	2490	2491	2492	2493	2494	2495	2496	2497	2498	2499	2500	2501	2502	2503	2504	2505	2506	2507	2508	2509	2510	2511	2512	2513	2514	2515	2516	2517	2518	2519	2520	2521	2522	2523	2524	2525	2526	2527	2528	2529	2530	2531	2532	2533	2534	2535	2536	2537	2538	2539	2540	2541	2542	2543	2544	2545	2546	2547	2548	2549	2550	2551	2552	2553	2554	2555	2556	2557	2558	2559	2560	2561	2562	2563	2564	2565	2566	2567	2568	2569	2570	2571	2572	2573	2574	2575	2576	2577	2578	2579	2580	2581	2582	2583	2584	2585	2586	2587	2588	2589	2590	2591	2592	2593	2594	2595	2596	2597	2598	2599	2600	2601	2602	2603	2604	2605	2606	2607	2608	2609	2610	2611	2612	2613	2614	2615	2616	2617	2618	2619	2620	2621	2622	2623	2624	2625	2626	2627	2628	2629	2630	2631	2632	2633	2634	2635	2636	2637	2638	2639	2640	2641	2642	2643	2644	2645	2646	2647	2648	2649	2650	2651	2652	2653	2654	2655	2656	2657	2658	2659	2660	2661	2662	2663	2664	2665	2666	2667	2668	2669	2670	2671	2672	2673	2674	2675	2676	2677	2678	2679	2680	2681	2682	2683	2684	2685	2686	2687	2688	2689	2690	2691	2692	2693	2694	2695	2696	2697	2698	2699	2700	2701	2702	2703	2704	2705	2706	2707	2708	2709	2710	2711	2712	2713	2714	2715	2716	2717	2718	2719	2720	2721	2722	2723	2724	2725	2726	2727	2728	2729	2730	2731	2732	2733	2734	2735	2736	2737	2738	2739	2740	2741	2742	2743	2744	2745	2746	2747	2748	2749	2750	2751	2752	2753	2754	2755	2756	2757	2758	2759	2760	2761	2762	2763	2764	2765	2766	2767	2768	2769	2770	2771	2772	2773	2774	2775	2776	2777	2778	2779	2780	2781	2782	2783	2784	2785	2786	2787	2788	2789	2790	2791	2792	2793	2794	2795	2796	2797	2798	2799	2800	2801	2802	2803	2804	2805	2806	2807	2808	2809	2810	2811	2812	2813	2814	2815	2816	2817	2818	2819	2820	2821	2822	2823	2824	2825	2826	2827	2828	2829	2830	2831	2832	2833	2834	2835	2836	2837	2838	2839	2840	2841	2842	2843	2844	2845	2846	2847	2848	2849	2850	2851	2852	2853	2854	2855	2856	2857	2858	2859	2860	2861	2862	2863	2864	2865	2866	2867	2868	2869	2870	2871	2872	2873	2874	2875	2876	2877	2878	2879	2880	2881	2882	2883	2884	2885	2886	2887	2888	2889	2890	2891	2892	2893	2894	2895	2896	2897	2898	2899	2900	2901	2902	2903	2904	2905	2906	2907	2908	2909	2910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RECEIPTS FROM LOCALS AND JOINT BOARDS--APRIL 1st, 1924 to OCTOBER 31st, 1925

	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	2101	2102	2103	2104	2105	2106	2107	2108	2109	2110	2111	2112	2113	2114	2115	2116	2117	2118	2119	2120	2121	2122	2123	2124	2125	2126	2127	2128	2129	2130	2131	2132	2133	2134	2135	2136	2137	2138	2139	2140	2141	2142	2143	2144	2145	2146	2147	2148	2149	2150	2151	2152	2153	2154	2155	2156	2157	2158	2159	2160	2161	2162	2163	2164	2165	2166	2167	2168	2169	2170	2171	2172	2173	2174	2175	2176	2177	2178	2179	2180	2181	2182	2183	2184	2185	2186	2187	2188	2189	2190	2191	2192	2193	2194	2195	2196	2197	2198	2199	2200	2201	2202	2203	2204	2205	2206	2207	2208	2209	2210	2211	2212	2213	2214	2215	2216	2217	2218	2219	2220	2221	2222	2223	2224	2225	2226	2227	2228	2229	2230	2231	2232	2233	2234	2235	2236	2237	2238	2239	2240	2241	2242	2243	2244	2245	2246	2247	2248	2249	2250	2251	2252	2253	2254	2255	2256	2257	2258	2259	2260	2261	2262	2263	2264	2265	2266	2267	2268	2269	2270	2271	2272	2273	2274	2275	2276	2277	2278	2279	2280	2281	2282	2283	2284	2285	2286	2287	2288	2289	2290	2291	2292	2293	2294	2295	2296	2297	2298	2299	2300	2301	2302	2303	2304	2305	2306	2307	2308	2309	2310	2311	2312	2313	2314	2315	2316	2317	2318	2319	2320	2321	2322	2323	2324	2325	2326	2327	2328	2329	2330	2331	2332	2333	2334	2335	2336	2337	2338	2339	2340	2341	2342	2343	2344	2345	2346	2347	2348	2349	2350	2351	2352	2353	2354	2355	2356	2357	2358	2359	2360	2361	2362	2363	2364	2365	2366	2367	2368	2369	2370	2371	2372	2373	2374	2375	2376	2377	2378	2379	2380	2381	2382	2383	2384	2385	2386	2387	2388	2389	2390	2391	2392	2393	2394	2395	2396	2397	2398	2399	2400	2401	2402	2403	2404	2405	2406	2407	2408	2409	2410	2411	2412	2413	2414	2415	2416	2417	2418	2419	2420	2421	2422	2423	2424	2425	2426	2427	2428	2429	2430	2431	2432	2433	2434	2435	2436	2437	2438	2439	2440	2441	2442	2443	2444	2445	2446	2447	2448	2449	2450	2451	2452	2453	2454	2455	2456	2457	2458	2459	2460	2461	2462	2463	2464	2465	2466	2467	2468	2469	2470	2471	2472	2473	2474	2475	2476	2477	2478	2479	2480	2481	2482	2483	2484	2485	2486	2487	2488	2489	2490	2491	2492	2493	2494	2495	2496	2497	2498	2499	2500	2501	2502	2503	2504	2505	2506	2507	2508	2509	2510	2511	2512	2513	2514	2515	2516	2517	2518	2519	2520	2521	2522	2523	2524	2525	2526	2527	2528	2529	2530	2531	2532	2533	2534	2535	2536	2537	2538	2539	2540	2541	2542	2543	2544	2545	2546	2547	2548	2549	2550	2551	2552	2553	2554	2555	2556	2557	2558	2559	2560	2561	2562	2563	2564	2565	2566	2567	2568	2569	2570	2571	2572	2573	2574	2575	2576	2577	2578	2579	2580	2581	2582	2583	2584	2585	2586	2587	2588	2589	2590	2591	2592	2593	2594	2595	2596	2597	2598	2599	2600	2601	2602	2603	2604	2605	2606	2607	2608	2609	2610	2611	2612	2613	2614	2615	2616	2617	2618	2619	2620	2621	2622	2623	2624	2625	2626	2627	2628	2629	2630	2631	2632	2633	2634	2635	2636	2637	2638	2639	2640	2641	2642	2643	2644	2645	2646	2647	2648	2649	2650	2651	2652	2653	2654	2655	2656	2657	2658	2659	2660	2661	2662	2663	2664	2665	2666	2667	2668	2669	2670	2671	2672	2673	2674	2675	2676	2677	2678	2679	2680	2681	2682	2683	2684	2685	2686	2687	2688	2689	2690	2691	2692	2693	2694	2695	2696	2697	2698	2699	2700	2701	2702	2703	2704	2705	2706	2707	2708	2709	2710	2711	2712	2713	2714	2715	2716	2717	2718	2719	2720	2721	2722	2723	2724	2725	2726	2727	2728	2729	2730	2731	2732	2733	2734	2735	2736	2737	2738	2739	2740	2741	2742	2743	2744	2745	2746	2747	2748	2749	2750	2751	2752	2753	2754	2755	2756	2757	2758	2759	2760	2761	2762	2763	2764	2765	2766	2767	2768	2769	2770	2771	2772	2773	2774	2775	2776	2777	2778	2779	2780	2781	2782	2783	2784	2785	2786	2787	2788	2789	2790	2791	2792	2793	2794	2795	2796	2797	2798	2799	2800	2801	2802	2803	2804	2805	2806	2807	2808	2809	2810	2811	2812	2813	2814	2815	2816	2817	2818	2819	2820	2821	2822	2823	2824	2825	2826	2827	2828	2829	2830	2831	2832	2833	2834	2835	2836	2837	2838	2839	2840	2841	2842	2843	2844	2845	2846	2847	2848	2849	2850	2851	2852	2853	2854	2855	2856	2857	2858	2859	2860	2861	2862	2863	2864	2865	2866	2867	2868	2869	2870	2871	2872	2873	2874	2875	2876	2877	2878	2879	2880	2881	2882	2883	2884	2885	2886	2887	2888	2889	2890	2891	2892	2893	2894	2895	2896	2897	2898	2899	2900	2901	2902	2903	2904	2905	2906	2907	2908	2909	2910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