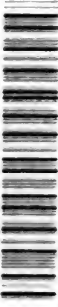


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Proceedings

OF THE THIRD BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, HELD IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, MAY 13 TO 18, 1919.



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MADE IN U. S. A.





Call for Third Biennial Convention

New York, March 6, 1918.

To the District Councils, Joint Boards and Local Unions
of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Greeting:

In accordance with the provisions of our International Constitution your General Executive Board herewith calls upon you to elect your representatives to the THIRD BIENNIAL CONVENTION to be convened in Baltimore, Md., Monday, May 13th, at 10 A. M.

This is the third convention to be held under the banner of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The first convention, at the end of 1914, in New York, was an emergency meeting, held under great stress.

At that convention the escutcheon of the organized clothing workers was cleansed from the accumulated blots and stains of many years of treason, corruption, defeat and disaster; cleansed by the class conscious action of the rank and file, and the name of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was inscribed on it. As time passed it added to its lustre.

Our second convention, in Rochester, was, in at least one respect, a contrast to the first one.

While our New York convention was but a mobilization of forces, the organization having its face set to the future and not wishing to look back at the discouraging past, the second convention was a reunion of a victorious army. Our report to that convention told of battles bravely fought and brilliantly won. For the first time in the history of the organized clothing workers we were able to look back upon a past with pride and joy and draw from it inspiration, courage and hope for the great tasks ahead of us.

The third convention, next May in Baltimore, will be greeted by the greatest hosts of labor ever organized in the clothing industry, with a new and inspiring record of progress and attainments, including the establishment of the 48 hour week.

The world war is still raging. While at the time our two previous conventions were held the war was confined to the old world it has since drawn into its vortex also our own country. The problems created by the war for the labor movement have thereby been made more serious and complex. Our organization has successfully met those problems in so far as they concerned us. As a part of the labor movement we must be prepared to meet them in the future as they may arise.

We are coming to the Third Biennial Convention with a stronger organization, with a greater record of achievements, with a more powerful press,

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and with a sense of self-reliance that will be an inexhaustible source of courage in the great task of working out our own salvation.

Your local union is entitled to send—delegates for whom credentials are herewith enclosed. The duplicates are to be forwarded to the undersigned immediately upon the election of the delegate. The originals are to be presented by the delegates to the Convention's Committee on Credentials.

We hope that you will select your ablest members to represent you and that you will send a full delegation to the convention. Let all of us make our full contribution towards making the coming convention even more successful than were the preceding ones.

The General Executive Board take this occasion to congratulate the membership upon the splendid achievements of our Organization and to express their thanks for the trust reposed in them.

With best hopes for a successful convention and continued success thereafter, and hoping to meet a full representation of our membership in Baltimore, we extend to you fraternal greetings.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE AMALGAMATED
CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,
General Secretary.



BALTIMORE CONVENTION

First Session.

Baltimore, Monday, May 13, 1918.

The Third Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was called to order at 11:15 a. m., Monday, May 13th, 1918, in the Garden Theatre, by Mr. Harry Eisen, President of the District Council of Baltimore, No. 3. The arrival of President Hillman and Secretary Schlossberg was greeted with tremendous ovation, everybody rising to greet them with cheers and prolonged applause.

Opening Address of Brother Eisen

Fellow Delegates:

It is the greatest honor I ever expected to have to be able to open this Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Thanking the members of this organization all over the United States and Canada, I wish to say that we are happy that Baltimore has been chosen by them for this Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated. And I think that Baltimore deserves it. Baltimore was, so to say, the cradle of the Amalgamated. The strength of the Amalgamated was first tested in Baltimore. The minute the Amalgamated came to life in Nashville, in 1914, that very minute the Amalgamated had to begin the battle for its existence in the city of Baltimore. At that time we had a strike in the biggest factory of this city, and one of the biggest in the United States—a firm that employed in the neighborhood of three thousand tailors and cutters. The Amalgamated took up the fight and won. Not only did the Amalgamated fight its first battle in Baltimore, but even the spirit of the Amalgamated was first born in Baltimore. The Tailors' Council, you will remember, had its origin in Baltimore.

The Amalgamated has made wonderful progress in Baltimore. Organizations that have been in existence for twenty-five, thirty and forty years have not dared to undertake the tasks that the Amalgamated has undertaken in Baltimore. And we have succeeded.

When the Amalgamated was first organized here, when the office was first established in this city, our total membership in Baltimore was 1,500 dues paying members and about the same number of non-dues paying members. As you know, in olden times we used to have two kinds of members, dues paying and non-dues paying. Today we have in Baltimore 10,000 full-fledged dues paying members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. (Loud applause.) One thing that we did lose in Baltimore is the non-dues paying members. They all became dues paying members.

I bid you welcome, delegates, officers and guests, to this Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, on behalf of the 10,000 Baltimore soldiers of the Amalgamated army.

I shall now introduce to you our President, Brother Sidney Hillman.

President Hillman was greeted with applause, everybody rising and cheering.

At this point the arrival of Judge Panken and Assemblyman Shiplacoff and Charles W. Ervin, editor of the New York Call, was greeted with enthusiasm and applause.

President Hillman's Address

Delegates to this Third Biennial Convention:

It is a privilege to meet here at this Convention. We come here representing every place on the North American Continent where clothing is made. We are representing an army of over 100,000 organized clothing workers. Not only do those members look to you at this Convention, but every man, woman and child who works in the clothing industry looks to you, and wishes you success in your deliberations. Upon your decisions, upon your work here, will perhaps depend the future of hundreds of thousands of men and women who have to labor in the clothing industry. Our organization has a message not only to the clothing workers—we bring a message of hope, a message of cheer to every worker organized or unorganized, in this country.

We meet here now two years after our last Convention, and have a wonderful record of achievement to show. During those two years, through the efforts of our organization, the clothing industry that had been a sweatshop industry has been transformed by us into an industry in which men and women need not be ashamed to work. We have civilized the industry. We have humanized some of the employers in the industry and we brought a sense of dignity and self-respect to every man and woman working in this industry. My friends, it was in the course of those two short

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years that the forty-eight hour week was made an accomplished fact. It was the work of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. My friends, this was brought about not by any well wishing; it was bravely fought for by the members of our organization. For weeks and months the men and women stood out on the streets of Montreal, Canada, at a time when the conditions made for the most intense suffering. Girls were on the picket line in weather of 30 degrees below zero. They went to jail. But they held out and as a result the forty-eight hour week is now established there.

Men and women fought, and some died, in the great struggle in the city of Chicago, where the forty-eight hour week was the great issue raised by our organization.

We have raised the standard of wages so that we are coming near the American standard in the clothing industry. I want you, delegates, to grasp this point, that if American standards mean high standards of living, that it is the organization of workers that stands and fights for those American standards of living.

The employers introduced in the days past Russian standards, Chinese standards, sweatshop standards. It was up to our organization, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, to fight and establish American standards. We have time and again readjusted and brought up the wages so as to meet changed conditions. All else that was accomplished was accomplished through our organization. The employers throughout did not hesitate to throw the full burden of the present crisis upon the workers.

When this country entered into the war, a situation arose in which unscrupulous employers saw an opportunity to crush whatever there was of labor organizations; they were ready, under the cloak of patriotism, to crush democracy at home, no matter what happens abroad. In our own industry, when the contracts were given out for army clothing and uniforms that the youth of the nation is to wear—the uniforms that our own members in the thousands are wearing today—the non-union employers, who, for some reason received the contracts, introduced the worst kind of sweatshop conditions in the manufacture of army uniforms. We found at a time when tens of thousands of skilled clothing workers were out on the streets looking for work, that the uniforms went to the tenements—to be made under the most unsanitary conditions. That may have been the cause of the great mortality among the soldiers in the camps here at the beginning of the mobilization. Investigations have shown that Army uniforms were made in places where there was actual disease—contagious disease. These employers saw their opportunity to bring in child labor, to replace men by women, all, understand me, under the cloak of patriotism. I understand that one firm, conspicuous in this market for the brutal conditions prevailing in its shops, appealed to the women to "enlist." Enlist for what? To help this particular manufacturer profiteer on the Government of the country. We have taken up our grievances with the representatives of the Government in Washington. We have shown those employers in their proper light. As a result, changes were made that improved enormously the labor conditions in the manufacture of uniforms today.

We not only won conditions for ourselves, but we have created a situation where this country will be spared the disgrace of having Army uniforms manufactured under sweatshop conditions.

Men who presumed to speak for labor made themselves the willing tools of the employers and fought against decent standards of labor on Army clothing. Fortunately they did not succeed. I want to say to you, delegates, that the branch of the administration in Washington which has charge of the manufacture of Army clothing, deserves our heartiest thanks for its sincere and earnest attempt to protect labor standards. The war has created a condition where every one must assume his part of the responsibility.

It is no more a question as to the causes of the war. I feel today stronger than at any time that labor will suffer its greatest defeat if the autocratic power of Germany will have its way.

My friends, democracy is not confined to any branch of our life. Democracy can not really exist politically, if there is industrial slavery. And if the forces of political autocracy should be victorious in this great struggle, it will mean a victory for industrial autocracy.

My friends, the war was started over night. The peoples of the world knew nothing about it. It was done by individuals with tremendous power over the lives of the people. It was in their secret sessions that war was declared. Labor has a responsibility to see that peace should not be made in the same fashion. The settle-

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ment of this great world struggle must be made by the peoples of the world, not by individual rulers.

My friends, there are a great number in this country who would like to see their own German rule in American industries. We have paid a tremendous price to the "captains of industry". And what do we find? We find that industry broken down in every instance where the need for production made itself felt by the present emergency. The old system of individual responsibility is not only unjust, but is wasteful and criminal for the country generally. We all must look forward to a settlement that will abolish poverty, unemployment, and all other sufferings that are caused by the present industrial system.

I hope that your deliberations will strengthen still more the power of the organization, will bring still greater unity, and make for a better future—a happier world—a free world politically and industrially. (Tremendous applause).

After his address President Hillman assumed the chair.

Election of Committee on Credentials

President HILLMAN: According to the rules laid down at our First Convention, the first order of business will be the election of a Committee on Credentials. You all know the reason for this procedure. I hope that you will waste as little time as possible on the election of a Committee on Credentials, so that they can proceed with the work and that the Convention may expedite matters in dealing with the great number of problems that are awaiting us. Declaring this Convention open and ready for the transaction of business I shall entertain a motion for nominations of a Committee on Credentials.

Delegate ALEX. COHEN: Mr. President, I move that you appoint a committee subject to the approval of the Convention.

President HILLMAN: Brother Cohen, I will have to rule your motion out of order. We shall not start this Convention by making possible the blunders of other conventions. (Laughter and applause).

Several members were nominated by the delegates to the Convention and all the nominees were asked whether they accepted or declined. The following seven accepted:

L. Wells	Local 116	Montreal
L. Revayle	Local 3	New York
Jack Blume	Local 1	Boston
Stephan Skala	Local 6	Chicago
Joseph Goodman	Local 2	New York
Jos. Gold	Local 156	New York
Hyman Blumberg	District Council No. 3	Baltimore

President HILLMAN: I forgot to announce that we are to elect a committee of five. To save the time of the Convention, we will call this the Credential Committee.

(There was no objection. President Hillman requested the committee to take the credentials and retire to another room and report later to the convention.)

(The Credential Committee retired in accordance with his instructions):

President HILLMAN: Gentlemen, I have great pleasure to introduce to you a man who has been a friend of our organization in the past, who has the confidence of our membership in this city to such an extent that when they were looking for a chairman of our industrial court in one of the largest houses in this city, they unanimously selected him for that position. I have the pleasure of introducing to you the Chairman of the Trade Board under the agreements with the Henry Sonneborn Company and Strouse Brothers, Judge of the Juvenile Court, Jacob M. Moses. (Applause.)

Address of Judge Moses

Mr. President, delegates, ladies and gentlemen: I esteem it a very high privilege—certainly a great pleasure, to welcome you to our city. (Applause). As you know, Baltimore is one of the important clothing centers of the country and its reputation in that respect is at least partially to be placed to the credit of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (Applause.) I say this because this organization controls the clothing industry of Baltimore, and the rank and file of your membership here has been looking forward with pleasure and hope to the meeting of this Convention for

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the message which you will bring and which you will leave with us, and which, I am sure, will prove an inspiration and an incentive to still greater achievements in industrial freedom and justice. (Applause).

This Convention, I believe, Mr. President, is the first which your organization has held since our entrance into the great world's conflict which is now raging. This is one of the most critical periods in the history of the world, and each and every one of us from our noble President, Woodrow Wilson (loud applause), to the humblest member of this organization, must dedicate himself and herself to the furtherance of the great cause of humanity and democracy (applause). In this great world's conflict, labor is playing a leading part, and it is universally recognized that the outcome of this great struggle for freedom will mainly depend upon labor in the various belligerent countries. Let the keynote of this Convention be "Service"—service not only to ourselves, but service to others, and especially service to our country in this great crisis (applause). I want it to go forth from this convention hall not only throughout the city of Baltimore, but throughout this nation, that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are wholeheartedly, loyally and unreservedly supporting the President of the United States (great applause), and that we are ready and willing to dedicate, not only ourselves, but all that we hold dearest in the world for the purpose of winning this war (applause). We can not afford to have any slackers in our ranks. Every man and every woman must do his or her duty. And I feel confident that labor will do its duty and will make all the sacrifices necessary to win the war (applause). All that the workers ask is a square deal. All that labor demands is justice. An honest day's work is worth an honest day's pay. And it is the duty of this great nation, which is fighting for justice and democracy, to say to us that the profiteers of the country, no matter how rich or how influential or how powerful they may be, shall not exploit the toiling masses of our people (applause), and shall not rob the worker of the just share of the products of his own industry. The ideals of justice and democracy for which we are fighting abroad should be put into practice here at home (applause), and our government and our people must realize that the unfair and rapacious employer of labor is an enemy to the peace and the freedom and the democracy of the world no less than the political autocrat who is conspiring to deprive the people of their liberties (applause). Our President has said that "this is a war to make the world safe for democracy." But let us remember that democracy is not an end in itself. Democracy is only a means to a certain end. And the aims of democracy are the conservation of life—the safeguarding of the liberty and the promotion of the happiness of the people (applause). As your distinguished chairman said, political democracy alone can not accomplish these ends. Political democracy must go hand in hand with democracy in industry. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, I can not close these few remarks without reference to an address which was delivered in the city of Baltimore in November last. On that occasion the National Consumers' League met here in an annual convention and the Honorable Secretary, Newton D. Baker (applause) who is the President of that organization, delivered an address on industry in war time.

I want to read a few words from this address because this organization especially is interested in some of the things Mr. Baker said. He said: "It will do us no good whatever to send our sons to France to fight for our political rights if while they are waging the battle we surrender our industrial and our social rights here at home. . . . It does us no good to be able to vote for people; it does us no good to be able to call ourselves free and to describe our land as the land of the free unless we have all the component parts of real freedom. And that means the political liberty to recast our industrial life so that it will really be a life of opportunity to the least person who lives under it.

"Now, our sons are going to France—many of them to stay—many of them to return, and when they come back they will see the Statue of Liberty. They will sail into New York harbor proud of their victories, proud of their honors. And I am filled with an exalted state of enthusiasm about the kind of armies we are sending to France. It is just such an army as a free people ought to send, an army that has ideals in its individuals as well as in its collective mass, an army that is going upon no selfish quest, is not seeking to take something from somebody, is divorced from all ancient notions that used to bring about wars of prestige or of conquest. It is going upon a purely idealistic basis. In a certain sense they are material warriors in a spiritual warfare; and when they have finally done the thing which they must do, when they have finally established on the frontiers of France the eternal dominance of

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free over autocratic institutions, when they have done that, they will come home. And when they come I want them to find not a dissipated and depressed life here, I do not want them to find that they have been chasing one corner of freedom while the others have been utterly lost; but I want them to come back to wives and sisters and mothers and brothers and children filled with robust health, people who have worked in industry and commerce, people who have produced the goods upon which life depends, people who have filled the workshops and the factories and the fields with labor, done under wholesome conditions. Let them find that, as they were fighting at one end of the frontier and winning one corner of freedom's fields, we at home were enlarging the boundaries of industrial liberty, that we were laying out new boundaries of real freedom here among ourselves, that we were enlarging the lessons we had hitherto learned of the value, the indispensableness of wholesome conditions for people who do the labor for the world, and establishing conditions which it will be a privilege for them to come back to rather than a grief."

And, in closing, he referred to one more significant matter which I want to call to your attention, and of which this Convention should be told. He said:

"The privates' uniforms of the Army of the United States are not being made in sweatshops; not one of them is being made in sweatshops. Under arrangements which have been made for the manufacture of the clothing of the Army, it is now substantially all being made under sanitary conditions, not in the homes of people who have to live in congested places; under suitable restrictions as to hours of labor and under proper wage scales, so that for once at least the Government of the United States assumes the character of a model employer in a vital industry."

(Loud applause).

Now, delegates, who is responsible for the fact that for the first time, at least in my recollection, a Cabinet officer is able to get up before the country and boast of the fact that the United States is a model employer. It is due to the untiring efforts—to the insistence, to the strength of Sidney Hillman (loud applause). In his modest way he gave credit for this achievement to the entire membership of your organization, when it was this quiet man with the still, small voice, who in season and out of season, who almost wore out the railroad ties between here and Washington, going over to see those in high place—those in power—and with his quiet determination—his irresistible insistence forced the Government to have the uniforms made in decent shops. (Applause). And so, through the efforts of your executive officers, you have enabled the United States Government to take the proud position that it now boasts, to be "a model employer in a vital industry" (Applause).

So, ladies and gentlemen, in welcoming you to the city of Baltimore, and I was much interested to hear the opening speech of Mr. Eisen who said that Baltimore was the cradle of the Amalgamated—well, gentlemen, it might be the cradle, but the Amalgamated is not asleep in that cradle (laughter and applause). In welcoming you, therefore, to our city, and to our Southern hospitality, I also want to extend to you our congratulations upon the great achievements which have been reviewed in the address of your President, and to express the hope and the conviction that the deliberations and the discussions of this Convention will add new hope and new cheer and new inspiration, not only to the workers of this organization or of this city, but to all the workers of America (applause).

President HILLMAN: Delegates, our organization prides itself upon having a great number of enemies. But those who are our friends are real friends, and as one of the officers of the organization, I can hardly distinguish between the officers elected by you for your daily work, and a number of others who have given up all the time they could spare from other work to help in the building of our organization. The one I am going to present to you was one of our officers; for a while in New York city our membership elected him as manager of their joint board. And they thought so well of his work that they have elected and re-elected him to the State Assembly. I take pleasure in introducing to you Brother Abraham Shiplacoff.

Assemblyman Abraham Shiplacoff's Address

I don't know whether our worthy President realized what a compliment he paid me just now. It is said that the successful teacher is one who makes himself useless (laughter), and, to a certain extent, I can show the same accomplishment, Mr. President. I was the manager of the Joint Board of New York, and in a very short while

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I brought the organization to such a successful stand that I made myself useless in it. (Laughter.)

Friends, I am mindful of your time, and I feel that, at least for me, this is no place and no time for making any long speeches, so I am going to spare you. I inflict it occasionally upon the rank and file, and you, as the representatives of the rank and file, have to take in the dose anyhow. So if I have anything of an extensive nature to tell you, I will reserve it for such time as you will have to listen, whether you like it or not. (Laughter.)

To-day I want to express just one thought, chiefly for my own satisfaction, and I want to say the following:

There are times in the life of every individual, as well as in the history of groups of individuals and of organizations when they face certain situations—certain problems, certain tasks in life which they cannot measure themselves at the time when they approach those situations. And I think that it is a very fortunate thing that things happen that way.

I feel to-day that four years ago, when this organization was at its incipient stage, that if those men and women who have been at the helm of this organization for the last four years, and who have been steering it so beautifully and successfully, I feel that if some of the men and women had at that time realized what a tremendous task they had before them, the amount of work they had to accomplish, the acuteness of the struggle that they were to engage in, the possibilities are that some of them would have lost courage and would not have tackled the proposition. Fortunately, we do not always figure out carefully beforehand just what is facing us—I say "fortunately" in this particular case. And I want to say to you, delegates, to-day that some of you probably don't quite realize what you are here for—I mean not to the fullest extent to which I, as an observer, not as a co-worker, can see it. What I say to-day is not subject to the rules of the Credentials Committee. I am not even subject to the rules that may be laid down by the President. I happen to be a free lance today. I don't know just whom I represent, except, maybe, the firm known as "Ship." Some of you know it. And I am happy to say that around that "Ship" in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America I have built up both a friendship and a comradeship of which I am quite proud. (Loud applause.)

You will no doubt in the next few days be deliberating upon questions of material importance to your members, and not for one moment would I urge you to do anything else. You have plenty of problems to solve yet. I would ask you—I would ask you that at least in your subconsciousness you remember this fact—and I want to repeat again that what I am going to say no one but I myself am responsible for. At least in your subconsciousness you must remember that organized labor in this country, while, relatively speaking, it has accomplished a great deal, in my humble opinion it has not quite succeeded in its highest mission, for if it had, this organization would be part and parcel of the organized American labor movement. (Applause.)

I have not come here to quarrel with anybody, but I want to tell you something which occurred a few days ago in the city of Paris. At the conference of the Inter-Allied Labor Organization of the Allied countries, the delegates of the official labor organization of the United States have had the experience of being told that which they should probably have been told long ago. And when I say it, I say it not only with the profoundest respect, but with the love, with the warmest feelings toward the two and a half millions of the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor. Unfortunately, I cannot feel the same way toward some of their leaders, and it is these leaders who were told something which you may as well know to-day, as you are going to start on the deliberations of your Convention.

Mr. Thomas, one of the greatest statesmen of Europe and recently a member of the Cabinet of France, said something to the gentlemen who represent that little, funny, stout gentleman of American organized labor, when they tried to bring his spirit into conditions abroad. They told the American delegation, "We are very sorry. We should very much like to have you in our company, but if your point of view is as narrow as it is, why, it is not very essential. The British, the French, and the other countries who are represented at the Allied conference will somehow or other manage to get along without you." (Enthusiastic applause and laughter.) I have not for one moment given up the hope, the sincere and ardent hope to see the day when this apparent estrangement, apparent estrangement—not real—apparent estrangement between this organization and part of the rest of labor of this country

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will be a thing of the past. But at the same time, I not only hope, but I am convinced if I understand the mettle of which you men and women are made, that it will not be done by the bending of your knee. Nor will it have to be done by the coaxing of the great forces of American labor. It will simply have to be done sooner or later by putting aside those few individuals who stand between you and the rest of the workers of the United States. (Loud and prolonged applause.) So I to-day, not responsible to any one, not even to the President, until he tells me to sit down (Laughter), will say right here that I, for one, would very much like to see that part of organized labor which has official recognition represented here to-day.

But in the words of that great statesman, uttered a few days ago, in Paris, I will say that for the present, at least, it seems to me that it is not absolutely essential. (Laughter and applause.) And I assure you, my friends, that I would not feel that way—I would not say so if I thought that the great number of members of the American labor movement had any ill feeling toward you. I would not say so if I did not know it, and I think that I have a right to say that I know something about the attitude of the rank and file of the workers of the United States toward this organization, because I happen to be the "Wandering Jew" that keeps on moving from one part of the country to another. (Laughter.) I have, in fact, within the last two or three years, covered some seventeen or eighteen thousand miles in this country, and I don't usually stop at the Millionaires' Club when I come to a city. (Laughter.) It is usually rubbing elbows with workmen and workingwomen, and I find, and I assure you that I am not mistaken in that respect, that not only is there no ill feeling in the hearts of the great mass of American workers toward the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, but much further than that, thousands, ten of thousands, are beginning to look with an eye almost of envy toward your organization. (Applause.) They may not be allowed in some places to say it loud enough, but they are beginning to think it pretty loud. (Laughter and applause.) They are beginning to point a finger and say, "that seems to be the real stuff." (Laughter.) And I want you, my friends, to bear that in mind. It is important that you should bear it in mind all the while, while you are deliberating upon wages and hours and conditions of work which are absolutely important, which are the foundation and basis of an economic organization.

It is important that you should remember that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is the biggest of the organizations outside of the pale of the official American labor movement, which is becoming the beacon light for the American labor movement (applause), and because of that—because I hope that I am not mistaken in my views. I feel spontaneously like congratulating you from the depths of my heart upon your achievements ever since that convention in Nashville, Tenn.

President HILLMAN: Brother Shiplacoff, or, rather, Brother Ship—the ship, by the way, that has never been shipwrecked—warned us that he is personally responsible for what he would say. Not knowing what he might say, I knew, though, that he will never succeed in making us not love him no matter what he says.

When I was elected president of this organization in the city of Nashville, I happened to be in the city of New York, connected with another organization. I received the information by wire that I was elected president. In a few hours I received another wire directing me what to do. You understand the power of the President (laughter), and this wire was signed by one whom we used to call Jacob or Jack Panken (applause). I don't bring this to your notice as a matter of recommendation. You know Panken better than I do. Brother Panken has been connected with our organization from its inception. Our New York members and the members of other labor organizations listening to his speeches about justice decided once for all to test him and let him show what justice translated into court decisions means, and elected him judge. I am glad to present to you now one who used to be Jacob Panken, but to-day is Judge Panken.

(Judge Panken received an ovation and tremendous cheering. The cheering was so loud and prolonged that he could not speak for several minutes).

Judge Panken's Address

Mr. President, Delegates to the Convention, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It occurs to me that some time ago, in the City of Baltimore, the President of the United States, about six weeks ago, I think, delivered a speech. And among other things the President said, "we have got to make the world a safe place to live in." I heartily concur and agree with that sentiment that this world has got to be made a safe place to live in. And it does appear to me, my friends, that we have always attempted to make this world a safe place to live in. Not only the labor organization

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which holds its convention this morning, but labor throughout the world has ever fought to make the world a safe place to live in. (Applause.) There is no other purpose and no other end to which labor can consecrate itself than to make the world a safe place to live in.

A great many people who are not connected with the labor movement believe that there is a selfish motive that springs from the heart which brings the people in myriads into the folds of the labor movement. A great many people believe that it is the desire for material comfort, for material goods that brings men and women into the ranks of labor. A great many people believe that men and women are attracted to the trade unions and to the radical labor movement the world over simply because they expect something in return which can be measured in dollars or which can be measured in hours. But there is nothing more untrue than that theory and than that idea. Men and women do not go on the picket line, men and women do not spend their nights, men and women do not open the gates of the prisons and enter them because they want more bread, because they want a few more minutes' leisure.

Men and women do not brook the club of a policeman upon their heads in order to get another cent—in order to get another half hours' time, in order to get a bigger piece of meat, in order to get a bigger piece of bread. Oh, no, my friends! The labor movement has a soul, and it is the soul, the spirit of the labor movement that calls you and calls me and calls the millions to work, aye, and fight, aye, and die, so that the labor movement may live and may realize its great ideal! (Applause.) To make the world a safe place to live in, not only live physically, but live spiritually; not only feed the stomach, but feed the soul; not only feed yourselves, but feed the generations that are to come; not only live now, but to make the world better for posterity. That is the aim, that is the mission of the labor movement, my friends. We ask for an increase in wages, but we are not satisfied with an increase. We ask for a reduction in our time of labor, but we are never satisfied with that reduction; in our hearts and in our souls there is something stirring which makes us discontented, which makes us dissatisfied with the things that we get to-day, with the things that we got yesterday. It is that motive force, that motive power that impels us into the future and tries to get from the future the things that belong to human beings, the things that belong to the workers! (Loud applause.) And it is, as your President said, justice that we are looking for. It is justice that we are beckoning. It is justice that we are aiming for. It is justice that we are striving to capture.

And it is not a justice that is to be given to us! That is the point that I want to make clear. I want every man and every woman within the reach of my voice to understand this fact—it is not a justice that is to be given to us that we want—it is a justice that is ours that we want, a justice that belongs to us! (Great applause.)

Of course, the Amalgamated Workers of America have made a horrible mistake in electing me a judge, you know, because I have got to give you justice. (Laughter.) But it cannot be done. I cannot give you any justice. You see, I have got to be a judge because you fellows wanted me to be a judge. That is all there is to it. But Judge Moses told me a secret a moment ago—he said, "What you have got to do is to resign long before you become fossilized." Well, he did that, too. He resigned. I don't know whether I am going to resign, friends. I expect to see Socialism established before my time is up! (Applause.)

We are on the threshold of a new system. We are on the threshold of new and big things. The President has referred to industrial democracy—to individual responsibility as compared with collective responsibility. Let me direct your attention to this fact. Mr. Baker says in a speech that the United States Government can now boast of being a model employer in the garment industry. Let me just add one thing to that — that United States Government has convicted and sentenced private management and individual control of big business. The railroads of the United States are now in the hands of the United States Government. And it is only a little while when the mines in this country will be turned over into the hands of the Government. And it is only a short while when the steel business will be turned over into the hands of the Government. The shipping trade has already been appropriated by the United States Government. And let me tell you that the spirit that is prevailing in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is being spread

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broadcast throughout the country, and the railroads and the mines and the shipping industry and the other industries that the United States Government is going to take over will never be returned to private ownership. They are going to remain in the hands of the United States of America. (Great applause.)

The English Labor Party has put out a program which is magnificent in its entirety. English labor is not satisfied with a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. English labor asks its Government at this moment that the Government turn over to the trade unions the railroads so that the trade unions shall operate and democratically manage the railroad. (Applause.) Things are beginning to move and are moving much more rapidly than we think. They are moving much more rapidly than we can see—so swiftly we cannot see the rapid movement that is going on throughout the world, as the President said in a letter to the New Jersey Democrats some time ago. He said, "When the boys return from the other side, they will not be satisfied with economic serfdom any more." The President is a big-gauged man with a great big outlook upon affairs, and he realizes that when the boys come back from the trenches they will not be willing to go back into economic serfdom. They will want industrial freedom and they will know how to get it! (Great applause.)

My friends, we are living in a most wonderful age, a most wonderful period of human history. History is being made right in front of us from day to day, from hour to hour, and from moment to moment. And permit me to tell you, delegates to the Convention, that you gentlemen and you ladies are making history—making history which will be written in capital letters and inscribed in gold, for you men and you women from the tailor shops, you men and you women from the machines and the ironing boards, you men and you women are just like the flaming pillar, going through the Desert of Sahara, showing the way to labor, to final freedom and final liberty. That is the thing that we are doing, that is the great and big mission of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. You men and you women of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, divorced from the general American labor movement, not hampered by tradition, not shackled by modes, you men and you women of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, into your hands has been entrusted the banner of industrial freedom, the banner of industrial liberty. Remain loyal, remain faithful to the task that has been put into your hands! (Loud and prolonged applause.)

President HILLMAN: I always knew that Brother Panken is ready to make all sacrifices for labor. Now we know that the greatest sacrifice he has made so far was by becoming judge in the interests of labor.

Our organization, finding so much opposition, while making such wonderful progress in spite of so much opposition, is greatly indebted to the labor press. I regret that we have not with us at this opening session of the Convention Comrade Abraham Cahan of the "Forward" (applause). He has always stood by our organization. But not only the "Forward," a great number, all the rest of the real labor papers helped our organization in the difficult struggles of the past. I am glad that we have with us at this session the editor of the "New York Call" (Applause), labor's mouthpiece in the city of New York, which has always stood ready to help us since Comrade Ervin has been in charge of the editorial policy of the paper. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Comrade Charles W. Ervin.

Address of Charles W. Ervin

I am glad to be introduced as the editor of the "Call," but I feel that the President has not given me the honor that he should have given me. I have had the privilege of having been an organizer in the needle trades. (Applause.) My interest in your movement comes entirely from the fact that you recognize that political citizenship amounts to nothing unless you have industrial citizenship. (Applause.) If all you are interested in is to get a little less poverty by a little more wages—a little better conditions, a little shorter hours, your organization would not interest me in the least. If any organization of men and women has so little spine as to be content to organize just for a little less poverty, that organization is not worth anything. It is because the Amalgamated has not been content to do this that it occupies a real historic position in the organized labor movement. If you will examine its

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constitution you will find it entirely different from most of the constitutions of the older labor organizations. And because your constitution is so different, because you act upon it, your organization is loved by you and damned by the capitalist class. (Applause.) Take the entire history of the Amalgamated movement and you will find that every endeavor has been made through lack of publicity, through libelous statements, through abuse, to keep you from growing. But in spite of it all you are growing, growing, growing. And it is up to you to put the Declaration in practice in this country. We hear very much about this Declaration that gave us political rights. We hear piping politicians talk about it. We hear them recite about government by the consent of the governed, about life, liberty and happiness. But you will never secure those things—the Declaration will stay only proclaimed—until the workers through industrial citizenship put that Declaration into practice. (Applause.)

Knowing that you are tired, and having the misfortune to follow speakers who have exhausted almost the whole field of human endeavor and human thought, I will close by just wishing that you keep alive the same noble discontent that is now found in your ranks—that great discontent that will never be satisfied until you receive a real living wage—the best of everything for those who make everything. I thank you. (Loud applause.)

President HILLMAN: Delegates to the Convention, we are going to devote this session to addresses of welcome. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is different in many respects from other labor organizations. We have made it our aim not only to satisfy our economic needs, but also those which will spiritually uplift the men and the women in the ranks of labor. And so we have amongst our friends, not only such as are directly connected with the labor movement, but also such as are interested in the promotion of progress generally. We find our friends amongst the artists who see in our organization the beautiful soul of the labor movement. We have one of our friends of this class, as I may say, with us. I have now the great pleasure of calling upon one who is known to every one who reads the Jewish literature and a great number who have the opportunity to be conversant with his work in other languages. Our friend David Pinski will address the Convention in Yiddish.

Address of David Pinski

(Mr. Pinski spoke in Yiddish. The following is a translation:)

Twenty-five years ago, I began the song of the Jewish people, of the Jewish workers. It is said that at that time there were almost no Jewish workers, but I have discovered them intuitively, by a holy spirit. For twenty-five years I have been writing, while the Jewish workers were very scarce and few between. I feel happy that I can now greet a part of the Jewish workers' labor movement, a strong labor union, the majority of which are Jewish workers, a union that counts the Jewish members in the tens of thousands, Jewish workers, Jewish fighters. I feel happy on this occasion. I also feel that as a poet I have in you at present material for further writing.

I see in you, not only fighters for daily bread, not only fighters for shorter hours of labor—I also see in you that which Judge Panken said: "The spiritual power, fighters for a better spiritual life."

I greet you, therefore, not only as those who carried through a victory of forty-eight hours a week and shortened your hours of labor, I greet you for the manner in which you fought for the forty-eight hour week, for the motives behind your fight. It was not a fight of beggars. You did not appear as beggars and merely say that the work is too hard for you and that you must have shorter hours in order to ease your life. You appealed in the name of those unfortunate ones on the other side of the Atlantic who will have to come over to this country and join your ranks. For this, I greet you. I greet you because of the fact that you are the first in all fights, not only for your own betterment, for the improvement of your own conditions, but also because you are the first to help others. You were first in the relief work for the war sufferers. There was will in your work—real will.

As a Jewish poet, I also want to greet you specially for your attitude on the

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questions which are of purely a Jewish nature. I greet you and wish you to further continuance on that road, and I call upon you: You have done much; keep on doing still more. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: Delegates, we have amongst us not only our friends from the outside but some of our members, to whom we have given temporary permission to leave our trade and represent us in the political institutions. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the city and the State of New York is represented by a number of these members, in their legislative branches. One of them, who is a member in good standing of Local No. 3, Pressers' Local Union of New York, has been sent to the Board of Aldermen of New York. He is going to address the Convention. I take great pleasure in introducing to you Brother Vladeck.

Address of B. Charney Vladeck

(Mr. Vladeck spoke in Jewish. The following is a translation:)

If it is true, what Judge Panken said, that Socialism will be realized before his term will expire, then I will have to look for another party. I believe that it will be the most uninteresting thing to have a convention of the Amalgamated after the Socialist order of things will be realized. The most beautiful within us, the finest within us, the noblest within us is brought out not in contentment, but in discontent; not in truce, but in fight. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America would never be what it is if it did not have to make its history through a bitter but beautiful and glorious fight (applause). It is only because you have to come in conflict with walls that were in your way that the instinct of fight was awakened in you, and you proved that there is no wall where there is a way, that there is no fence where there is a real desire to break the fence.

I come today as one of you, in the most humble manner, to greet you, to congratulate you upon this spirit that the Amalgamated brought into your industry and into the Jewish labor movement.

What is the spirit of the Amalgamated? Is it a big membership? There are unions that have bigger membership than that of the Amalgamated. Is it the big treasury? There are unions with bigger treasuries than the Amalgamated has. It is not the membership and it is not the treasury, but it is that soul, that attachment, that internal bond, that psychological condition, I will say, which made the Amalgamated what it is.

What is that condition? It is the condition that makes the member feel that he must not wait for the organization to pull him to help him progress, but he says that he is willing to volunteer at any moment the situation might demand of him to do things. It is this spirit of the Amalgamated that made it possible for this organization to become what it is and to play the role that it has played.

I can tell you that in the district from which I come the strongest progressive forces are the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (applause). Seventy or eighty per cent of the members of the Socialist party in Williamsburg—Williamsburg is the best organized district of the Socialist party in New York and has a membership of twelve hundred—at least seven hundred or eight hundred, are members of the Amalgamated locals. (Applause).

The most active members of the Workmen's Circle are members of the Amalgamated. In every enterprise that is undertaken by the progressive labor movement the executive committee, the active men, are members of the Amalgamated. We just undertook to purchase the finest building that our neighborhood has as a labor temple, and I tell you now that the first in the hall, in the temple of labor, marching in under their flag, will be members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (Applause.)

It was this spirit that made it possible, and it is for that reason that I consider it an honor to come to you and say a few words to you on this occasion. It is that spirit that is necessary, not only for the Amalgamated, but for the entire labor movement and for the entire world.

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The trouble with the world has been that while it has a great many engines it has proportionately still more heavy freight cars that could not be moved. Did you ever see the way a heavy freight train tries to pull out? The engine pulls, and one car strikes the other, and it stops. The engine pulls again and the cars strike each other again and they remain still again. And the engine continues pulling and pulling and pulling until it begins to move slowly. If every worker and every union is loaded like a heavy freight train with petty and little things and it has to be pulled and led by two or three people who are the engines, you cannot travel very far. I greet the spirit of the Amalgamated because I know, and I know what I am talking about, that the Amalgamated is probably the only organization in which the members don't feel like freight cars loaded with dead weight, but like engines that are ready at any time to pull the train ever further and further (applause).

Brothers and friends, in our great world a horrible tragedy is being enacted. Something is burning, something is blazing, and heavy clouds of smoke are rising from the earth. And under the earth are currents of poison. The whole world is shaken up in the terrible upheaval caused by the war. My friends, no matter how the war will end, the world will come out diseased from this war. The world will come out of this terrible furnace so weak and exhausted that it will be necessary to exert all of our spiritual and physical efforts to put the world on its feet again. . . .

I greet you as a member of Pressers' Local 3. I greet you as a fellow man. But more than anything else do I greet you as a citizen of the world, as a human being. I greet you as the representatives of a powerful and progressive organization, representatives and brothers of a big, mighty body, a division of that great army which is now going to free the world. (Loud applause.)

President HILLMAN: The hour is getting late and we will not call upon all of our friends who came here to greet this Convention. We will take the opportunity to call upon them at the later sessions. I will at this time present to you a man who is known to every member of our organization—one who is, I may say, the guiding spirit of our organization, one of the officers of the organization with whom I have had the privilege of working. Delegates, you understand that our path is not always a rosy one, and if the officers of the organization find always the courage to go ahead, it is because of the splendid and wonderful spirit of co-operation that prevails among us. I shall now present to you one who is always ready to supply courage and hope. I will introduce to you the General Secretary of our organization, Brother Joseph Schlossberg.

(Secretary Schlossberg was given an ovation, everybody rising and enthusiastically cheering and applauding.)

General Secretary Schlossberg's Address

Mr. President and fellow delegates, including our representatives from the Army and Navy, and our fellow workers in the balcony:

The balcony has occupied a very distinguished position in the history of our organization. That was the place from which we were driven out when we came down to the distant Southern city of Nashville to speak for the tens of thousands of clothing workers whose voices were choked in their own organization. Every time we come to a convention and look at the balcony we see in it the symbol of the progress that we have made. Friends, fellow-workers, occupy that place now. They are fighting with us and alongside of us. They come to greet us, not to curse us.

I greet you as the industrial parliament of the people in our industry and as the foundation of the parliament of civilization; of the parliament through which the people as a whole will legislate for themselves, and which will take the place of the one through which private interests, plutocracy, autocracy, and all other sorts of ruling and oppressing interests in this and other countries, are now legislating for themselves and against the people. We here, through this convention, issue a call to the workers in all other industries: "Make your conventions a parliament of the people in your industries! Make your conventions the place from which decrees should go forth in the interests of the people; make your conventions that source of power that will constitute in this country what the Trades Union Congress at this

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time constitutes in England; where industrial democracy will be carried out and will become the guiding principle, the determining principle of the people's life."

It will be that parliament, the foundations of which are laid here, that will represent the people in the making of laws for themselves. The political parliament, which now presumes to speak for the people, does not represent the people. Investigations have shown repeatedly that every group of powerful interests is represented in that parliament. When a railroad matter is up, it is the railroad lobbyist who shapes the destinies of this nation in that branch of our life. When a steel question is up, it is the steel lobbyist who does it—not the people.

When we speak of industrial democracy, we mean something definite and concrete. With us it is not an empty phrase. It is not a dream. It is just this thing that we are doing now.

When we passed the 48-hour week resolution two years ago we legislated for the industry. It was then up to us to carry out that piece of legislation, and we did carry it out. When we legislated it, it became the law of the industry, and wherever our influence prevails that law is being enforced. When a political legislature adopts an eight-hour day, it usually remains a dead letter. It is the power of organized labor that determines what the legislation in the industries should be or should not be.

My friends, this convention represents more than may be visible to the casual observer. It is not only a convention representing tens of thousands of organized workers, it is a convention representing a new society, the rising, the making of a new society.

All of us, with few exceptions, have come here from other parts of the world, from countries where oppression and suppression were the order of the day. We have come here seeking an asylum, freedom, and opportunities. And when those many thousands of immigrants from the other side of the world came here, ignorant of the language of the country, ignorant of its institutions, of its customs, and of its ways, the employers whom they found here took advantage of their ignorance and helplessness and imposed upon them that very system of which President Hillman spoke before, the sweating system in our industry, similar systems of exploitation in other industries.

But those downtrodden men and women, who ran away from misery and oppression in the countries of their birth only to find sweatshop slavery here, availed themselves of the opportunities accorded them by the American institutions, and literally lifted themselves by their own bootstraps from helplessness into power. They made of themselves intelligent men and women, fighting men and women, built up their own organized power, and are now in a position to legislate for their industry, and legislate in a spirit which spells the overthrow of capitalist exploitation. There were hosts to hinder them, and no one to help them. They fought their way through by their own united power. They are now in a position to deliver a message to many of their fellow workers and teach them how labor should be organized and what labor's true mission is.

After a short period of three and a half years—that is all the time that has elapsed since we have raised the banner of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America—we have succeeded in the teeth of all prejudice, in the teeth of all opposition, in the teeth of all prosecution and persecution, by the mere strength of our conviction, by the mere power of our determination, in removing a great deal of the antagonism and prejudice artificially raised against us in the ranks of organized labor, in gaining the confidence of many thousands of workmen in this country, and they begin to see that our message is right, that our form of organization is right, that our ultimate goal is right.

I shall now read to you some messages that we have received. There is one which is particularly interesting and inspiring. It is a message to this Convention by Eugene V. Debs.

(After reading a large number of letters and telegrams, which are given later, the speaker continued.)

Now, delegates, Brother Hillman has taken the occasion, on introducing me to you, to throw a few bouquets at me. I shall be indiscreet enough to ask Brother

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Hillman to yield with me—and I know he will agree with me—the proper share of credit to all those who have worked with us. We are all happy to report to you that there has been full co-operation all along the line among the General Officers and Local Officers and the members generally. Otherwise our success would have been impossible.

The success of this organization, the victories that we have achieved, the praise that has been won by us from our co-workers in other industries, and in other parts of the labor movement, are big and great enough for all of us.

Every officer and every member has contributed his and her full share to the co-operation, to the spirit, and to the success.

Every speaker has referred to the present conditions, to the present particular situation. I shall not enlarge upon that. I shall only say this: It will be the duty of organized labor in this country to see to it that, when this war is over, the army that is now being organized by this country to participate in the war on the other side of the ocean, shall not be used as a means for the establishment of militarism in this country. We are happy to have in this particular respect, as well as in other respects, the full support of the President of the United States.

Many thousands of our members are either in the camps waiting to be sent to France or are already there. Many more thousands will be called later, if the war lasts long enough. When those members return from the front the fighting spirit that conditions there will have developed in them, if any new fighting capacity is necessary for a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, will be used by them here to protect this country from that scourge which has ruined and laid waste all of Europe within the last three and a half years.

I wish to quote, in conclusion, a few words, which are a part of a message sent by the British labor movement to the workers of the world. In our country this message has so far been confined only to the radical labor movement. The official labor movement, unfortunately, has shut its door against it, and there is no means of reaching the rank and file, except in a very limited way.

"We need to beware of patchwork," say our British brethren.

Remember that this is a part of a program proposed by the British Labor Party for the reconstruction of Great Britain after the war.

"We need to beware of patchwork. No bungling reforms will do. Radical changes, revolutionary changes, are necessary. The view of the Labor Party is that what is to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that government department, or this or that piece of machinery, but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself."

All we have to do is to use the words "United States" for "Britain", and substitute the word "France" for "Britain", and, for that matter, insert the name of "Germany" for "Britain", and the aim of the British Labor Party will apply with the same force to every other country. Not any part of the government has to be changed or modified or reformed, but society itself must be rebuilt, reconstructed.

That is the message that the British Labor Party has sent to the working classes throughout the world. That must be the keynote, that must be the guiding spirit, for every piece of work we undertake, so that everything we do may be in harmony with it and may promote this great cause.

I have no doubt that our organization will contribute its share towards this great task. I hope that all of the delegates present here realize that what we are doing now is not only adopting resolutions and expressing wishes for a free world, a free society, a reconstructed society, but that we are actually reconstructing society.

At this very minute industrial democracy is being made, right here; and along with us at every other convention of labor that is held in the same spirit. This we must understand. It puts upon us a new responsibility. If we are always aware of it, if we always bear it in mind, we shall not blunder, and shall do just what the interests of the working class require.

The times are the greatest in human history. Perhaps still greater times are coming.

Capitalism is bankrupt as a social system. Whatever its mission in the past, it

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has now become a stumbling block to progress and a menace to the welfare of the people.

Labor must now do the big job. Not as a blind tool in the hands of Capitalism, heretofore the master, but consciously, deliberately, independently, directed by its own intelligence and enlightened interests. Let us see that as far as our section of the labor movement is concerned; as far as we are, as an organization, responsible for conditions in the industry, in society, for the intellectual development and all else that goes with the making of a human being, a higher human being, that the work is done right, that it is done perfectly and completely.

If, when the great change comes, when at the end of the war the labor movements of the world are called upon to fully carry out the reconstruction of society, the proletariat of the world is prepared to apply itself to it with proper intelligence and understanding, the job will be done right, and will be done so that the temple of a free society that we will construct will stand forever. Let us see that we do our share.

Let us take from this Convention the message to our constituents to go right ahead with renewed spirit and renewed determination. The labor movement is beginning to understand us. It will not take long before they will all understand us, and we shall then have one united labor movement in this country.

Report of Arrangements Committee

President HILLMAN: Brother Eisen of Baltimore, on behalf of the Arrangements Committee, will make a few announcements.

Delegate EISEN: The Baltimore members of the Amalgamated have tried their utmost to make it as comfortable for the delegates as possible, and for this reason they have arranged several entertainments for the delegates during the convention week.

This afternoon there will be automobiles ready to take all the delegates for a trip around the city to show you Baltimore and its vicinity (applause). I will ask all the delegates, those who want to participate in this trip, to please give their names to the committee at the door when they leave the hall. For Tuesday evening we have arranged a mass meeting in the biggest hall in the city, in the Lyric Theatre, where we will have the best speakers that we can possibly get, from amongst the officers and members of the Amalgamated. On Wednesday night a ball will be given by the District Council No. 3 of Baltimore in honor of the delegates to the Convention, at the same place, Lyric Theatre (applause). For Thursday afternoon we have arranged a trip in special cars to Washington (applause). I will also ask all delegates who wish to go to Washington to please give their names to the second committee. There will be two committees at the door. For Thursday evening, the Bohemian Local, 230, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has arranged an entertainment, and they invite all delegates to be present there. (Applause). Friday evening the Cutters' Union, Local 115, A. C. W. of A., will give a smoker for the delegates (applause). For Saturday evening the District Council has arranged a banquet at the Lyric Theatre (applause).

President HILLMAN: I shall now call on Brother Crystal, of the Arrangements Committee, who will give us the rest of the program. (Applause).

Delegate HARRY CRYSTAL: Mr. Chairman, there is practically nothing left for me to announce. Brother Eisen has announced the whole program for the week. But I want to add this: This afternoon's trip through the city will start out from Baltimore and Front Streets, where the headquarters of the Amalgamated are located. When you are through with your lunch you will please come there. The machines will be waiting for you. I will also announce that the Cutters' Union, Local 115 of Baltimore, invites all the delegates, not only men, but women too, all the delegates. They have arranged a smoker for the men and ice cream, I suppose, for the ladies, so we want the ladies to be there too.

President HILLMAN: Before adjourning this session I shall call on Delegate

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Meyer Senter, who is here in the uniform of the United States Navy, to address the Convention.

(Delegate Senter appears on the platform and is given an enthusiastic ovation.)

Address by Meyer Senter

Mr. Chairman and Delegates:

This invitation to me to speak is rather a surprise. I had no intention to speak from the platform this morning. I consider myself a full-fledged delegate, and, what is more, in the camp I have two meals by this time and today I have only had one meal so far (laughter).

Delegates, I don't know whether I can say very much at the present time. I am in the service and I feel very happy at the fact that I can be present at the Convention of our organization. I have tried at all times to do whatever was in my power in order to build up a strong, powerful and successful organization. I don't know whether I can say very much more than this: I hope, that when this war is over, when the enemies of our nation will be completely defeated (loud applause), and when the workers will return, those who will be fortunate enough to return, the Union will be ready to receive them, and that organized labor will make such progress between this time and then that when the soldiers return from the front they will come back home to find a world of freedom—freedom in the full sense of the word (applause), industrial freedom as well as political freedom, and that they will find a new life.

I call upon you who remain here while we are away: Go right ahead with the great struggle for the uplifting of mankind and for the abolition of the slavery of today. I hope that you will be successful with your battles over here as I hope to be with mine over there (prolonged applause).

The chair announced that the Credentials Committee was not yet ready to report.

The session adjourned at 2.20 p. m. to reconvene at 10 o'clock the next morning.

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MESSAGES OF GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATION READ AT THE FIRST SESSION

Letter from Eugene V. Debs

Terre Haute, Ind., May 9, 1918.

Mr. Joseph Schlossberg,
General Secretary Amalgamated Clothing Workers,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrade Schlossberg:—

Your communication of the 6th inst. is at hand and I appreciate fully your kindly interest in wishing me present at your approaching convention in Baltimore, a privilege I should enjoy more than could be expressed in words. I have the pleasure of knowing a number of your members and hold them in high esteem as comrades, and if circumstances permitted me to visit Baltimore at the opening of your Convention I would certainly take advantage of the opportunity of addressing the delegates and enjoying an hour or two of fellowship with these progressive-minded and loyal-hearted proletarians.

Please do me the kindness to extend my hearty greetings to the Convention and to assure the delegates that my heart will be with them during their deliberations. The Convention meets at a crucial time and the one thing now needed to be emphasized by this and every other convention of organized workers is the solidarity of their class. Everything now depends upon the ability of the workers to unite their forces and to hold them intact during these trying days.

The principle upon which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are organized is the right one and if adhered to will result in the industrial unity of all the workers

BALTIMORE CONVENTION

in that trade and line them up in one solid mass not only for defensive action but for initiative and constructive work looking to the abolition of the slavish and degrading wage system and the establishment of the new industrial order in which the workers shall be their own masters and shall themselves enjoy in full measure the fruit of their labor.

I have watched with special pride the progress made by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, for I know under what difficulties it struggled into existence, by what reactionary influences it was resisted, and what persistent, courageous and intelligent work has been required to keep it true to its course.

The delegates who meet in Baltimore on Monday next will have ample cause for congratulation as they survey the past but this will serve only as a higher incentive to stick manfully to the task in the future and to unite, comrade to comrade, head and heart and soul, in the resolute determination to remove every obstacle from the path and to push the organization forward and ever forward, without compromise until it has reached the shining goal of its high aspiration.

Thanking you, my dear comrade, for your words of kindness which touch me deeply and with love and heartfelt greeting to yourself and all of the delegates and visitors at Baltimore, I am in the cause of the workers.

Yours truly,

(Signed) EUGENE V. DEBS.

Toronto, Ont., May 12.

Greetings on behalf of Locals 221, 212, 216, 219, 222 and Joint Board of Toronto, Canada. We desire to convey our heartiest wishes and our joy at the success of the Amalgamated. We look forward to the future with unbounded enthusiasm and hope this convention will attain its purpose for greater ideals in these momentous times.

JACK LISTER,
Sec'y Local 212, Toronto.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 12.

Congratulations to Third Convention. Wish you success. We want 44 hours January First, 1919.

LOCAL 175, A. C. W. OF A., Samuel Berman, Sec'y.

Baltimore, Md., May 12.

Greetings. Hearty congratulations upon your past achievements. May the deliberations of the Convention be such as to make our fighting organization an inspiration to the entire organized labor movement.

LOCAL BALTIMORE, SOCIALIST PARTY,
Dr. S. M. Neistadt, Secretary.

Atlanta, Ga., (Army Headquarters), May 12.

May success crown third convention of the A. C. W. of A.

PRIVATE JOS. ZUCKERMAN,
Member of Local 161, New York.

Chicago, Ill., May 12.

Please convey to the delegates our greetings. We hope their deliberations will be of great benefit to the members at large.

MEMBERS OF LOCAL 39, A. C. W. OF A.,
Factory M. Hart, Schaffner & Marx.

New York, N. Y., May 12.

Greetings and sincerest congratulations to all delegates of the Third Biennial Convention and best wishes for the attainment of unity and strength of the A. C. W. of A. Success in the campaign for 44 hour week.

EMPLOYEES OF SIMON GOODMAN'S SHOP.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Chicago, Ill., May 12.

We take this opportunity to extend to you our heartiest congratulations upon the victories your organization has met with in the past year and the firm foundation you have succeeded in establishing. We trust that your efforts in the future will be as successful as in the past.

WOMEN'S CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL CLUB OF THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Hamilton, Ontario, May 12.

Very sorry I cannot be with you this year but am sending you hearty congratulations and best wishes. May everything you undertake be crowned with success. May our beloved Amalgamated continually grow in power. Let our slogan now be forty-four hours a week, which I hope will soon be established.

ISAAC SHAPIRO.

New York, N. Y., May 12.

Success and sincerest congratulations to all our representatives at the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. We hope that our future undertakings for the forty-four-hour campaign will prove a success.

THE PANTS MAKERS' UNION OF NEW YORK,
63 Ludlow Street.

Boston, Mass., May 12.

We wish you good luck and success in all your undertakings.
BRANCH 27, JEWISH NATIONAL WORKERS ALLIANCE OF BOSTON.

Boston, Mass., May 13.

Greetings: Determination, harmony in our ranks and the justice of our cause brought such wonderful success for our organization. Proceed with your deliberations in the same spirit. March on forward on the path of victory. In solid ranks we shall follow and assist you.

BOSTON JOINT BOARD,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Boston, Mass., May 13.

With best wishes, from victory to victory.

LOCAL 1, A. C. W. OF A.,
J. Blume, Pres.
F. Lerman, Sec'y.

New York, N. Y., May 13.

Greetings from Children's Jacket Pressers' Union, Local Eleven, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Congratulations from all members to your Third Biennial Convention. Heartiest wishes for success.

JACOB HORN, Secretary.

Boston, Mass., May 13.

Greetings. Regards to all delegates at the convention.

M. DANISHEFSKY, Local 25.

Baltimore, Md., May 13.

Congratulations to the Third Biennial Convention.

LOCAL NO. 170, A. C. W. OF A.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 13.

Greetings to all delegates to the Third Biennial Convention. Best wishes for the future.

H. ROBERT, Secretary, Local 7.

Hamilton, Ont., May 12.

We, the members of Local 210, of Hamilton, Ontario, send our greetings to you.

BALTIMORE CONVENTION

You have undertaken a colossal work and attained success. We are proud to be under the banner of the A. C. W. You are the pride of the American working class, we assure you.

HARRY WILDER,

Baltimore, Md., May 13.

Accept our heartiest greetings and congratulations. May your deliberations be crowned with success, for your success is the success of the Labor Movement the world over.

THE WORKERS OF THE AMERICAN UNIFORM SHOP, A. C. W. OF A.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Accept best wishes for successful convention. Our next goal will be the forty-four-hour week. Let us hope that the meeting of our fourth annual convention will be a time of peace and prosperity.

CHILDREN'S JACKET MAKERS' LOCAL 12, A. C. W. OF A.
Morris Goldmacher, Secretary.

New York, N. Y., May 12, 1918.

New York Coat Pressers' Benevolent Association sends you best wishes and hopes that you will succeed in conquering all your enemies. Proceed with your wonderful work for the people in the clothing industry.

G. BROWNSTEIN, Financial Secretary.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Greetings to all delegates of the Third Biennial Convention and wishing you continued success in the future.

J. WEBBMAN, General Organizer, A. C. W. of A.

Philadelphia, Pa., May 13, 1918.

The Officers of Philadelphia District Council No. 2 wish success to the Third Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

ALDO CURSI,
CHAS. BERNSTEIN,
BENJAMIN FRANKEL,
J. BENDER,
M. EDELSTEIN.

Baltimore, Md., May 13, 1918.

We beg to extend our heartiest support and best wishes for your accomplishments and we sincerely hope that the coming year will be crowned with further success.

IRON KING MILITARY WORKS,

Baltimore, Md., May 13, 1918.

Congratulations to the opening of the national convention in Baltimore City from
EXAMINERS AND BUSHELMEN'S LOCAL 52, A. C. W. OF A.

Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1918.

Accept best wishes that your deliberations may lead to great advancement of our cause and organization.

LOCAL NO. 144.

Chicago, Ill., May 12, 1918.

Accept heartiest congratulations upon the achievements of the organization during the past years. May we march ever onward until every man and woman in industry is organized. Allow me to congratulate our officers upon their great wisdom and ability. Sorry I am not with you.

S. RISSMAN.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Pressers' Branch, Local 3, A. C. W. of A., wishes you success and hopes and trusts that the convention will succeed in establishing a 44-hour week.

M. PERJANSKY, Treasurer,
L. RABCHINSKY, Trustee.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

The Williamsburg Labor Lyceum Association greets most heartily and sincerely the convention of the A. C. W. of A. In the strength and progress of your organization lies the destiny of nearly every big undertaking of labor.

JOS. A. WHITEHORN, Treasurer,
B. C. VLADECK, Chairman.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

To all Delegates of the A. C. W. of A.: Greetings! I bid you welcome from the depth of my heart. May your work be crowned with success and may our next step be the establishment of the 44-hour week. Long live the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

S. LEVY, Recording Secretary, Local 213.



Second Session.

Tuesday Morning, May 14, 1918.

The Convention was called to order at 10 a. m., Tuesday, May 14th, President Hillman presiding. Secretary Schlossberg read the following telegrams.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Heartiest congratulations, best wishes and success to the Amalgamated Clothing workers of America from the Civilian Clothing Cutters of Munves & Berlin, 725 Broadway, New York.

JACOB H. FREIREICH, Chairman.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Third Biennial Convention:

Accept our heartiest congratulation and may your work be crowned with success

OVERALL WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 178, A. C. W. OF A.

M. Dubinsky, President,
Elkin Veran, Secretary.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

In the name of the fifteen thousand members of our military uniform department we extend heartiest congratulations to the Third Biennial Convention and hope that our organization, with the aid of the entire progressive labor movement, will help bring about a world peace and true democracy.

MILITARY UNIFORM COMMITTEE, A. C. W. OF A.

Jos. Margone, Manager.

Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1918.

The Dally World of Chicago greets you and pledges itself to co-operate with you in all your work in the interest of the clothing industry. May all your deliberations be successful.

MORRIS SUSSKIND, Manager Daily World.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Greetings and best wishes for a 44-hour week.

SCHWARTZ & JAFFEE SHOP, 28 Bleecker St.

Morris Moskowitz, Chairman.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates: Greetings! The Third Convention in the history of our organization marks its wonderful progress. Wishes for its continued success. Long live the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

RAE BLUTT,
DENNIS H. ISAACSON,
NATHAN SHAVIRO.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Greetings. We, the workers of Schwartz & Jaffee, extend our greetings to the Third Biennial Convention and pledge our full-fledged, unrestricted co-operation with loyalty and trust.

HERMAN HERKUS, Chairman.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Congratulations to the 3rd convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America from the employees of Rugoff & Co., 85 Canal St., New York City.

SAM PALULO, Chairman.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Heartiest greetings. May your efforts be spent in directing the cause of our organization to travel on the road which leads to the emancipation of the tailors in particular and toilers in general.

EMPLOYEES OF WITTY BROS., NEW YORK,

**L. Goldstein,
I. Rappaport,
Reinish, Committee.**

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

I extend to you my heartiest congratulations and earnest wishes that your deliberation in behalf of the great clothing industry may be crowned with success and the results of your efforts be of mutual benefit to all concerned and to our glorious country.

JOSEPH S. MARCUS, President the Bank of United States.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Accept the hearty congratulations of one who is proud of being an officer of the Amalgamated which has known success in so short a time as the four years of its life.

ISRAEL ALLEY.

Philadelphia, Pa., May 13, 1918.

Local 153 Shirtmakers' Union of Philadelphia send greetings to the Third Biennial Convention. Remember that the eyes of all the workers in the needle industry are centered upon your convention. Make good as in previous conventions, and go on with the good work for better conditions. We hope that in this convention you will nail the banner of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America over one grand industrial union comprising the whole needle industry.

**W. K. LINMAN,
B. KREMAN.**

Philadelphia, Pa., May 13, 1918.

The Philadelphia uniform department of the A. C. W. of A. and the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union are extending to you and the delegates to the Third Biennial Convention their heartiest congratulations. We hope that the present convention will on the pedestal of the splendid past outline the work for the future and energetically carry it to a successful issue.

**B. KARP,
L. HOLLANDER.**

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

We send you our best wishes and congratulations.

MEMBERS OF LOCAL 213.

Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1918.

Third Biennial Convention, A. C. W. of A.: Greetings: Accept our best wishes and felicitations. May your efforts and deliberations be crowned with success. The Operators' Branch, Local 156, extends its greetings to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and best wishes for a successful campaign for the 44-hour working week.

**OPERATORS, LOCAL 156, A. C. W. OF A.,
A. M. Winner, Secretary,**

Montreal, Quebec, May 13, 1918.

Hearty congratulations to our Third Convention. We are proud of the achieve-

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ment of the Amalgamated in the past. Let the work of the future stand out as a shining example to all organized labor.

J. MARGOLESE, Secretary Montreal Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Accept our heartiest congratulations. May your deliberation result in a forty-four-hour week. The Children's Clothing Trades will lend their efforts to be the vanguard in bringing this happy result to realization. Fraternaly yours,

JOINT BOARD CHILDREN'S CLOTHING TRADES.

Montreal, Quebec.

Cutters and Trimmers' Local 116 extend their hearty greetings to our convention. Wishing you success in all your undertaking.

A. PAYETTE and L. MORRIS, Secretary.

Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1918.

Third Biennial Convention, A. C. W. of A.: Greetings! Accept our best wishes and felicitations. May your efforts and deliberations be crowned with success so that you may add laurels to our past accomplishments. May there be a time when the laboring masses will follow the path that has been paved by you.

VEST MAKERS' LOCAL 152, A. C. W. OF A.
Joseph Glickman, Business Manager,

Boston, Mass., May 13, 1918.

May this meeting be the inspiration for renewed and fruitful activity.

BOSTON VEST MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 172.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

The employes of Bauman send their hearty greetings to the Third Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A. and wish you success in every enterprise.

D. LERNER, Chairman

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Heartiest congratulations to the 3rd annual convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. May success crown your efforts. Our boys are with you one and all.

THE CUTTERS OF CHAS. D. JAFFEE.

Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1918.

The United Hebrew Trades of Chicago, the body representing the organized Jewish laborers, send heartiest greetings to your Third Biennial Convention. We are with you in your noble struggles not only for a living but for a decent living. We bless you, gigantic child of labor.

R. YOUKELSON, President.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Heartiest congratulations. May your deliberations result in a forty-eight-hour week and the ultimate emancipation of the working class. Sorry cannot be present, but my heart and soul are with you. Fraternaly,

ISIDOR KANTROWITZ.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

The Buttonhole Makers' Union, Local 245 of Brooklyn extend heartiest congratulations and best wishes for a successful convention. We hope that your deliberations will bring us more economic advantages and also the establishment of the 44-hour week.

BUTTONHOLE MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 245, A. C. W. OF A.
B. RABINOWITZ, Secretary.

Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1918.

May the accomplishment of your efforts, our representatives, be such that through

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them we shall realize our aspiration for the building of our ideal industrial democracy.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, LOCAL 39.

Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1918.

Campaign initiated. Employers trying to suppress our movement by causing distributors of pamphlets to be persecuted. Aggression not diminishing our enthusiasm. I foresee third convention affirm eight-hour day.

EMILIO GRANDINETTI.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

We, the workers of Milton Simpson & Co., 2041 Pitkin Avenue, send our best wishes and congratulations

NERENBERG, Chairman.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Greetings. With pride do I extend the greetings of the New York Joint Board to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, at whose past achievements for the clothing workers whom you represent we look upon with much glory. We hope that this convention will continue to enlighten the labor movement upon the path of human emancipation until we reach the goal of true democracy and equality for all those who labor and produce. With best wishes for a successful convention.

M. BLUMENREICH, Secretary Board of Directors,
New York Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

President HILLMAN: Is the Credential Committee ready to report?
(The Chairman of the Credential Committee read his report. At the conclusion of his report, Assistant Secretary Potofsky named the following delegates as those who were recommended to be seated with a voice and vote at the Convention.)

1. Boston, Mass.—Jack Blume, Frank Lerman, Jos. Pennini, Samuel Zorn.
2. New York City.—David Goldstein, Joseph Goodman, Isaac Levinson, Morris Rappaport, Harry Schepps, Nathan Siegel, Max Schultz.
3. New York City.—Alex Cohen, Morris Goldin, L. Nirenberg, L. Revayle, S. Weinstein.
4. New York City.—Abr. Beckerman, J. P. Friedman, Harry Jacobson, Meyer Senter.
6. Chicago, Ill.—Stephan Skala.
7. Brooklyn, N. Y.—Isador Axelrod, Louis Berger.
8. New York City.—Hyman Goldoft, Abr. Miller, D. Nirenberg, Nathan Sosnick, David Weiss.
9. New York City.—Abraham Silverman, Louis Feinberg.
10. New York City.—Louis Adler, Sam Katz, Phillip Waldman.
11. New York City.—Sam Leder.
12. New York City.—Bennie Horowitz, Jacob Gutterman, Saul Riger, Sam Scheir.
15. Baltimore.—Aaron Feldman.
16. New York City.—Morris Goldstein, M. Nitzberg, Samuel Stein, Louis Zuckerman.
19. New York City.—Max Yudelowitz.
24. Newark, N. J.—Eugene Bucci, Phillip Berkowitz.
30. Brooklyn, N. Y.—Julius Powers.
36. Baltimore, Md.—Bennie Bernstein, Harry Crystal, Sarah Katzen, Morris Zafran.
38. Chicago.—Victor Wybraniec.
39. Chicago.—Bennie Brandzal, A. N. Fisher, David Goldberg, Rubin Morse, Mary Resbeck, Tom Uzarski.
40. New York City.—Jos. Newman, Hyman Novodvor, Bernard Weiss.
43. New York City.—David Isaacs, Louis Schapiro, Jacob Yelowits.
51. Baltimore.—Phillip De Luca, Ulisse De Dominicis.
52. Baltimore.—Frank Dvorak.
54. Brooklyn, N. Y.—Frank Valtukaitis, John Zubauch.
55. New York City.—Harry Bender.
58. Brooklyn, N. Y.—Wm. Cernowsky.
59. Baltimore.—Bennie Hurowits.

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- 61, Chicago.—Samuel Geler, Jacob Kroll, Frank Petrick.
- 63, New York City.—Paul Arnone, Frank Bellanca, Dominick Di Nardo, Benne Romano, Gabriel Vastano.
- 69, Baltimore.—Frank J. Bartolz.
- 72, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Joseph Cohen.
- 75, Philadelphia.—Harry Goldstein.
- 85, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Frank Marrone, Louis Mascola.
- 101, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Theo. Pilger.
- 112, Cleveland.—Victor Foreman.
- 114, Baltimore.—Harry Eisen, Louis Lederman, Max Prossman, Morris Sirkin.
- 116, Montreal.—A. Wells.
- 117, Baltimore.—Harry Neifstadt, Max Rosinsky.
- 120, Louisville.—I. J. Strizover.
- 133, Philadelphia, Pa.—John Bender.
- 139, Philadelphia.—Vincenzo Greco.
- 140, Philadelphia.—S. Lerner.
- 141, Philadelphia.—Hyman Greenberg.
- 142, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Harry Taylor.
- 143, Philadelphia, Pa.—Isaac Kessler.
- 144, Chicago, Ill.—Jacob S. Potofsky, Morris Rabinowitz.
- 149, Boston.—John Palalima.
- 150, Boston.—Thomas Morelli.
- 152, Chicago.—Samuel Diamond, Joseph Goldman.
- 153, Philadelphia, Pa.—Leah Galbin.
- 156, New York City.—Morris Adinsky, Chas. Englander, Jos. Gold, Sam Liptzin, Jacob Pollack.
- 157, New York City.—Morris Gunt, Emma Shapiro.
- 158, New York City.—Harry N. Greenberg.
- 159, Brooklyn.—Harry Rubin.
- 161, New York City.—Benj. Indyke.
- 165, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Sam Hassner.
- 167, Montreal.—Max Kessler.
- 169, New York.—Louis Posner.
- 170, Baltimore.—Mamie Santora, alternate for Dorothy Jacobs.
- 171, Boston.—David Gilman.
- 172, Boston.—Leon Lebovitz.
- 173, Boston.—Nathan Biller, David Goldstein.
- 174, Worcester.—Harry Scher.
- 175, Brooklyn.—J. Blume, Simon Haas, J. Zuckerman.
- 176, Brooklyn.—Frank Cancellieri.
- 178, New York.—Abraham Kronick.
- 186, New York.—Hyman Mitnitsky, Harris Yanofsky.
- 207, Woodbine, N. J.—M. Glazer.
- 209, Montreal.—Frank White.
- 213, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Sol Friedman, H. Heller.
- 214, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Harry Kalushkin.
- 215, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Max Alexander, Jack Perlman.
- 218, Baltimore.—John J. Denkevics.
- 230, Baltimore.—John Drasel.
- 241, Baltimore.—Samuel Bassin, Abraham Sykes.
- 244, New York City.—B. Goldsholl.
- 247, Baltimore.—Morris Fisher.
- 248, New York.—Max Steinberg, Sam Drabkin.
- 249, Philadelphia.—Sam Flicker.
- 259, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Louis Brodsky, B. Jackson.
- 262, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Henry Dozzo, Peter Monat, David Wolf, Jacob J. Young.
- 269, Chicago.—Peter Galskis.
- 277, Montreal.—Elias Rabkin.
- 280, New York.—Thomas Frisa, Lorenzo De Maria.
- Joint Board of Rochester—Jacob J. Levin.
- Joint Board of Boston—Lazarus Marcovitz.
- Joint Board of Chicago—Hyman Isovitz.
- New York Joint Board—Wm. Drubin.

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Children's Clothing Trades Joint Board, New York—Harry Cohen.

Joint Board of Toronto—Jas. Blugerman.

Philadelphia District Council, No. 2.—Nathan Bunin.

Baltimore District Council No. 3.—Hyman Blumberg.

Fraternal Delegate—Jos. F. Barry, Boston Clothing Cutters and Trimmers' Union.

As there was no objection, these delegates were declared seated as delegates to the Convention, and so ordered.

Brother ~~Potofsky~~ then made an additional report for the Credential Committee as follows:

"Your Committee on Credentials, elected at the first session, beg leave to report that we have examined all credentials submitted by the delegates. In accordance with the constitution the committee ruled that each delegate must be a member of the Local Union he or she was elected to represent, and, therefore, recommends that Brother Thomas Morelli, who is a member of Local 1, Boston, and an elected delegate of the Boston Overall Workers, Local 150, shall have a voice but no vote."

Delegate Zorn suggested that Delegate Morelli be seated with a vote inasmuch as Local 150 is a new local and did not know of this particular clause of the constitution, and that if they were not allowed a vote it would create a bad impression among the members of the local.

Delegate Goodman stated as follows:

We act in accordance with the constitution and we know that no member can represent a Local Union of which he is not a member. Therefore we think that this cannot be decided by the Convention because the membership voted on the constitution. The Convention cannot overrule the membership.

President HILLMAN: The call for the Convention sent out by the General Secretary from the General Office had the clause of the constitution inserted. The clause of the constitution reads: "Delegates shall be elected at a special meeting of the local union by ballot not later than March 31st preceding the Convention, and a plurality vote shall constitute an election. No person shall be eligible to election as a delegate unless he is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America who shall have been a member in good standing of the local union he represents at least one year immediately preceding the day on which said election is held."

Delegate ZORN: This does not specify that he must be a member of that local.

President HILLMAN: I am reading to you that which was passed by the Webster Hall Convention. I have no objection if the Convention wishes to use a technical excuse for violating the constitution. I believe it would be a very unfortunate step to establish such precedents. We have laws so that they may be enforced, no matter who may be affected. The report of the Committee on Credentials is that Delegate Morelli should be seated with a voice but without a vote. The vote is on the question.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Potofsky then read the following:

"The committee is of the opinion that no one delegate may represent more than one Local Union, and therefore recommends that the delegate sent from Locals 244 and 245 of New York may represent Local 244 only, of which local he is a member; likewise the Locals 249 and 281, Philadelphia. The committee recommends that Brother Goldscholl represent Local 244, and Brother Flicker be seated as a delegate from Local 249, of which he is a member."

Delegate Levine of Rochester opposed the recommendation, because it takes away the right of one local to be represented. He stated that inasmuch as the delegate has only one vote, to take away from him the right to represent one of the locals would be unfair. He said that this was particularly true of Rochester where one delegate represents four locals.

Delegate ALEX. COHEN (of New York): I don't see the reason why that should be recommended by the Credential Committee. I understand that a man can talk in the name of two or three or four local unions. I don't see how the Convention is going to produce anything in any way by preventing a delegate from speaking on behalf of three or four local unions instead of one. I understand the reason, why a man cannot be elected as a delegate from another local union to represent his local, but when three or four local unions send one representative I don't see why this

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Convention should have any objections, and therefore I feel that there is no necessity for concurring with the recommendation of the Credential Committee in this respect.

Delegate GOODMAN (of the Credential Committee): I wish to say that the Credential Committee decided in that manner because we do not wish to permit one delegate to represent a whole town. We do not want to establish a precedent. Later on we may have a whole city sending one delegate, and we want every local union to have its own representation, and not have one delegate represent an entire town.

Delegate JACKSON (Local 259): If a local is poor and has no money to send a delegate, have they not a right to combine with another local and jointly send one delegate?

President HILLMAN: That the Convention will decide this morning. I cannot.

Delegate ALEX COHEN (Local 3): I want to be informed whether, by letting one delegate represent two local unions, it will mean that he will have two votes?

President HILLMAN: No, it would not. It would simply mean that local unions may combine to send a delegate. I wish to say that the delegates may take into consideration that it may work a great hardship on some of our local organizations. We have organizations in small towns that are not sufficiently strong to finance their own representatives, and so two or three local unions will have one business agent as their representative. By laying down a law against it we may simply deprive those local unions from being seated at future conventions. While this delegate may be seated here now, you realize that the local unions will not pay his expenses in the future if he will not represent them. It would be wrong for a large local union to send proxies, but it may work a grave injustice to the smaller unions if you will deprive them of the opportunity to send joint delegates. (Applause).

(The motion was then placed before the house. The vote was 33 in favor of accepting the Committee's report, and 59 opposed).

President HILLMAN: We will now vote on the motion that the delegates be seated as representing two local unions each.

(This was unanimously carried.)

(Applause).

President HILLMAN: The chair wishes to announce that this action of the Convention, as I understand it, applies only to local unions that are financially unable to send representatives. It is not the sense of this Convention that joint delegates be permitted in the case of local unions financially able to send separate delegates.

(Delegate Potofsky then continued reading his report.)

In the case of Local 24, Newark, which sent in two delegates while this local is only entitled to one, lacking only three members to be entitled to two. The Committee recommends that both delegates be seated with one vote, a half vote for each delegate.

Delegate EISEN: There are two delegates and if you seat the two delegates and give them only one vote, suppose the delegates disagree on a question, how will you count that vote?

President HILLMAN: Each will have half a vote.

Delegate EISEN: I would much rather see that the one delegate that received the largest number of votes from the local union should be seated.

Delegate COHEN: I move that the recommendation of the Credential Committee be accepted.

The recommendation of the Committee was carried.

The full report was accepted as amended in the one case above mentioned.

President HILLMAN: I shall ask the delegates to hand in their resolutions. While we are taking up some of our time with the Assistant Secretary receiving the resolutions I wish to announce that we will have the pleasure of listening this afternoon to the Chairman of the Board of Standards of the United States Government, Professor Ripley (applause). Professor Ripley was made chairman of that

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Board when Mr. Louis Kirstein resigned. He will address the Convention at three o'clock.

I am sure that the delegates will be glad to hear now from one of our friends who is with us and has always been with us. I understand that he was also at the convention from which I was unfortunate enough to be absent, the convention in Nashville. I take pleasure in introducing to you Comrade H. Rogoff. (Prolonged applause).

Address of Harry Rogoff

I am very sorry that Mr. Cahen, the editor of the Forward, has not been able to come to address you as he intended. He has not been feeling well and is unable to come. The greetings of the Forward to the delegates of the Amalgamated don't have to be rendered in person by anybody. I think that the delegates to this Convention who are able to read the Forward know enough about the feelings of the Forward for this organization. It has been an Amalgamated newspaper—an Amalgamated organ ever since this organization has been started, and probably many months or years before, in spirit. The Forward is certainly over happy to see this result of its agitation, to find that all its predictions and all its hopes have been more than realized with regard to the Amalgamated organization. There is no special message that the Forward and myself, as its representative, at this moment can bring to you.

I heard many addresses yesterday. Many of the delegates, or many of the men who spoke to you, made all kinds of predictions about war times, after the war et cetera. I am unable to say anything about the future. But I should like to say one thing about the present that was said yesterday by Comrade Shiplacoff. I certainly endorse his sentiment on one particular point, that this Convention confine itself to the business of the Convention, to the business of the Amalgamated, to the problems that confront your organization, and try to keep out from the other problems that may involve you in controversies and in disagreements in the organization. If there is anything that I wish to impress upon your minds it is this. And I am sure that in this respect I voice the sentiment of all the people who stand at the head of the Jewish Daily Forward. I thank you. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: I am asked to introduce a representative of the Los Angeles Sanatorium, Mr. F. Flanzer, who will address the Convention for a few minutes.

Mr. Flanzer congratulated the Amalgamated upon its progress and concluded in an appeal to the Amalgamated for help as follows: I have been traveling for the last three years for the Los Angeles Sanatorium, which is recognized as a radical institution. Wherever I come, in every city of the United States, it always happens that some one asks me who is back of it, because they understand there must be some big man back of the institution. They cannot make it out that it is possible for any institution to be carried on without any particular one backing it up, but all of the people should be in back of it. So I hope and trust that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at this Convention will give sufficient support to this institution so that I shall be able to tell those who ask me that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is in back of it. (Applause). I hope your Resolutions Committee will recommend proper action. I thank you for all you have already done. (Applause).

President HILLMAN: I wish to announce that tomorrow at ten o'clock sharp Congressman London will address the Convention (applause). I shall ask the delegates to be on time as Congressman London has to go back to Washington immediately on account of some bills that are coming up. I understand that the Committee on Credentials wishes to make a further report.

Delegate POTOFSKY: The chairman of the Credentials Committee requested me to announce that this credential was presented this morning and was voted upon favorably by the Credential Committee, Brother Harry Goldstein of Local 75 of Philadelphia.

The report was unanimously accepted.

President HILLMAN: I am sure that the delegates would like to listen to one who is from our own ranks, a member of our New York Cutters' organization, a

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member of its Executive Board, a member of the Board of Aldermen of New York, Brother Abraham Beckerman. (Applause).

Address of Delegate Beckerman

Delegate ABRAHAM BECKERMAN: Brother Chairman and Brothers: I want to say that I did not expect to be called upon to make any special speech, because I don't happen to be a sort of invited alderman or invited guest, but happen to be a duly, regularly elected delegate to this Convention. (Applause).

Mr. SHIPLACOFF: We will shut you up for the rest of the Convention. (Laughter).

Delegate BECKERMAN: Over my dead body. (Laughter). I want to say that it is unfortunate that on this platform, at this particular time, I am being aided along by comments from Assemblymen, from judges and from other celebrities. I want to say, brothers, despite the fact that I did not expect to be called upon, I am very happy to be given this opportunity to get a few things off my heart, or a few things that were very near to my heart. I was a delegate to the convention two years ago in Rochester, and, from the general appearance of the present Convention, I think that we are going to live up to the fine convention that we had there, and I hope that in the next two years we will make such progress as we made since the last convention.

The world has moved since two years ago in Rochester. The world has moved considerably. And that particular part of the world, known as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has in no sense lagged behind the rest of the world. The great struggle, which must some day come to an end, will probably bring about a new relationship of the working class in this world. There is no doubt that when the war is over the working class everywhere will be a good deal more powerful than it was before we began. And it is our duty, it is the duty of our organization, to set a pace in this country and show the light for the labor movement in America. Over in Europe a few months ago there was a convention of organized labor of the Entente countries: England, France and the other allied countries. A fine program for reconstruction was drawn up at that conference of Inter-allied labor.

Unfortunately American labor was not represented there. And it was not represented because in this country we are cursed with the most reactionary labor movement in the world. (Applause). It is our duty, as the leading labor union in America; it is our duty, for we opened the path three years ago and successfully emancipated ourselves from an autocratic officialdom, to set the pace in America and see that the American labor movement works in conjunction with the labor movements of England, France, Italy and elsewhere (applause), and see that we take an active part in the process of reconstruction after the war.

What is it that we have to do? We have got to make progress in our organization. We have got to strengthen our organization in the future as we have done in the past. But we have got to do something besides that. We have got to arouse the spirit of the working class outside of our movement so that they may keep up with our movement and together we may put an ideal and spirit into the American labor movement to match the labor movement elsewhere so that together we can emancipate ourselves universally.

That is the program of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America from now on. Work with them, strengthen ourselves as an organization, and put power into the rest of the labor movement of America so that we may contribute our share towards the work of world-wide emancipation of the working class. (applause).

President HILLMAN: Is the Committee on Rules ready to report?

Report of Committee on Rules

Delegate BLUMBERG of Baltimore, Chairman of the Committee on Rules, reported as follows:

The Committee recommends that this Convention meet daily in two sessions; the sessions shall be held from 9 a. m. until 12, and from 2 until 6. Every delegate

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can speak on a resolution or motion before the house once. No speaker shall be allowed more than five minutes. The chairman of the Committee may have ten minutes to close the debate. The Convention shall be guided by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Now there may be questions coming up of vital importance to the Convention. Then it will be up to the Convention as a whole to extend the limit of debate on any important question, but these are the rules as we recommend them to the Convention. There will be further recommendations in the afternoon session as to resolutions.

President HILLMAN: I shall now ask the chairman of the Committee to read each rule separately and the Convention will then vote on them.

Delegate BLUMBERG: This Convention is to meet daily in two sessions.

(There was no objection.)

"The sessions shall be from 9 to 12 and from 2 p. m. to 6."

(Delegate ZORN of Boston offered an amendment that they meet from 9:30 to 12:30 in the morning.)

(This was seconded by Delegate Gold of Local 156 of New York.)

(The amendment was carried.)

(Delegate Blumberg continued reading as follows): "The afternoon session shall meet from 2 p. m. to 6 p. m."

Delegate GALOWITZ amended that "we meet from 2 to 5 p. m."

Delegate BLUMBERG: It will be impossible for us to hold any night sessions in this hall, and it might be necessary during the last days of this Convention to meet until 7 o'clock. We can use this hall until 7, and if we decide to meet only until 5 it will be impossible to get through. I don't believe it is a hardship to ask the delegates to sit until six.

(The motion was carried that the sessions close at 6 p. m.).

Delegate BLUMBERG: Every delegate can speak on a motion or resolution once.

((There was no objection).)

No speaker shall be allowed to speak more than five minutes.

(There was no objection).

Delegate ALEX COHEN: Does that preclude giving any members a special privilege?

Delegate BLUMBERG: No, the Convention may grant special privileges.

Delegate BLUMBERG (continues reading): The Chairman shall have ten minutes to close the debate.

(There was no objection).

Delegate BLUMBERG: The Convention shall be guided by Roberts' Rules of Order.

(There was no objection).

If there is no objection on the part of my committeemen I should recommend that all the resolutions be in by tomorrow at 12:30.

(There was no objection).

After 12:30 no resolutions will be accepted.

President HILLMAN: Unless there is the unanimous consent of the Convention.

(There was no objection).

President HILLMAN: That means that you will have time until 12:30 tomorrow, at the latest, to hand in your resolutions. The Chair will announce the appointment of the following Committees, subject to the approval of the Convention:

The Convention Committee

Assistant General Secretary—Jacob S. Potofsky.

Sergeant-at-Arms—Lorenzo De Maria, Local 280, New York.

Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms—Saul Rieger, Local 12, New York; I. J. Strizover, Local 120, Louisville, Ky.; L. Lederman, Local 114, Baltimore.

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Press Committee: Ira W. Bird, Associate Editor of "Advance," chairman; Harry Crystal, Local 36, Baltimore; Frank Bellanca, Local 63, New York.

Miscellaneous—Wm. Drubin, chairman, New York Joint Board, New York; Joe Pennini, Local 1, Boston; Harris Heller, Local 213, New York; Frank Bartosz, Local 69, Baltimore; Mamie Santora, Local 170, Baltimore; Harry Rubin, Local 159, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Bernard Weiss, Local 40, New York; Sam Leder, Local 11, New York; David Gilman, Local 171, Boston.

Report of Officers—Jacob Kroll, chairman, Local 61, Chicago; Morris Goldin, Local 3, New York; Chas. Englander, Local 156, New York; J. P. Friedman, Local 4, New York; Sam Steiner, Local 16, New York; Hyman Goldoft, Local 8, New York; B. Romano, Local 63, New York; Frank White, Local 209, Montreal; John Demkevitz, Local 218, Baltimore.

Resolution Committee—Harry Cohen, chairman; J. B. Children's Clothing Trades, New York; Peter Monat, Local 262, New York; Paul Arnone, Local 63, New York; Nathan Siegel, Local 2, New York; Harry Bender, Local 55, New York; Hyman Isovitz, Joint Board of Chicago; Leon Lebovitz, Local 172, Boston; Sam Bassin, Local 241, Baltimore; Leah Gaibin, Local 153, Philadelphia.

Organization Committee—Alex Cohen, chairman, Local 3, New York; Jos. Goodman, Local 2, New York; Louis Feinberg, Local 9, New York; Simon Haas, Local 175, New York; Louis Schapiro, Local 43, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Peter Galakis, Local 269, Chicago; I. Kessler, Local 143, Philadelphia; Sam Drabkin, Local 248, New York; Philip DeLuca, Local 51, Baltimore.

Committee on Law—David Wolf, chairman, Local 262, New York; Abraham Miller, Local 8, New York; Henry Dozzo, Local 262, New York; Julius Powers, Local 30, Brooklyn; Louis Zuckerman, Local 16, New York; Meyer Senter, Local 4, New York; Morris Rappaport, Local 2, New York; Sam Diamond, Local 152, Chicago; Nathan Biller, Local 173, Boston.

Appeals and Grievances—Jas. Blugerman, chairman, Joint Board of Toronto; Harry Niestadt, Local 117, Baltimore; Louis Posner, Local 169, New York; I. Axelrad, Local 7, Brooklyn; A. N. Fisher, Local 39, Chicago; Eugene Bucci, Local 24, Newark; S. Weinstein, Local 3, New York; B. Horowitz, Local 12, New York; Sam Katz, Local 10, New York.

Committee on Rules—Hyman Blumberg, chairman, District Council No. 3, Baltimore; Samuel Gefer, Local 61, Chicago; Frank Marrone, Local 85, New York City.

Labels—Gabriel Vastano, chairman, Local 63, New York; John Drasel, Local 230, Baltimore; Max Yudelovitz, Local 19, New York; Frank Cancellieri, Local 176, Brooklyn; V. Wybraniec, Local 38, Chicago; H. Kalushkin, Local 214, Brooklyn; Max Alexander, Local 215, Brooklyn; Morris Rabinowitz, Local 144, Chicago; Morris Safran, Local 36, Baltimore.

As there was no objection by the Convention to any of the delegates named, the Committees remained as announced by the Chairman.

Order of Business

President HILLMAN: I wish to state to the delegates that we have tried to have every city and every locality represented in the different committees so that they may get the proper hearing at the Committee. Unfortunately we have not yet got sufficient committees to place all the delegates on them, so some had to be left out. I hope that those who were left out of the committees will take it in the right spirit.

President Hillman then read the Order of Business of the Convention as follows:

1. Call to order by General President.
2. Report of Credential Committee.
3. Roll Call.
5. Reading of Minutes.
4. Report of Officers.
6. Appointment of following committees: Press, Resolution, Law, Reports of Officers, Appeals and Grievances, Organization, Label and Miscellaneous.
7. Reports of Committees.
8. Unfinished Business.

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9. New Business.
10. Nomination of Officers.
11. Selection of place for next convention.
12. Adjournment.

President HILLMAN: The report of the officers will be presented to this Convention at the morning session Wednesday morning. Is there any objection to the order of business as read?

(There was no objection.)

This will be order of business for the Convention.

(Delegate Potofsky was about to read resolutions, which had been submitted to him, when Delegate Cohen suggested that the resolutions be referred to the various committees and that when they report they read them to the Convention so as to save the time of the Convention, and made a motion to that effect. It was seconded.)

President HILLMAN: All I ask is, if you accept it, that you don't complain afterwards. As a rule we find that if a resolution is not read, claims are made that resolutions were handed in that were never handed in. If your motion prevails, Delegate Cohen, it means that all resolutions will be referred to the presiding officer without presenting them to the Convention, and the Chairman of the Committee will read them only when he reports on them.

After a heated discussion the Convention voted that the resolutions be read to the Convention at this time. Delegate Rosenblum thereupon read the following resolutions which had thus far been submitted and they were referred seriatim by the Chairman to the respective committees dealing with each particular resolution:

Resolutions

Resolution No. 1—Local 51, Baltimore, on 44-hour week. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 2—Local 14, Rochester, on organization campaign. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 3—Local 14, Baltimore, on co-operative movement. Referred to Committee on Miscellaneous.

Resolution No. 4—Locals 16, 186, 282, New York, on 44-hour week. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 5—Local 39, Chicago, on promotion of labor literature. Referred to Committee on Miscellaneous.

Resolution No. 6—Local 63, New York, on wage increase on equal basis. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 7—Local 63, New York, on high cost of living and co-operative stores. Referred to Committee on Miscellaneous.

Resolution No. 8—Local 63, New York, on program of inter-allied conference. Referred to Committee on Report of Officers.

Resolution No. 9—Local 63, New York, on tenement-house work. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 10—Local 63, New York, on minimum wage, week-work standard and educational campaign. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 11—Local 63, New York, on 44-hour week. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 12—Local 63, New York, on printing of constitution in all languages. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 13—Local 63, New York, on amendment to constitution, two-thirds majority of voting. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 14—Local 63, New York, on district form of organization. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 15—Local 15, New York, on needle trades department. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 16—Local 63, New York, on women's department. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 17—Local 247, Baltimore, as to organizing of pressers. Referred to Committee on Law.

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Resolution No. 18—Children's Clothing Joint Board, New York City, on 44-hour week. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 19—Local 178, Brooklyn, on organization campaign for overall workers. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 20—Local 63, New York, endorse movement for daily Italian labor paper. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 21—Local 63, New York, on program of British Labor Party. Referred to Committee on Report of Officers.

Session adjourned 12:30 p. m.

Third Session.

Baltimore, Md., Tuesday, May 14, 1918.

The Convention was called to order at 2:15 p m., Tuesday, May 14, 1918, President Hillman in the Chair.

The following messages of greeting were read by Secretary Schlossberg:

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 14, 1918.

On behalf of two thousand coat makers, whom we represent, accept our best wishes and congratulations to the Third Biennial Convention. It is our hope that this convention will undertake as its next move to win for the clothing workers in this country a better and brighter life by inaugurating the forty-four-hour week.

Chairmen of Kalman Friedman's District,
Coat Branch, New York Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.
WM. GOLDBERG, Chairman, Member of Local 2.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Heartiest congratulations. May your deliberation bring about a shorter workday.
CHILDREN'S JACKET MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 10.
I. Tanzer, Secretary.

Cincinnati, Ohio, May 13, 1918.

In this critical period, may your deliberations be of service to humanity. We are undergoing the travail of truth. From these birthpains a new freedom will be born. The Amalgamated will surely do its utmost in this the last struggle of man.

Greetings until the better day,
NICHOLAS KLEIN.

Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1918.

May your efforts be crowned with glory. May the result of your deliberations be of such nature that it shall illuminate the works and instill in them that spirit of industrial democracy that will eventually dominate the world.

LOCAL 61, CHICAGO CLOTHING CUTTERS
AND TRIMMERS ASSOCIATION,
Louis Weiss, Secretary.

Toronto, Ontario, May 13, 1918.

The vestmakers of Toronto Local 222 are extending congratulations to our Third Convention. We wish you success in your good work.

H. HECKER, Secretary.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Congratulations to the Third Convention. Wish you success in bringing about the forty-four-hour week in five days' work; also scale of wages, and to take the platform for Palestine and send delegates to Congress. Hope you passed everything successfully and report good news to local union. Best wishes,

MAX SILVERBERG,
Member Local 156.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

We congratulate you. Long life to Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Pass resolution for a forty-four-hour week.

J. D'ANGELO,
Palm Beach, Local 157, A. C. W. of A.

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New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

The Joint Executive Board of the United Brotherhood of Tailors extends its congratulations to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and best wishes in all future undertakings.

D. SANDLER, Chairman,
Israel Galley, Secretary, Joint Executive Committee,
United Brotherhood of Tailors.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Success to the Third Convention at Baltimore. We hope that this convention will help establish a six-hour-workday.

THE KNEEPANTS' MAKERS' UNION,
Local 19, B. Zuckerberg, Financial Secretary.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

The working men of Stauber & Sapers' shop, of Local 157, A. C. W. of A., are sending you heartiest congratulations, and hope that in the future you will continue your splendid work.

WORKERS OF STAUBER & SAPERS,

Rochester, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

We send our best greeting to your Third Convention. Appreciate the work done and we also wish best success in the future.

BRANCH 152, WORKMEN'S CIRCLE.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

May the future achievements of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers excell its marvelous attainments of the past.

CLOTH TURNERS' UNION, LOCAL 55,
N. Berger, Acting Secretary.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

The Italian Branch of the New York Coat Makers, Local 63, extends greetings to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and expresses its fervent desire that our organization will win the recognition of the world as one of the foremost in the struggle for the happiness and freedom for those who serve the world.

JOS. CATALANOTTI, Chairman,
Cancellieri, Secretary, Local 63, A. C. W. of A.

Baltimore, Md., May 14, 1918.

The Workers of the American Uniform Company, civilian branch, send their heartiest greetings to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

B. SWARSKY, Chairman.

Baltimore, Md., May 13, 1918.

Accept our best wishes and congratulations. May your efforts be crowned with success.

PANTS PRESSERS', LOCAL 59, A. C. W. of A.

Rochester, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Rochester sends you its heartiest greetings and best wishes. Our long suffering and spiritually enslaved fellow workers are fast recovering from the welfare chloroform of our employers, and are rapidly awakening to their true interest in life. Many are joining our ranks. The spirit for organization is sweeping the city with a generous sympathy and support of our International Union and its great and growing membership throughout the country. We feel that in the near future the Amalgamated

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will make of the foremost welfare fake and non-union clothing market in America a mighty power for the protection of the workers. Remember that nineteen eighteen is the year for Rochester. Yours for a hundred per cent organization very soon, and complete industrial and social democracy in our day,

THE ROCHESTER JOINT BOARD,
Locals 14, 202, 204, A. C. W. of A.
Louis Feldman, Secretary-Treasurer.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Three thousand members of Locals 16 and 186, vest makers' unions of Greater New York, extend their greetings and congratulations to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. With best wishes for success in all your future enterprises and for a freer and happier mankind,
A. WEINSTEIN, Secretary.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Heartiest congratulations. May this, our Third Convention, realize our aim for a successful one hundred per cent Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union.

HYMAN WOLFE.

Toronto, Ontario, May 13, 1918.

Tonight I am leaving for Palestine to fight for my country and nation. For two years, I am proud to say, I worked hard for the progress of the Amalgamated. I congratulate you on your Third Convention. May you progress and succeed in the work. Remember our martyred nation and help its deliveration.

M. KRAMER, JEWISH LEGIONAIRE,
(Formerly Secretary of Local 216, Toronto.)

Baltimore, Md., May 14, 1918.

Accept our heartiest congratulations.

BRANCH 67, WORKMEN'S CIRCLE.

New York, May 13, 1918.

We send greetings to your Third Annual Convention. Wishing you success in your great work.

LOCAL 30 OF NEW YORK, A. C. W. of A.

Delegate Rosenblum continued reading the resolutions.

Resolutions

Resolution No. 22—By the Boston delegation, in the matter of organizing the overall workers. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 23—From Locals 4 and 9, in the matter of officers' salaries. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 24—By the Boston delegation, with regard to a paper in the Lithuanian language to be published by this organization for our Lithuanian members.

At this point the President announced that as there were several resolutions that deal with educational work, a Committee on Education will be appointed, and this resolution will be referred to that Committee.

Resolution No. 25—Joint Board of Toronto, Canada, including several different topics. The Chair announced that the different parts will be referred to the proper Committees. The Chair suggested that in the future delegates take care to present separate resolutions on separate topics.

Resolution No. 26—Local 2, on officers' salaries. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 27—Local 2, on editorial policy. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 28—Local 2, on conventions. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 29—Local 2, on policies of officials. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 30—Local 2, on the composition of the General Executive Board. Referred to Committee on Law.

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Resolution No. 31—Local 2, on qualification of delegates. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 32—Local 2, in the matter of foreign languages. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 33—Local 2, on financial reports. Referred to Committee on Reports of Officers.

Resolution No. 34—Local 2, on the election of officers. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 35—Local 2, on the 44-hour week. Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 36—Local 215, on a minimum wage. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 37—Local 158, New York, in the matter of the organization of the clothing clerks. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 38—Local 158, New York, providing for an organizer for the clothing clerks. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 39—Local 173, Boston, in favor of the restoration of Palestine to the Jews. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 40—By the delegates of Locals 4 and 63 on the New York Call. Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 41—Local 112, Cleveland, on organization campaign. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 42—Local 218, on several matters. Will be assigned to various committees.

Resolution No. 43—Local 156, New York, on the amalgamation of the two Joint Boards in New York. Referred to Committee on Organization.

President HILLMAN: The delegates who have not handed in their resolutions as yet will please take notice that this afternoon and tomorrow morning are the only sessions left in which to hand in their resolutions. We have done a great deal in the last two years. It has taken a great deal of effort to get where we are now. Everyone of the officers in the city, the active members in the city, the rank and file in the city, have contributed their share. But, as in other cities, the Socialists came to our aid in the time of great struggle. I now take great pleasure in introducing to you the editor of the "Public Ownership" of this city, Mr. Maynard Shipley. (Loud applause).

Address of Maynard Shipley

Mr. Shipley congratulated the Amalgamated Clothing Workers upon its phenomenal success, and said:

"The only bright spot that I found when I arrived here, and got a little acquainted in this city, was that grand and wonderful organization that you are representing here today, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (Applause.) I say this, friends, without any desire to compliment you, let alone to flatter you. I could not flatter you if I wanted to, and I don't want to. I say this from the depths of my heart, that if it were not for the splendid organization of class conscious workers in the Amalgamated here in this city I would simply have to take my \$3 valise and get out of here.

"Your organization has been so strong because of the sound principles upon which your organization is based. It has been so strong that even the vitriol influences, the scabbing of the A. F. of L. on your jobs, the efforts that the gang has made to break every strike that the Amalgamated has been forced to call—even these have not weakened you. It has strengthened you when you have the honor of having Mr. Ferguson against you, and that is as high a recommendation as can be given any working class organization. (Applause.)

"Only a few months ago I had the pleasure of traveling through most of the State, and I found there, even way out in the coal mines in the Allegheny country, that these coal miners out there are thinking of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America of Baltimore. They are modeling their unions in the coal mine district on what you are accomplishing in the needle trade industry of this and other cities. They are copying after you."

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Mr. Shipley spoke of the valuable assistance given to this organization by the Socialist party of Baltimore and its organ, "Public Ownership," and concluded:

"I can say to you in all honest conviction, that I believe that I am looking into the faces today of the men and the women who will live to see a great industrial democracy reared on the political democracy of America today." (Applause.)

Appeal from the Chicago "Daily World"

The Chairman next introduced Mr. Max Globerman, of the "Daily World," the only radical Jewish newspaper, in fact, the only radical newspaper in Chicago. He delivered a stirring appeal to the members for aid for this daily, as it represents the only organ of radical thought in the city of Chicago.

Address by William O'Toole

The Chairman then introduced Mr. William O'Toole, the organizer of the Socialist party in Baltimore. Mr. O'Toole was heartily cheered. He delivered an address in which he appealed to the members for financial aid for the newspaper, "Public Ownership," inasmuch as, he stated, Comrade Shipley was too bashful to ask the members for aid. He expressed his admiration for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and endorsed the sentiments of all the previous speakers. He prophesied the time when the Amalgamated would become the leading power in the labor world, and when its ideas would spread through the entire labor movement.

More Resolutions Presented

At this point Delegate Rosenblum read further resolutions as follows:

Resolution No. 44—By Locals 116, 209 and 277 of Montreal, on educational work. Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 45—By the same delegation. Treating of various matters; will be referred to the several committees.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates Taylor, of Local 142, and Indyke, of Local 161, on Russia. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 47—By the same delegation, on the Mooney case. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 48—By Local 169, on a strike in the children's sailor suit industry. Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 49—On Convention. Referred to Miscellaneous Committee.

Resolution No. 50—By Local 63, on political activity. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 51—By Local 175, on the forty-four-hour week. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Taylor and Indyke, on literature for our members at the front. Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 53—On composition of the General Executive Board. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 55—By Local 3, on hours of labor. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 56—Local 3, on foreign languages. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 57—By Local 3, on legal holidays. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 58—By Local 3, officers' salaries. Referred to Committee on Law.

Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society

Mr. Hirsch Bloch, representative of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, was introduced by the Chairman. Mr. Bloch told the delegates of the great work done by the institution he represents, without any discrimination as to nationality, creed or otherwise, and asked that the institution receive the liberal support of our organization.

Announcement by Arrangements Committee

Delegate Crystal, Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, announced that a mass meeting will be held at Lyric Hall this evening.

At 4 o'clock the Chair adjourned the Session until 9:30 the next morning, in order to enable the committees to immediately begin their work.

Fourth Session.

Baltimore, Md., Wednesday, May 15, 1918.

The meeting was called to order at 9:50 A. M., President Hillman presiding. Secretary Schlossberg read the following messages of greeting:

New York, May 14, 1918.

This is our message for good luck to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. We shall continue with renewed energy the march of the workers upon the long and thorny path, upon which you have been bringing the workers ever nearer to democracy and freedom.

BUSINESS AGENT STAFF, COAT MAKERS' BRANCH,
NEW YORK JOINT BOARD,
Frank Leventhal, Acting Manager.

New York, N. Y., May 13, 1918.

Our heartiest congratulations to your Third Biennial Convention. May the brotherly spirit of solidarity prevail in your ranks. May your splendid work on the economic and educational field be continued in the future until the creation of the new social order.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, WORKMEN'S CIRCLE,

New York, May 14, 1918.

We, the officers and members of Local 2, send our best greeting and best wishes to your honorable body. No doubt you will work for the interest of our industry in the future as you did in the past. Long live the Amalgamated.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, LOCAL 2,
Abe Simon, Temporary Secretary.

New York, May 14, 1918.

Extending to you our heartiest congratulations on the eve of your Third Convention. May your deliberations and undertakings for the advancement and furtherance of the interests of your members and all who toil be crowned with great success.

JOINT BOARD, FURRIERS' UNION, LOCALS 1, 5, 10.
M. Kaufman, Manager.

South Brooklyn, N. Y., May 14, 1918.

Our heartiest congratulations to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. We wish the delegates success in their work. Bring us the forty-four-hour week.

EMPLOYES OF MAHES & GELMAN,

Cleveland, Ohio, May 14, 1918.

Success and sunshine to our convention. May your gathering be a blooming orchard whose fruit shall be picked in time all throughout the organization.

LOCAL 122.

New York, May 14, 1918.

We extend to your organization greetings and congratulations upon your Third Biennial Convention. The success that your organization has made within the past three years has been greater than the accomplishments of other organizations in the

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past twenty-five years. We again extend to you a heartiest congratulation and best wishes. May your future be crowned with success.

PANTS CONTRACTORS' ASSOCIATION OF
GREATER NEW YORK, INC.,
Harris Feiner, President.
Harry Slupsky, Manager.

South Brooklyn, N. Y., May 14, 1918.

Let the next convention find a mighty world international where elements will be as strong and daring as ours. Then no evil spirit will laugh any more its red laughter and the brotherhood of the working class will no longer be a dream.

BRITZER, Chairman, Local 259.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 14, 1918.

The Brownsville and East New York Hospital, Inc., extends heartiest congratulations to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

BROWNSVILLE AND EAST NEW YORK HOSPITALS.

President HILLMAN: Before we proceed to our regular business, I shall take this opportunity to call upon a fraternal delegate to address this convention. The Cutters' Union of the city of Boston, an independent organization, not affiliated with the Amalgamated, has been working in full harmony with our organization for the past year, and has sent a fraternal delegate to this convention. I shall now call upon Brother Barry to address us.

Address of Joseph F. Barry

Delegate Barry: Brother workers, members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, I want to say that this is unexpected. I am not strong. I don't know that I can make myself heard. But those of you who are from New York and Boston and Baltimore know that I represent a local of Boston Clothing Cutters, an independent organization, which has always been affiliated with every labor movement concerning a clothing industry except the present Amalgamated. We have always been so far ahead of the other clothing centers of the country that it used to distress us to hear the reports that our delegates would bring back from the different conventions of the clothing workers. In November, 1917, I had occasion to go to New York on some business relating to Government contracts. And it came to my notice that the Cutters—of course, we are mainly interested in the Cutters—had got beyond and far surpassed the Boston Clothing Cutters in wages and conditions. And I returned home and reported that fact to my organization. And then, in the course of events, with the assistance and the advice of some of your good members of the Amalgamated, my organization voted to send a fraternal delegate here to investigate and find out what the Amalgamated was doing.

Well, we take the city right here in which we are, the city of Baltimore, as you all know, was always a blot on the clothing workers. Now I can go back to Boston and tell them the fact that you have revolutionized the conditions in Baltimore and made it a place to work in instead of being slaves, such as you used to be. The same conditions exist in New York, from the reports that I hear from the delegates.

I know that this is the work of the Amalgamated. I know that you must be doing the same in every community that you represent. I know that I am going back to

Boston and I am going to tell them a story that they have not heard for a long time. They are going to hear of a convention of clothing workers that was mainly composed of men, different from what has been in the past, when my local was interested in a national labor movement. The old days I can well remember when certain people governed and ruled the convention. It was not the men as far as I can remember, was it Brother Hillman?

President HILLMAN: No.

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Delegate BARRY: I am going to bring back a remarkable surprise, the remarkable surprise that I have met and seen in the personnel of the members of the Amalgamated. A more intelligent, a better class of men never represented any clothing industry in any convention before.

Now, I can not say, brothers, or fellow-workers, that my organization is going to join the Amalgamated. I am only one. It is for me to bring back to them a report of your views, and they will act accordingly. They are intelligent men. If they wish to join the Amalgamated, God speed to them. But I am going to close by wishing you continued success and long life of the Amalgamated for the good work that you have done in the uplift of the clothing industry in this country, because if there is any industry that needs uplift it is the clothing industry. I have been in it long enough to know. I remember it from the time when as an errand boy I took the clothing into the sweatshop and from the time that I took the clothing and unpacked it from the cases coming from New York. The shocking conditions that prevailed in the clothing industry the Amalgamated has stopped in many places, and I know it is going to stop them throughout the rest of the country.

I remember the conditions from the reports that were brought back in former years by the delegates to the conventions. We never got a decent report from any city with the exception of New York once in a while. But now, mingling with the delegates, I find that you are improving conditions in every place and every city where you have an organization, and I hope that the Amalgamated, before they are through, will standardize the wages and the conditions in the clothing industry of the United States and Canada, so that no matter where a man's home is, if it is his luck to have to change his city where he is to live, that wherever he goes he will find the same good conditions and the same good wages. I thank you, brothers, and wish you continued success. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: I shall now announce the Committee on Education:

A. Bockerman, Chairman	Local 4, New York
A. Yellowitz	Local 43, New York
Harry Elsen	Local 114, Baltimore
David Goldberg	Local 39, Chicago
A. Feldman	Local 15, Baltimore
Frank Lerman	Local 1, Boston
M. Sirkin	Local 114, Baltimore
L. Nirenberg	Local 3, New York
Bennie Berenstein	Local 36, Baltimore

Is there any objection to these appointments?

(There was none.)

I shall also appoint Delegate Young in place of Brother Lederman, who did not accept the appointment, as assistant sergeant-at-arms. We have with us a representative of the Naturalization Aid League and one of the Vice-Presidents of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Sister Fania Cohen.

Address of Fania Cohen

Mr. Chairman and fellow workers: It is needless to tell you that I was very glad to take advantage of the opportunity to appear before you here at your Third Biennial Convention. My own organization, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, will hold its convention next week, and I am quite busy with the making of the arrangements. Still I was tempted to be with you and say a few words to you. After all, we consider ourselves one organization, of the same garment industry.

I will tell you the special object of coming here this morning. It is the first time in my life, I will say, that I am coming with such a mission, and I hope I will be successful. You know we are living in this country under a system under which every man or woman living here for five years has a right to become a citizen of this country, and enjoy the privileges that go with citizenship. Unfortunately the workers neglect this

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opportunity. The middle class and the wealthy class are always naturalized. Why? It is very simple. They have time for it. If you approach the workers they tell you: "I have to work. I cannot go to Court and spend a day or two days or more in order to become a citizen." In dull season the worker tells you: "I am worried by unemployment and cannot think of becoming a citizen." He neglects it.

Now, we have a new element in New York. It is the women. Last November the franchise was granted to them. But what did we discover? A very small number of them are citizens. The vast majority of them are not citizens at all. Do you know what it means? To my mind they are traitors to their own class if they don't become citizens of a country, where they could use their vote, where they could elect their own representatives. We find it necessary to organize in the city of New York, where the bulk of your membership and ours live, a league for the purpose of educating the workers to become citizens, tell them of their duty to become citizens, tell them to become citizens and elect their own representatives to Assembly, to Congress, et cetera. This involves expenses. The U. S. District Court in New York appreciated the necessity and the usefulness of our league, and it is now recognized by that Court.

Now this is the first time that I am going to ask for money. It is a very unpleasant thing to do, but knowing how liberally your organization always responds to any appeal from the labor movement, I was persuaded to come here and ask for funds. Your organization has already contributed to this institution. So did our organization. But it is going to contribute again. You have a representative on the executive board, your President and your Secretary are on the advisory committee, and they will see to it that you will get the benefit for your members out of this league. I hope that every one of you will do something, will vote for a contribution. I thank you. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: The Socialist Party 1918 Campaign Committee has sent its representative, Brother Bakal, to make a request of the convention. I will now call on Brother Bakal, who will address the convention on this subject for a few minutes. (Applause.)

Comrade Bakal made a strong appeal for contributions for the Million Dollar Fund the Socialist Party has undertaken to raise for the next congressional campaign throughout the country.

President HILLMAN: The delegates, I hope, are aware that this is the last session for the presentation of resolutions. When this session is over, no more resolutions will be accepted, except by unanimous consent.

The Arrangements Committee asks that we adjourn the convention tomorrow at 11 o'clock so as to give an opportunity to the delegates to see Washington. What is your pleasure?

Delegate HARRY COHEN: I move to that effect.

Chairman: Will the mover of the motion agree that we meet tonight until 7 o'clock and that tomorrow we adjourn at 11 o'clock a. m. for the rest of the day?

Delegate COHEN: I accept that in the motion.
The motion was seconded.

Delegate RABKIN of Local 209: I move that we delay the Washington trip until the convention is through with its business.

This amendment was seconded, but was lost by an overwhelming vote.
The original motion was carried.

President HILLMAN: We have with us here a number of Schloss Bros. strikers.

Their appearance was greeted by thunderous applause, and as the strikers marched around the delegates, the enthusiasm and applause grew in volume until it was deafening. The demonstration lasted for fully six minutes and filled the hearts of everyone with emotion and pride and strength.

The strikers then proceeded to the balcony to listen to the proceedings of the convention.

President HILLMAN: I shall now call on the Manager of our Local Organization, a member of our General Executive Board, Brother Hyman Blumberg, to greet the convention and the strikers. (Applause.)

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Address of Hyman Blumberg

It would have done me more good if those who have consistently taken the position that we have no organization in the City of Baltimore were present in this hall to see the splendid reception accorded to our strikers of Schloss Brothers & Co., which have been out now for five weeks—the reception accorded them by this convention—the delegates from the United States and Canada.

Brother Shiplacoff last night in his address at the Lyric Theatre said that special cities are subject to special epidemics of disease. He cited that in the City of New York they had the epidemic of infantile paralysis. In Baltimore we have the epidemic of Fergusonitis. It was in this same hall, when the American Federation of Labor held its convention here, in November, 1916, that this same Ferguson, sitting at one of these tables, said that he was proud to be a scab agent. And in response to President Schlesinger, who had attacked the actions of Ferguson in this City, said that if there are any more scab agents in the United States, to forward them to Baltimore—that Baltimore needs them.

And I agree with him. Ferguson is not enough in this City to combat the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. He will need more! (Applause.) The calibre of our people in this city, as shown by the tremendous fights that they have put up, is such that if all the Fergusons of the United States were sent to Baltimore by the entire American Federation of Labor, they would only help to strengthen the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in this City to more solidly unite the clothing workers as a whole in Baltimore.

The activity of our enemies against us has only tended to make this city one hundred per cent. Amalgamated.

I sincerely hope that, before this convention adjourns, I may be in a position to report to you a settlement—an Amalgamated settlement—of the Schloss strike! (Hurrah! and great applause.) And when the adjustment will be made with that firm, it will be years and years before any labor faker in this or in any other city that he may come from will ever dare attempt again an attack on our organization! (Applause.)

I could not close without again referring to a remark that was made in this hall at the convention of the American Federation of Labor. At that time, Samuel Gompers, from this platform, said in reference to a question that came up, and I will repeat that remark with reference to the Fergusons. Gompers said: "Lay on MacDuff, and damned be he who will cry enough!" (Loud applause.)

President HILLMAN: I am sure that the delegates, as well as the strikers, will be glad to listen to one who has participated in every fight in this city, as well as in other cities, of our International, and this is Brother Frank Bellanca, editor of our Italian organ, *Lavoro*.

Brother Bellanca of Local 63 delivered a stirring address in Italian. His speech was received with enthusiasm by the Italian members present and frequently interrupted by applause.

President HILLMAN: When the Nashville situation arose, we found that we were in great need of professional men, especially lawyers, and went to friendly legal advisers. In New York, Morris Hillquit defended the legal side of our case; in Cincinnati we were very fortunate in having the assistance of our friend Nicholas Klein. We will give up part of the morning's session to listen to an address by our friend, Nicholas Klein of Cincinnati.

Address of Nicholas Klein

Mr. President and Friends: I did not expect to be called upon at this very moment, at least, because of the presence of my good friend and colleague, who has just come to you from the City of Washington, with a message of encouragement. I have no doubt. But I was asked when I approached the platform to say some few words of encouragement to the Schloss Brothers strikers of Baltimore. I can only say this, that much more than I could say this morning has already been demonstrated here on this platform and in this hall. The marching around of the men and the women this morning, and the standing up of the groups of delegates from the various cities, was indeed an inspiring spectacle to my mind.

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I believe that they have been on strike for five consecutive weeks. The strikers now realize what war means. And they also realize no doubt what Sherman said about war, because, my friends, a strike is a war, the two contending forces fighting like separate armies, each for its share of the spoils in this world today.

The speaker this morning, the Chairman or the co-worker of Baltimore, said that a settlement was about to be had, and he expected to announce before the adjournment of your convention a settlement of this strike. My friends, I hope that is true. I hope that the Schloss Brothers strikers are going to win a splendid victory! (Applause.)

There never has been such a wonderful opportunity for labor as presents itself this very moment. But, my friends, I have in mind this, and I say this to the strikers and I say this to the delegates. Labor just now is in the flower of its manhood. Just like this beautiful spring day, when the buds are beginning to open, so labor is coming into its own. But, my friends, that is due in great measure not so much to your stand either as workmen or working-women, but to the peculiar economic status which has been brought about by the war. And I say to you, my friends, that perhaps after this war—and that is not so far off—a chance will come to you strikers, and to you workers, to show not by applause, but by action, how much per cent. you feel for organized labor. Because, my friends, after this war, there will be a great unemployment problem. The munition plants will be closed and useless, and millions of munitions workers will be thrown out upon the market. And then the time will come to show whether you strikers and you workers believe one hundred per cent. for organized labor or only 35 per cent., because, my friends, my good friend is he who is with me when the storms are beating, when I am hungry, when I have no money, when everybody is spitting on me, when I am in jail; and then, when a man comes to me and says, "I am with you; have courage; I'm your friend!" that man is my brother—that man is two hundred per cent., because that man is not a sunshine friend. Sunshine friends organized labor can get now. Sunshine friends organized labor can get when it is victorious, when it is on top. But the true test will come to you, strikers, and to you workers, in just a short time. To you strikers, who have been holding out five weeks. I may say a word of courage, and that is this: When you go into the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, you are going into a real organized Union, not a bosses' union. You are going into a union made up of those who have ideals, of those who believe in you, of those who are working for you, of those who are using every energy and every effort, not for politics, but to make it better for you in the shop, not because of a label, but because you are workers and you produce all the wealth.

And I say to you, stick to that Union. That Union means just what it says. It is a Union of organized forces in America in the needle trades.

So, my friends, without taking up any more time, let me say to you, and without being pessimistic, that there will be evil days coming. And they are not so far off. I wonder how many of the membership of New York and Chicago and all over the country are so solidified and will stick to the Union, to the Amalgamated, when the time comes—when the call comes, and you are put to the test. Will you be a real soldier in a grand army of labor, or will you be one of those stragglers who only come in to get two dollars or more wages per week? That is going to be the great problem.

And the education of your membership now, the solidifying of your forces now, the making of your lines strong now, my friends, is the big, big question, and it can be done—anything can be done. If a Union of one hundred thousand members can be organized in three years like has been so wonderfully done here by your leaders and by your officers and your membership, my friends, anything is possible. Education is possible, and the winning of strikes is possible.

Let me close just now by giving you a little story that I have given you once before. I close by telling you the story, because I think it explains better than anything else, at this time, the great possibilities which can come to labor. There is a story told about the making of the first railway. There was an old man, it is said, whose name was Stevenson, who made the first locomotive. You know, just like in the labor movement they said locomotives were impossible. You had to have horses or cattle to pull a train; that nothing would go without something being attached to it. There would be no locomotion.

.....

And when old man Stevenson proposed a train—something to be run without the aid of horses or oxen, he was ridiculed. One day a test was made, and they laid two pieces

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of wood and upon these two pieces of wood they placed some thin sheets of metal, and upon that crude arrangement was placed the first locomotive.

And it is said in this story that thousands of people were out to see the first test of that locomotive, and of course the people all shouted, and pointed to their heads, and said the man was crazy, and they said the locomotive was out of question; it was impossible, and the crowd yelled out: "You old foggy fool! You can't do it! You can't do it!" And the same everywhere. The old man was in the cab, and somebody fired a pistol and the signal was given. He pulled the throttle open and the engine shot out, and in their amazement the crowd, not knowing how to answer to that argument, yelled out: "You old fool! You can't stop it! You can't stop it! You can't stop it!" (Applause.)

And my friends, in this story you have a history of this entire movement. First they ignore you. Then they ridicule you. And then they attack you and want to burn you. And then they build monuments to you.

And that is what is going to happen to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

And I say, courage to the strikers, and courage to the delegates, because great times are coming, stressful days are here, and I hope your hearts will be strong, and I hope you will be one hundred per cent. union when it comes! (Great applause.)

President HILLMAN: I am sure that Congressman London needs no introduction to this convention. I take great pleasure in calling upon Congressman Meyer London to address this convention.

Congressman London received an ovation, everybody rising and cheering wildly.

Congressman London's Address

Chairman and Delegates to the Amalgamated Convention:

It was with a great deal of hesitation that I left the city of Washington even for a couple of hours and absented myself from a part of the session. It has fallen to me to be a member of the American Congress at a time when the world is aflame, when everything is in the crucible, when the flux is more rapid than ever in the history of the martyrdom of the race. And it has fallen to my lot in this hour of stress to represent a minority view—to speak for those who have been voiceless for a long time, to speak for the tomorrow or the day to come. And every ounce of my energy, all I have and all that I expect to develop, all my spiritual, intellectual and physical strength is devoted to the task before me.

I always find inexpressible pleasure in addressing a gathering of union men. The greatest event in history was the organization of the first labor union. It is when the man who is at the very bottom of the social scale, when the worker upon whose shoulders rests all the weight and all the burden of society, it is when he arises, when he begins to claim a share in the world—not only better clothing and better shoes and a better home, but when he demands access to the world's treasures of learning and knowledge, accumulated for centuries, when he begins to draw upon the reservoir of wisdom and intelligence and of education, it is then that mankind begins to move forward.

It is organized labor—united labor—that will push the world forward, and when we speak of organized labor I know that your convention and your organization occupies at the present moment a unique position. It looks as if you are isolated. But that will not be for long. I know that all of you, your leaders as well as the men in the ranks, will use the first opportunity to see to it that you become a part and parcel of the united labor movement which will embrace the entire country and the entire world.

Labor cannot afford to be selfish or sectarian or aristocratic. That has been the curse of the labor movement for years. The clothing worker, the ladies' garment worker and the tailor, was the most despised of all workers. You know that old English proverb "It takes nine tailors to make a man." That proverb came about in a very peculiar way. In olden days men were as foolish in matters of dress as women are today and it required a dozen tailors to make up one man. It required an extra tailor to prepare the half-trousers for him, and the vest, and the coat, and the lapels, and all sorts of frills, so that the proverb was created that "It takes nine tailors to make one man." But others have applied it as a term of reproach and contempt for the tailor, for the clothing worker. And it was a term of reproach, thirty years ago, before the great labor masses in the tailoring trades saw the light.

Now it is a pleasure, it is an honor, to speak to organized tailors because we see in them not only the clothing worker, not only the man who is in love with a bundle, not only the man who seeks the improvement of his immediate conditions, but a man who

has a vision, who looks into the future, who studies and reads and thinks and who is in the forefront of the labor movement, striving toward genuine progress.

There is nothing to be despised about the tailor today. No bricklayers' convention and no railroad workers' convention and no telegraphers' convention can present that volume of idealism, of striving and craving for the better, that our conventions present. And that is why we are today in the vanguard of the labor movement. We have broken away from the past. We are not destroyers, but we have stopped licking the dust of the past. So far as our ideals are concerned, we always know that they will become a reality when you have your feet on the ground and when you fight now and here for immediate improvements, always guided by a big broad desire to improve not only your own conditions but the conditions of the world. It is this combination of the ideal and the practical that is characteristic of our union. We cannot build the cooperative commonwealth unless you build better men today. The union builds and creates that soul which is essential for the world to travel forward.

The sailor is made on the sea and in the storm, the soldier on the firing line. The man that will build a future society must begin building his character and his manhood and his moral strength and develop his fibre as a fighter today and here in the fights for the betterment of the conditions of the workers.

I recall having read a beautiful sketch by one of the great Russian writers, Andreyeff. He pictures a skillful aviator—a man who in a very short time acquired a reputation as the best aviator in the country. He had the very best machine. He was to give an exhibition of his skill and adroitness. And as he went up, the plaudits of the crowd accompanying him, he looked with contempt on the crowd below him. All was so petty and so small and so sordid. And he said, "I will go up higher and higher and away from this crowd of small men, and away from the little things and away from the commonplace." And as he went up high he determined to make this circle still wider and still higher, and up he went higher and higher and higher, and wider and wider was the sphere that he soared away from the low, away from the contemptible, away from the little men and women who inhabit the earth—higher and higher. He refused to come down. Every thing below was so sordid. But he did come down, and his machine came down, a dead machine with a dead aviator.

The idealist who starts out with a complete disregard for things as they are, who believes that this world is sordid and small, that the fight for wages and for hours is too petty a thing, that what we ought to do is to reorganize the entire society, all at once, and build up a cooperative commonwealth beginning from the twentieth floor, is like that aviator. He will go up higher and higher into wider and wider spheres away from everything small, but he will come down a dead man in a dead machine.

The man who fights today for things worth while is the man who builds the world. I am glad to see that the great majority, if not all of the members of this union in this great crisis of the world, realizes that the last man in the world to scab against Uncle Sam is a member of organized labor and a member of a union.

I did my part in the Congress of the United States representing that body of thought which I as a Socialist stood for and stand for today. I know that labor, always capable of realizing the necessity of utilizing every existing force for the improvement of conditions will take the practical view. And what means the practical view? Is the word "practical" a contemptible term? No. What does it mean? When we use that word from the platform of a labor convention, it means that which is best fitted to serve our ideals and our purposes. It is in this sense only that we can use the word "practical." Any other method is destructive of the very things that we are striving for.

I have tried on the floor of Congress, as I am trying everywhere else, to destroy the idea that war times are not times for improvements. I tried in the last argument on the so-called sedition bill to prove that it is in war times that we are to make changes which are necessary to put society on a proper basis. It is when the nation is put to stress, when all its energy is called into action, when all its resources are needed, it is then that we find what is wrong with us. It is then that we discover what is defective in our economics and in our politics. It is then that every weak spot appears on the surface.

Twenty-nine out of every 100 men who appeared to be examined for military service were found to be physically defective. There is a condition which we never understood before. That fact faces us today. And the fact is so apparent, so eloquent, so clear, so convincing that we cannot postpone the removal of that horrible fact until the war is

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over. If we need strong men to fight the nation's fights and the world's fights in times of war, we insist that we shall have strong men in times of peace and forever.

Special students of American conditions knew that there was illiteracy in some sections, but now, when in the camps thousands of young men appeared who did not know enough English to understand a command, they realize that it is essential that illiteracy be removed and that intelligence and knowledge are just as essential as bread and shelter.

We all knew in peaceful times that profiteering was a curse. But imagine the situation today. Somebody asked me on the floor of Congress whether I would favor a strike in the trenches. I said "No." Why not? Because in the trenches the rich boy and the poor boy, the banker's son and the bricklayer, are standing shoulder to shoulder pouring out their blood. The rich man's son does not try to get into the poor man's pocket and pick out his change. The rich man's son will exploit the poor man's son over here in industry. The very reverse takes place of what takes place on the battlefield. And that is why we must be energetic, strong and courageous. We are not going to scab on Uncle Sam, but we don't want any profiteer to scab on us!

There are great problems now. I don't know whether the statesmen of the world are capable of solving the problems that face the world today. But the British Labor Movement, the French Labor Movement, the Italian Labor Movement, the Labor Movements of the World have their reconstruction program. They speak as brave men, not from books, not from theories, not from little pamphlets. No. In the university of life they have learned a lesson, and the English worker and the French worker insist that when the war is over and when he goes back home he should be not only a partner to the national debt of Great Britain and a part owner of the French national obligations, but that he should have access to the land and to the industries and that he should be given an opportunity to live a free man's life in a free country.

And when you will be accused—and no one will dare accuse us—of lack of love for these United States, we say that, so far as we are concerned, no matter in what country some of us might have been born, no matter in what country the graves of our fathers may be, this country, where the cradle of our children is standing, is our home and our country! We shall not in this hour of crisis be weak. Now is the time for strong men.

Now friends, you delegates of a union representing laboring men, you are not all the labor movement unfortunately. There are still millions of toilers who don't know, who have not seen the light of organization. There are still millions of men who don't understand the mission of our movement. Let every one of you men and women constitute himself a teacher and an organizer and a leader. Read more, study more, try to understand more. Let not the word "workers" be a term of contempt. Organize, teach, don't throw the burden upon leaders only, because the leader has definite difficult functions to perform. The work of organizing must be done by the masses.

And not only in strikes. Oh, the strike unions! How I despise them! A strike organized, and all the people joining the union by paying in a quarter, and there is a union man. A scab yesterday, a quarter made him a union man today. That is the wrong kind of unionism.

It takes more sacrifices than that to be a real union man. It takes more manhood to be a union man than the paying in of a quarter. Upon you rests the fate of the world. And so let every one of us become a carrier of light, a propagandist of ideas, the zealot of a cause, the prophet of a better day, strong men, strong women in this terrible crisis where the world is being drowned in blood. We need every strong man. We need every intelligent man, we need every intelligent woman and more energy, more faith, more love for humanity!

A great ovation was given Congressman London upon the conclusion of his address.

Resolutions Assigned

Board Member Frank Rosenblum read the following resolutions, which were then assigned to committees:

Resolution No. 54—By delegation of Local 3, New York, on composition of General Executive Board. Referred to Committee on Law.

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Resolution No. 59—Boston Joint Board, on the eight-hour day. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 60—Pantsmakers' Delegation, New York, on organization campaign of pantsmakers. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 61—Chicago Joint Board, on organization campaign. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 62—Local 230, Baltimore, as to Bohemian organizer. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 63—Local 69, Baltimore, as to Polish organizer. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 64—Locals 4 and 9, New York; 61, Chicago; 116, Montreal; 15, Baltimore, as to cutter organizer. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 65—Local 30, New York, as to Russian organizer. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 66—Locals 15, 36, 69, 114 and 241, Baltimore, on organization of country shops. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 67—Local 157, New York, on organization of the Palm Beach workers. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 68—Local 69, Baltimore, on industrial organization with national branches. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 69—Locals 16, 186 and 262, New York, on thanks to Socialist press. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 70—Local 244, New York, on abolition of sub-contracting. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 71—Local 144, Chicago, on bonding of financial officers. Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 72—Chicago delegation, on financial support to "Daily World." Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 73—Local 114, Baltimore, on financial support to Public Ownership. Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 74—Toronto Joint Board, on financial support Naye Welt. Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 75—Toronto Joint Board, on financial support "Jewish Labor Gazette." Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 76—Locals 2 and 161, New York, on financial support of the Naye Welt. Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 77—Local 61, Chicago, on books and pamphlets. Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 78—Local 3, New York, on political prisoners. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 79—Local 175, New York, thanks to Harry Cohen. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 80—Locals 4 and 9, New York, thanks to Mrs. Blumberg for her most valuable services to the organization. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 81—Local 61, Chicago, on tuberculosis sanatorium. Referred to Committee on Miscellaneous.

Resolution No. 82—Local 61, Chicago, on organizing Chicago clothing workers. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 83—Local 6, Chicago, on Czecho-Slovak independence. Referred to Committee on Reports of Officers.

Resolution No. 84—Local 156, New York, on uniform prices on military work. Referred to Committee on Miscellaneous.

Resolution No. 85—Local 69, Baltimore, on representation by nationalities on the G. E. B. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 86—Local 156, New York, as to foremen and contractors. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 87—Local 144, Chicago, on uniform bookkeeping system. Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 88—Local 69, Baltimore, on subscription to official organs. Referred to Committee on Reports of Officers.

Resolution No. 89—Local 15, Baltimore, on organizing work. Referred to Committee on Organization.

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Resolution No. 90—Baltimore delegation, on the composition of the General Executive Board. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 91—Locals 2, 3 and 156, New York, on week work. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 92—Local 156, New York, endorsement of Socialist Party. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 93—Locals 153 and 248, Philadelphia and New York Shirtmakers, on organizing shirt and boys' waist workers. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 94—Locals 80 and 162, New York, on organization campaign among Custom Tailors of New York and Chicago. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 95—Boston Joint Board, requesting organizer for New England States. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 96—Local 4, New York, on financial support to Naturalization Aid League. Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 97—Local 120, Louisville, requesting a woman general organizer. Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 98—Locals 4, 175 and 248, New York, on financial support to the \$1,000,000 fund of the Socialist Party. Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 99—Local 43, on financial support of Williamsburg (Brooklyn) Labor Lyceum. Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 100—Locals 4, 7 and 142, New York, thanks to the Convention Arrangements Committee. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 101—Local 175, New York, as to financial support for the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 102—Local 152, Baltimore, providing a sinking fund of \$100,000. Referred to Committee on Finance.

Resolution No. 103—Local 12, New York, on salaries of general officers. Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 104—Local 56, Baltimore, proposing a \$5,000 fund for educational purposes. Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 105—Locals 3, 4 and 175, endorsing the American Defense Council. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate RABINOWITZ, of Chicago, moved that all resolutions read, whether favorably recommended by the Resolutions Committee or not, should be printed in the proceedings.

President HILLMAN announced that this would be done in the final report.

Report of Credentials Committee

Delegate POTOFSKY reported for the committee as follows:

The Chairman of the Credentials Committee asked me to report in the case of Local 54, which local has refused to let the General Office audit its books, and is not paying per capita for all of its members.

The committee ruled that the question of non-payment of the per capita does not belong to the Credentials Committee.

The Credentials Committee recommends that the two delegates from Local 54 are fully entitled to their seats on the basis of per capita paid.

In the matter of the local's refusal to have their books audited by the General Office, the delegates explained that on account of the inefficiency of the former Secretary, the books were not up-to-date, and as soon as they will be, in about a week or two, the General Office may audit their books.

The delegates also stated that they never refused to have their books audited, but were unable to do it because of the above-mentioned reason.

The Credentials Committee decided to allow Local 54 four weeks in which to bring their books to the General Office for auditing purposes.

Report of the committee was accepted.

The Credentials Committee heard an appeal on behalf of Brother Morrell, of Boston, in whose case action was taken at the second session, seating him as a dele-

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gate from Local 150, with a voice but no vote. The committee decided to ask the convention to reopen the case with the understanding that no precedent is thereby established.

The Credentials Committee also recommended the seating of Brother I. Kessler as delegate from Local 167, Montreal.

Delegate Skala, member of the Credentials Committee, moved that Brother Morrelli be seated and given a vote, without setting any precedent for the future.

Delegates Arnone, Marcovitz and Gold spoke for the motion; Delegates Goodman and Rieger spoke against it. All who spoke for giving a vote to Morrelli insisted that it should be clearly understood that that is not to be made a precedent for the future.

The motion was carried, and session adjourned at 12.30.

BALTIMORE CONVENTION

Fifth Session.

Baltimore, Md., Wednesday Afternoon, May 15, 1918

The Convention was called to order at 2.10 P. M., President Hillman presiding.

Secretary Schlossburg read the following messages:

Boston, Mass., May 14, 1918.

Massachusetts State Committee of the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poalei Zion, representing thousands of Jewish workingmen, send greetings from the bottom of their hearts to the convention at large. Congratulations to your leaders upon your splendid achievements. Wish you success and hope that you stand solidly for Jewish emancipation—emancipation of the working class.

I. HAMLIN, Secretary.

Boston, Mass., May 15, 1918.

Accept our heartiest wishes for your Third Annual Convention. May your splendid effort in both industrial and social endeavors be crowned with success.

JOINT BOARD, CLOAK MAKERS' UNION OF BOSTON.

Philadelphia, Pa., May 15, 1918.

We, the strikers of Wanamaker & Brown, who have been locked out by the firm, are extending our heartiest congratulations to your Third Biennial Convention. We are full of confidence and best spirit for our victory, knowing that your powerful organization is behind us.

SAMUEL KLESMER, Chairman, Wanamaker & Brown.

New York, N. Y., May 14, 1918.

The Wage Earners' Institute of New York City sends greetings to delegates assembled in convention and wishes them success in their endeavors on behalf of organized labor. Your organization has from the very start taken an active interest in the education of the working people. Permit me, therefore, on behalf of the organizing committee to extend to you an invitation to the conference for the education of working people to be held in New York City May 30 and 31st. It is requested that your organization be officially represented. Will you bring this to the attention of the convention.

ALEXANDER L. SHLUGER.

New York, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

In the name of the Bushlers' Branch of Local 2, New York, we congratulate you upon the work you did for our membership.

LONDON, Chairman.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

We send our heartiest greetings and best wishes to the Third Biennial Convention, and trust that the spirit which made our organization strong and leading will always prevail in our midst.

LOCAL 72, A. C. W. of A.

Rochester, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

Our congratulations to your Third Convention. Best wishes to your future enterprises.

YOUNG PROGRESSIVE CLUB.

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Baltimore, Md., May 15, 1918.

May the result of your deliberations bear the fruits of good work that will never decay in the history of labor. Best wishes to all delegates.

POLISH LOCAL 69, A. C. W. of A.
H. BUDACZ, Vice president,
J. WISNIEWSKI, Secretary.

New York, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

We, the employees of London's shop, send our best greetings and good wishes. Your noble work of the past is known. We hope you will continue it also in the future.
THE EMPLOYEES.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, May 15, 1918.

Heartiest wishes for success in all your plans for better conditions of labor.
JEWISH LABOR GAZETTE.

New York, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

We, the employees of Henry Davies, send our best greetings. Forty-four hours shall be our motto.

THE EMPLOYEES OF SAID SHOP.

Baltimore, Md., May 15, 1918.

The workers of Strouse & Brothers send their hearty congratulations to the Third Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A. Let the forty-four-hour week be our slogan. We send our personal greetings to President S. Hillman, Secretary Schlossberg and Judge Panken. We hope that this will be the most successful convention.
CHAIRMAN AND COMMITTEE OF STROUSE & BROS.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

Best wishes and congratulations from the members of Local 214, A. C. W. of A.
JACOB STABINSKY, Secretary.

New York, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

Accept our sincere congratulations and best wishes for a successful and result-bringing convention.

CUTTERS OF SAM FINKELSTEIN.
Jacob Bloom, Chairman.

New York, May 15, 1918.

Heartiest congratulations Third Biennial Amalgamated Convention. May our organization thrive and prosper in the future as it did in the past.
Greetings to Manager Blumberg, of District Council, No. 3, Baltimore, Md.:

A. YELOWITZ, Secretary,
Locals 43 and 85, A. C. W. of A.

Baltimore, Md., May 15, 1918.

We, the workers of Strouse & Bros., wish to call attention of the convention to the splendid work done in Baltimore city. Three cheers for Blumberg.

CHAIRMAN AND COMMITTEE OF STROUSE & BROS.

President HILLMAN: I shall ask the delegation to pay close attention to the proceedings at this session. General Secretary Schlossberg will read the report of the General Executive Board—a report that will cover the activities of our international organization for the last two years. I take pleasure in calling upon Brother Schlossberg to read the report. (Applause.)

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: Mr. President and Delegates—This report was completed and printed this week. It reached us from the printer last night. Under these circumstances, I am sure, you will pardon the omission of names of persons entitled to credit for work done, and of details.

Report of the General Executive Board

To the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,

GREETING:

Our second convention, held May, 1916, in Rochester, N. Y., charged us with the mission of establishing a forty-eight hour week for the clothing industry. We have the honor to report that your command has been carried out faithfully and successfully, in letter and in spirit. The forty-eight hour week is now so firmly established in our industry that a beginning has already been made for a forty-four hour week, a real eight hour day. This distinction belongs to our splendid organization in Toronto, Canada.

Our speedy and universal triumph in the forty-eight hour drive was no accident and no miracle. It was inevitable corollary of the loyalty, militancy and intelligence of our membership. It was the unavoidable outcome of that same magnificent spirit which has enabled our organization to successfully conduct all of its work during the past two years, as well as since its inception. The forty-eight hour week victory is only more conspicuous than the many other attainments because by its very nature, not being a part of the daily routine, it stands out in greatest relief.

It must be remembered, however, that the past twenty-four months constituted a period of intense battling for the rights of the workers in our industry. Our path was never strewn with roses, but we have always come out with flying colors.

Passing Through the Crisis in New York

In our report to the Second Convention we discussed the crisis then prevailing in the relations between our organization and the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association in New York. Though we had hoped for a speedy reestablishment of normal relations, the situation was growing ever more aggravated for some time until the employers realized that there are certain methods which, if applied by them against organized labor, carry their own penalty with them.

The relations between employers and employees, under the best of circumstances, are not those of a family circle or an ethical culture society. They are the relations of two opposing sets of relentless economic interests. When the workers are unorganized the relations and conditions are determined in the simplest, most primitive and the most ruthless manner: The employer commands without giving reasons and the workers obey without asking questions. Where the workers are organized they do frequently ask questions and the employers are often obliged to give reasons. The extent and persistency of the compelling questions depend upon the power of the organized workers. Where the workers are organized the employers are bound to take cognizance of their attitude in all such matters in which both parties are mutually concerned. The great task then is the establishing of an equilibrium that would be sustained by the relative strength of the two parties. The opposing material interests of the employers and the workers will necessitate adjustments and readjustments. Where efforts are made in good faith to maintain said equilibrium it is possible to meet the changing requirements of the situation as the mutual relations continue. Our relations with the largest firms in the industry have worked out in that manner.

In the New York situation, however, there were some factors that were absent in the others and they made for serious complications. The most irritating of them was the notion entertained by the employers that a Judas to the working class would succeed where others have failed, namely to break our organization. That notion took such hold of them that it required a most convincing demonstration of its futility in order to disillusion them.

Our organization did all it could, without injuring the interests of its members, to facilitate the successful working out of our agreement with the Association, in spite of all obstacles purposely and intentionally placed in the way, but failed.

The obstructions were made against both organizations, ours and the employers', by the party who knew of but one policy, to artificially stir up trouble between us and the employers so that he might be able to fish in troubled waters. We saw the situation clearly, but any suggestion that came from us indicating it was taken by the deluded manufacturers as a show of "fear" on our part and they proceeded on the "old and tried" theory that what we did not like must be good for them.

The following illustration will give an idea of the diabolic methods used to keep both parties in hot water continuously.

One of our shop chairmen was discharged. The firm charged him with incompetency. We had sufficient proof to show that it was a case of discrimination because of union activity. The outside chairman ruled against us. We accepted his ruling and the matter would have ended there. But the case was reported in the manufacturers' trade paper giving the name of the member and the cause given for his discharge. That was tantamount

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to placing the discharged member on the blacklist. Feelings naturally ran high.

Without asking us to agree to a modification of the agreement, announcement was suddenly made by the Association to the effect that the cutters' organization was no longer included in the agreement.

In order to leave no gap in the long chain of mischief making the following notices suddenly made their appearance in the cutting rooms of the members of the association:

- "1. Forty-eight hours constitute a week's work.
- "2. Overtime is paid at the rate of time and a half.
- "3. This is a union cutting and trimming department.
- "4. No discrimination, whatsoever, against any man belonging to a bona fide labor organization."

That was a challenge in the face of the organization announcing the employment of United Garment Workers' scabs.

In one case we were forced to call a strike in order to enforce a ruling of the Board of Moderators to return securities of fifty dollars to each worker a member of the association had forced his employees to pay.

Most of our difficulties arose from the fact that the employers failed to carry out the decisions and rulings of the Board of Moderators. Nor is it to be wondered at in a situation where firms of all sizes, standings and calibers, including such who were absolutely unscrupulous in their methods, were brought under one agreement with our organization which was in all cases and under all circumstances uniform in interests, policies and methods. The situation was made particularly difficult by the manufacturers conveniently shifting responsibility to the contractor.

Such was the atmosphere as between us and the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association at the time of the last convention.

The professional mischiefmaker, whom the Board of Moderators on one occasion correctly described as a "sinister influence", continued his old practices. He was intensely interested in discrediting and destroying the Board of Moderators, who proved a serious obstacle in his way, inasmuch as it afforded us an opportunity to submit facts and grievances and throw light on prevailing conditions, even if we failed to secure redress. The exposure of his methods was most embarrassing to the "sinister and secret influence" and could not but reflect upon his employers. We went much out of our way in order to assist the Board of Moderators in the hope of re-establishing a normal situation. But the Board did not rise to its task and opportunity. It unwittingly played into the hands of the "sinister influence" and permitted itself to be destroyed by him. On May 25, 1916, the Board of Moderators, consisting of Dr. J. L. Magnes, Dr. Henry Moscowitz and Mr. Charles L. Bernheimer, announced its resignation.

The Board of Moderators was created under the agreement with the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association in July, 1915. The unwilling-

ness of the Association to carry out the provisions of the agreement and the rulings of the Moderators nearly precipitated a general strike in January, 1916. The resignation of the Board of Moderators followed a futile attempt on their part to revive the agreement which had been destroyed by the methods of the Association.

In that situation we were not in the least worried about any ill consequences to ourselves. We felt perfectly safe. We were, however, very much concerned about the possible effect on the Cloakmakers' Union, which was then fighting a lockout of its sixty thousand members in New York. Great efforts were made by the cloak manufacturers' association to exploit the resignation of the Board of Moderators in order to prejudice the public mind against labor unions generally. Fortunately all those attempts failed.

But while the cloak manufacturers did not succeed in securing any aid and comfort for themselves from the action of the Board of Moderators, our employers benefited greatly by the struggle in the cloak industry. The magnitude of the cloak strike and the necessity of giving the strikers all the moral and financial support possible prevented our members from making demands for wage increases, though there was ample justification for it, particularly in the coatmaking branch.

In the city of New York the men's clothing industry is still overwhelmingly a contracting industry. The sweat shop of old is gone, but the contractor is still there. Our members are not in the immediate employ of the manufacturer. The Union holds the manufacturer responsible for its members' wages and working conditions, but it is from the contractor's hand that the workers receive their pay envelopes.

The cut-throat competition among the contractors enables the manufacturers to force prices down to the breaking point. Where the workers are not organized, the contractor helps himself to their wages to reimburse himself so that he is not the loser. Under such a condition the capacity for competition is determined by the power to exploit the workers. Thus the manufacturers enjoy the full benefit of the ruthless exploitation and bear none of the responsibilities for it. When wage reductions are carried to the starvation point a spontaneous revolt is the natural and unavoidable outcome. Many a strike in former years was just such a desperate outbreak to which the workers were literally driven by the pangs of hunger.

Where the workers are organized, they resist all attempts at wage reductions, and the contractors must conduct their struggle of competition at the expense of their own profits. But the constant and growing pressure of the manufacturer upon the contractor must ultimately affect the workers employed by the latter. In some cases reductions in wages are forced on the workers, in others the contractor absconds with the entire payroll, reduced or otherwise. The cut throat competition among the contractors, fostered and encouraged by the manufacturers, who are the only beneficiaries of the mad scramble, often keeps the union busy collecting the hard earned wages for its members who must also lose working time looking for new jobs.

We should be happy to see the contracting system abolished. So long as there must be employers and wage workers, we should like to see our industry on the same basis as other large industries, the workers employed directly and immediately by the manufacturers. But while it is not within our power to eradicate the evil, we have tried to regulate it and remove at least its most objectionable features, make it less brutalizing for the contractors, who are human beings like the rest of us, and less degrading for the workers. We have no solidarity with the contractor as an employer, but we are interested in his protection in so far as that means protection for our members employed by him. Accordingly, we made our renewed agreement with the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association in January, 1916, a tri-partite agreement, bringing in the contractors, through their organizations, in all such matters in which they might be concerned. If the agreement had not been intended by the "sinister influences" mentioned above to be no more than a scrap of paper, a sound machinery to regulate conditions in the industry would have been established. As it was, we could do no more than expound the principle, lay out the plan and commit it to writing. It naturally remained a dead letter. The contractor continued the old grab-as-grab-you-can system. A point was reached where the coat contractors, who seemed to have suffered most, could stand it no longer. They organized and instituted a lockout on August 1, 1916.

A Lockout That Brings a Wage Increase

In a letter to the New York Joint Board they stated that the lockout was not intended against the workers. The contractors only closed the shops in order to secure concessions from the manufacturers.

The New York Joint Board immediately took hold of the situation as far as our members were concerned. The position of our organization was defined substantially as follows: In the quarrel between our immediate and mediate employers, the contractors and the manufacturers, we can not be silent witnesses while we are losing earnings by idleness. We cannot force you, employers, to open your shops, let us continue our work and earn our wages, if you choose to keep them closed, but if we must lose our earnings while you are fighting out your own dispute, we serve notice on you that when you call us back into your shops we shall return only if our wages are increased by one dollar a week. We did not quit work to demand higher wages lest we embarrass the struggling cloakmakers, but now that we are forced into idleness by your action, we take this occasion to get the increase that we should have got some time ago.

The lockout was of very short duration. When our members returned to the shops it was on higher wages. The increase was general throughout the coatmaking trade.

Relations With the Manufacturers' Association Restored

In the meantime the relations between our organization and the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association were restored. There was no written agreement and no formal machinery for adjusting disputes, but

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some informal modus vivendi has grown out of the daily relation between our organization and the leading members of the association for the adjustment of disputes as they arose.

THE MOVEMENT FOR THE 48-HOUR WEEK

The resignation of the Board of Moderators was completely forgotten. Those who had hoped that the wide publicity given to the statement of the Board and the antagonistic interpretation placed on it would injure the organization found themselves bitterly disappointed. We proceeded with our work undisturbed, calling strikes and winning them where strikes could not be avoided, and preventing strikes where that could be done without depriving our members of the protection and benefits due them from their organization. We continued this routine with vigor and energy, but with no occasion for any great demonstration of our power until the movement began for the forty-eight hour week. The time came for the carrying out of the mandate of the Rochester Convention.

Committees representing the New York Joint Board and the Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades appeared before the General Executive Board at its session in New York, October, 1916, and asked that we endorse a movement they wished to initiate for a forty-eight hour week. The General Executive Board promptly authorized such a movement and the campaign opened immediately with mass meetings, literature and general propaganda. The membership had a full opportunity to discuss all the issues involved. They were discussed at Joint Board meetings, local meetings, shop meetings, in the press, and they were topics for discussion wherever our members congregated.

When the movement assumed definite form and it was clear that the membership stood behind it as a unit, the following communication was sent to the employers:

The undersigned has been authorized by the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to inform you that demands have been formulated by our membership for the coming season, as stated below.

The increase in the cost of living has been so great that it is impossible for our members to meet it out of the wages they now receive. And wages are the only source of income our members have.

The lowest possible increase in wages to enable our members to meet to any appreciable extent the constantly growing prices of the necessities of life is two dollars per week. Our membership has decided to make that one of its principal demands.

We also ask that the working week be reduced to forty-eight hours.

The trend of the clothing markets throughout the country is towards a forty-eight hour week. In some cases the employers have already granted this shorter week; in others movements and negotiations are on foot towards that end.

The rising prices on necessities of life make an increase in wages inevitable.

The development of the methods of production makes a reduction in the working week imperative.

Some employers in the clothing industry have already recognized the justice of the workers' demands along these lines and conceded them.

There are also other changes in the working conditions that have become necessary and that our members ask to establish.

To sum up, the demands we submit are:

- a. A minimum wage increase of two dollars per week.
- b. A 48-hour week.
- c. Such changes in the working conditions as are necessary.

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We submit the above to you in the hope that you will see it in the proper light and enable us to put the changed conditions into effect for the ensuing season. We hope to be able to reach a satisfactory agreement with you and avoid a struggle.

You are, therefore, asked to take this matter up with the undersigned on or before December 1, 1916.

ALEX COHEN,
Secretary-Treasurer,
NEW YORK JOINT BOARD, A. C. W. OF A.

A similar letter was sent out by the Children's Clothing Joint Board. Both Joint Boards co-operated in making the movement a success throughout the industry.

The Joint Board of Children's Clothing Trades was, however, more favorably situated than was its sister organization, the larger body, because of the fact that its working week was forty-nine hours, while the working week of the men's clothing workers was fifty hours. The Children's Clothing organization also had the advantage of having no such disturbing elements in its industry as the men's clothing organization was afflicted with. Its agreement with the Associated Boys' Clothing Manufacturers worked out satisfactorily and all matters, whether routine or demands for new conditions, were taken up by representatives of both organizations for negotiation and adjudication.

The new demands were taken up in the same manner. After a series of conferences between our representatives and those of the Association, the latter granted the forty-eight hour week, an increase of \$2 a week in the wages of the cutters and \$1 a week in the wages of the tailors. That went into effect December 12, 1916. The entering wedge for the 48 hour week for the tailors was made without the necessity of resorting to a strike.

We conferred with the leading manufacturers in the men's clothing industry in the hope of avoiding a strike there too, but that proved an impossibility.

After a number of conferences this final compromise offer was made to us on December 4th, 1916: 'A wage increase of one dollar a week, a forty-nine hour working week immediately and a forty-eight hour week in June, 1917. The proposition was submitted to representatives of our membership at a special joint meeting of the New York Joint Board and the Executive Committees of all of its affiliated locals on December 5th. The compromise on the working hours was unanimously rejected, and this action was ratified by the general membership at about twenty monster mass meetings held in the afternoon of December 7th, with a unanimity that denoted inflexible determination.

The memory of those meetings will forever remain green with those who had the privilege of witnessing them.

Libraries have been filled with books on both sides of the Labor Question. Speeches without number have been made in support of and in opposition to the Labor Movement. But none of those books and speeches can give the student such a deep insight into the great Social Problem as meetings such as those. The non-diplomatic and unsophisticated but straightforward and genuinely human arguments of those sons of toil who came

directly from the workshop to attend the parliament of their industry reveal the true soul of the modern and intelligently organized proletariat. It is at such meetings that one can see industrial democracy in the making. Books may be a chronicle of events or an interpretation of them. But our meetings show the events as they occur, in their actual social, ethical and psychological settings and the moral forces guiding them. This is not meant to detract from the value of books and book education. On the contrary, we hope to see the workers read and study ever more. But with the growth of the intelligent labor movement, books alone do not cover all the ground. Happy is he who can supplement his book study with actual touch with the class struggle and vice versa.

The meetings through which the masses who carry the industry on their backs were legislating for their industry demonstrated courage and intelligence which were truly inspiring.

The Argument For the Forty-Eight Hour Week

The stock argument usually advanced in favor of the forty-eight hour week is that a worker can produce more under it than under a longer working week. In short, it pays the employer. A workingman less fatigued will produce more than a workingman more fatigued. But the moment that argument is translated into terms of money it can appeal to the employer only. In this particular instance the worker is interested in the matter of fatigue, not in dollars and cents, just as the employer is interested in money, which is his, and not in fatigue, which is the worker's. If in any case the employer should succeed in disproving the contention that a shorter working day means more production the worker has no leg to stand on. Compare that shorter-work-day-and-more-production argument with the following point made at the joint meeting that rejected the compromise, made by a man who came to the meeting straight from the ironing board. He said: "When this war is over, our unfortunate fellow humans now suffering in the war stricken countries on the other side of the ocean will come here in search of their livelihood. We want to provide now so that when they come here they may find an opportunity to work and honestly and dignifiedly earn their bread and butter. By reducing our working week by two hours we will enable many of them to find employment alongside of us. We may not be able to do it then, but we can do it now. We cannot do more, but this much we can and must do."

Of course that was not the only argument. Nor was it one that was based on an immediate economic cause, which is always the compelling cause. But while the former argument reveals the tool and commodity status of the worker, which is his present status, the latter argument discloses the beauty of the human soul in the worker, his striving to a human status, to a condition where the worker will be a human being in full stature and not a flesh and blood machine, more often a skin and bone machine, for the production of goods and profits.

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The underlying economic cause for the demand for a shorter working week was the same in our case as in the case of all other organized workers: not less fatigue in order to produce more, but less exacting toil in order to live more, better and happier.

The case for the forty-eight hour week was defined in our press when the great struggle in New York was imminent, and may well be reproduced here.

It was as follows:

Twenty-seven years ago the first International Socialist Congress called upon the workers to fight for an eight hour working day and dedicated to that struggle a special labor day, the First of May. At that time and for a long time thereafter, the attainment of the eight hour working day was looked upon as an ideal which would probably be realized some day in the very distant future. Since 1889, however, large numbers of workers have gained the eight hour day and it has ceased to be a dream.

Public opinion, which is always timid and the last to abandon old traditions, now also sanctions the eight hour day.

Our own industry, too, has at last reached the eight hour day stage.

With us it is still a forty-eight hour week. Years ago an eight hour day did mean a forty-eight hour week. But the Saturday half holiday is becoming a universal custom, and a real eight hour day now means forty-four hours a week.

In the clothing industry, particularly in New York, where there was practically no limitation to the working time a few years ago, except physical endurance, the introduction of the fifty hour week was a radical revolution. But we have passed that stage and are now entering the era of the universal forty-eight hour week for the entire industry.

Why a forty-eight hour week?

Some say that we are lazy, that we do not wish to work more and earn more. Others say that the workers are not interested in the shorter hours, that the agitation of the leaders alone is responsible for the issue having been raised.

But the situation is such that it calls to us: You will either reduce your working time or your lives!

The technical development in the clothing industry has been quite rapid of late. While improved machinery and division of labor make it easy to learn a given operation, they also make work so much more intense and exacting.

One does not exert himself to the same extent while making a complete garment as he does while working constantly at one and the same operation.

The mechanic who made a complete garment was naturally fatigued after ten or twelve hours of continuous toil. But in the course of those ten or twelve hours he was obliged to pass from one operation to another, which afforded him some measure of relief. Also, his personal interest in constructing the garment helped to sustain the master mechanic in his hard work.

The worker who is always making one small part of the garment has no occasion to move from one operation to another. His work is monotonous, tedious and, because of that, exceedingly burdensome.

There is also another factor adding to the hardships of the modern clothing worker, i. e., the neckbreaking speed. The full-fledged tailor, making the entire garment, must keep pace with himself only. If he is slower he earns less; if he is faster he makes more. He can work side by side with a slower or faster neighbor without hampering or being hampered.

It is different, however, with the clothing worker of to-day, who is only a cog in the huge wheel of the modern process of labor. He who performs only one operation finds his work more exacting not only because of the monotony and lack of mental interest, but also because he must maintain a constant race with the worker that "feeds" him, whose operation precedes his, and also with the one that is "fed" by him, whose operation follows his. They, in turn, are situated exactly as he is. Unless he keeps fully apace with them, and they with the others, the labor process will be disrupted and production demoralized. The greater the division of labor the more monotonous the work and the higher the speed and the strain.

Under such conditions human strength must be quickly exhausted. Under the system in vogue in the olden days tailors, though working hard, lived to an advanced age. Under the modern system that is impossible. We only age quickly, even as we do our work speedily, much ahead of time. It being impossible to abolish the health wrecking and life destroying system, increased rest becomes a most vital matter. Accordingly, there is but one remedy in sight: Reducing the working time. Two hours more freedom from such strenuous toil literally means two hours more life.

There is still another factor to be reckoned with.

The worker earns approximately as much as he needs for his sustenance. His earnings may fluctuate from time to time, but they always tend to the irreducible minimum without which the worker cannot sustain himself and his family. His earnings are what they are at a given time, regardless of the standard working time. A fifty-four hour standard week does not increase earnings and a forty-eight hour standard week does not reduce them. On the contrary, for obvious reasons, the shorter working week makes for higher earnings, for their greater stability and for an advanced standard of living, which in turn raises the irreducible minimum. In a word, the modern labor process in the clothing industry has compelled the clothing worker to fight for a forty-eight hour week in order to conserve both his health and his earnings and all that they mean for general human happiness. He must raise his standard ever higher or it will be forced down ever lower.

The above statement of the situation establishes the foundation underlying our forty-eight hour movement in particular, and all movements for improved conditions in general. It is clear that the movement for the shorter working week was no whim or caprice. It was a compelling necessity.

It will be easy to understand now why our members rejected the com-

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promise offered them. The resolution which we herewith reproduce, rejecting that offer, expresses willingness to compromise in the matter of wages but not in the matter of working hours.

The resolution as adopted at the joint meeting of the New York Joint Board and local executive committees, and unanimously approved by the subsequent mass meeting, was as follows:

We, the members of the New York Joint Board and of the local Executive Committees of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, assembled in Forward Hall, Tuesday, December 5, 1916, heard the report of our officers, who had conferred with some of the largest clothing manufacturers, to the effect that the latter have offered us an increase of one dollar a week in our wages, a reduction of one hour in the working week, and an additional reduction of one hour in June, 1917.

We emphatically declare that we consider the forty-eight hour week as the most important immediate means in order to afford some relief to the workers in our industry from the exacting strain they are being subjected to by the increasing speeding up system. Many workers in our industry have already achieved the forty-eight hour week, and those who have not are striving for it with religious enthusiasm.

We, the representatives of the organized clothing workers of New York, feel that by proclaiming our determination for the immediate establishment of the forty-eight hour week we faithfully and conscientiously represent our fellow workers. The development of our industry makes it imperative, our organized power makes it possible. We have raised the banner of the forty-eight hour week and pledge ourselves to carry it onward until victory is secured, without a fight if possible, with a fight if necessary.

We herewith authorize our officials to do all that they may deem fit in order to enforce the purpose of this declaration and to negotiate with our employers on all other demands submitted by us.

All further conferences with the employers proved fruitless. They were inflexible in their opposition to the forty-eight hour week. A strike became unavoidable.

Children's Clothing Workers Win Forty-eight Hour Week

During all that time the children's clothing workers' organization was in conference with the Association of their employers. On December 12th, by agreement between our organization and the Associated Boys' Clothing Manufacturers, the forty-eight hour week became the law of the Children's Clothing Industry, to take effect December 25th. Strikes were declared against such independent firms as had refused to abide by that very important piece of industrial legislation. The strikes were of short duration and the new working week became an accomplished fact for the entire boys' clothing industry before the New Year began.

General Strike in the Men's Clothing Industry

December 13th, the morrow after the forty-eight hour week was granted to the children's clothing workers, saw the beginning of the general strike of the men's clothing workers.

Never was a strike better organized and more efficiently conducted. That was also the first general strike of clothing workers in New York that was not a spontaneous outbreak of starved slaves driven to desperation by their misery. The Union did not plead the members' poverty as justification for

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the strike and did not appeal to pity and charity. On the contrary, it proudly announced that the workers by their organized power were well able to take care of their fundamental wants, which alone caused strikes in former years, but that the time had come for the workers to strike for the satisfaction of the higher human wants; to strike not only for a *living* but for a *better and happier living*.

No sooner was the strike proclaimed, and no sooner did the workers leave the shops, than the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association announced through the public press an agreement with the scab agency known as the United Garment Workers of America, which we reproduce here for the amusement of our members and the historian. The treacherous nature of the document speaks for itself and requires no comment from us.

The "agreement":

I. The hours of labor shall be 48 hours a week in the cutting department, and 50 hours a week in the tailoring departments. On June 1, 1917, at the complete conclusion of the spring season, the working hours shall be 49 hours per week in the tailoring shops, and at the beginning of the following spring season, not later than December 25, 1917, the working hours in the tailoring shops shall constitute 48 hours per week.

II. Increase in Wages: The Association, in order to carry out in detail its pledge for the third increase during the year 1916, to all workers in the clothing trade, regardless of union or non-union, hereby reaffirms:

A. That all employees in the cutting department will receive an increase in wages—i. e., a minimum of \$1 and a maximum of \$2, beginning with the week of December 18.

B. That all such tailors working for members of this association directly, will receive an additional increase in their wages beginning December 18, a minimum of \$1 and a maximum of \$2.

C. That all the members of the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association will advance on all contract work sent to their respective shops, from December 18, an increase of a minimum of 10 per cent and a maximum of twelve per cent for the purpose of enabling them to grant an increase to their respective workers, union or non-union, a minimum of \$1 and a maximum of \$2 per week.

III. Status of the Union: The American Clothing Manufacturers' Association will give preference in employment to members of the United Garment Workers of America. In turn the United Garment Workers of America will not discriminate against any employee who may be affiliated with another organization, or refuse to join any organization.

IV. Adjustment of Disputes: The parties hereby constitute a Committee of Two—one representing each side, as hereinafter provided, to be regarded as a permanent standing committee, whose duties it shall be to adjust all matters of dispute that may arise between members of the association and the union.

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V. Should the Committee of Two fail to agree on some specific case, the matter shall be referred to a committee on immediate action as hereafter provided for settlement.

VI. Immediate Action: A committee on Immediate Action, consisting of three representatives of each side, with an impartial chairman, shall be selected. Said committee on Immediate Action may be called by either member of the Committee of Two, in the event of the latter's disagreement on the disputes in question.

It is agreed that pending the adjustment of disputes through the machinery provided for in this agreement, there shall be no strike or lock-out by the parties thereto.

VII. The parties hereby agree to create within 60 days a council of Moderators who shall be chosen as follows:

A. On the part of the Union, an official of the American Federation of Labor.

B. On the part of the Manufacturers, a representative employer from the Chamber of Commerce or the Merchants' Association.

C. One who shall be chosen by the first named two individuals.

The Board of Moderators shall act on an official appeal from the committee on Immediate Action on such matters where they have failed to agree and their decision shall be final with no appeal from it.

VIII. It is mutually agreed that the parties to this agreement will constitute within 60 days a committee on revision, consisting of three representatives of each side whose duties it shall be to study the developments of trade and trade conditions, etc., and from time to time submit their reports to both organizations for such revisions of this agreement, as may be to the best interests of all concerned.

IX. This agreement shall continue at least until January 1, 1918.

X. No later than three months prior to the expiration of this agreement, representatives of the association and union shall meet in conference to consider the question of its renewal or modification.

The expected stampede of the strikers back to the factories as a result of the "agreement" did not materialize. On the contrary, the injection of the contemptible scab crew served to fire still more the enthusiasm of the strikers. If anything was at all lacking in order to raise the strikers' ardor to the highest degree, that "agreement" filled the gap admirably.

The elements opposing us in that memorable struggle were more than usually savage and brutal. The guerillas, police, private detectives and professional strikebreakers are no strangers to the clothing workers, and in this case they were extraordinarily ruthless. But the fight was continued in the teeth of all opposition, prosecution and persecution.

Immediately before calling the strike we addressed the following letter to Police Commissioner Woods:

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Arthur Woods, Esq.,
Police Commissioner,
New York, N. Y.

Dec. 9, 1916.

Dear Sir:—

Sixty thousand men and women in the men's and children's clothing industry of Greater New York may be called on strike next week. They have voted to demand a 48-hour week and a wage increase of \$2.00 a week to meet the increased cost of living. It is our wish that this general strike, if it be called, be free from disorder of every kind. In the past strikes manufacturers have recruited private armies of gangsters from notorious strikebreaking agencies to terrorize our pickets. Men and women have been attacked near struck factories by these gangsters while in the lawful exercise of their rights.

Unfortunately the police have not co-operated with us in our efforts to maintain peace during past strikes. The attitude of you and the department we know is neutral. But there are a number of policemen who have no sympathy with organized labor. Instead they are partial to the gangsters and the scabs and strikebreakers. The manufacturers win the friendship of these policemen by providing them with lunches in their buildings and doing other favors for them while they are on duty.

Such favoritism would not be tolerated by you if you were aware of it, so we are asking that you issue a special order to the police of the city to be neutral in this contest. We know that we will win out without one act of disorder or violence. Every worker has been warned to obey the orders of the general strike and picketing committees. If the police will do the same there will be no complaint against either party in the strike.

Private armies of big corporations always cause trouble, as we have seen in Colorado, Bayonne, West Virginia, Michigan and other places of extensive strikers. If such can be kept from this strike we promise you the police will have no difficulty in preserving order.

Respectfully yours,

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

(Signed) SIDNEY HILLMAN, General President,
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary.

Woods was reputed to be a liberal minded official. He probably wished to see us get a square deal. But in a conflict between capital and labor he could not be stronger than the "system" and we received our full measure of police "attention."

Our fellow workers in other industries took a deep interest in our great struggle. The following correspondence will serve as an illustration of the fraternal spirit shown by them.

New York, Dec. 18, 1916.

General Strike Committee,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
32 Union Square, New York City.

Greetings:—

Your present fight for better conditions and humane treatment is the chief topic of discussion by the civilized and modern workers of America. Our Joint Board was with you at all events whenever you fought for better conditions, which are the fundamental principles of the human race. We realize that we are in duty bound to be with you at the present time because your fight is our fight, and your victory is our victory. The cloakmakers recall the attack on them last summer by their enemies and the attitude taken by you and your members in the factories in their struggle.

There was a time when the Jewish and Italian workers were submissive and devoted to all promises of the employers and ignored the labor agitator who is the yeast of human progress and nature. A change took place. Economic suppression caused the workers to become organized and not to be dependent upon the mercy of the employers. The struggle for economic freedom will not cease as long as the worker will be deprived of the necessities of life. No doubt in your present fight, there will be no sect and the Italian and Jewish brothers will not be captured by traitors and spies who are paid by the employers and who have the task of convincing the workers to dark, cheerless and comfortless homes.

The cloakmakers are again with you in your grave hour and you may expect the moral as well as the financial support of our Union to its largest extent.

BALTIMORE CONVENTION

We trust and hope that unity and solidarity will prevail amongst your workers and that you will come out victorious in the present fight, which is for a higher standard of human living.

Yours fraternally,
JOINT BOARD CLOAK AND SKIRT MAKERS' UNIONS.
(Signed) LOUIS LANGER, Secretary.

Mr. Louis Langer, Sec'y,
Joint Board Cloak and Skirt Makers Union,
40 East 23rd St., New York City.

New York, Dec. 19, 1916.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

Your letter of December 18th, extending to our striking members the greetings and best wishes of the Cloakmakers' Union and the offer of financial and moral support, was received today. Its publication will be received by our members with pride and happiness.

We are all proud of the great Cloakmakers' Union, of its magnificent record as a militant body of organized workers, of its readiness to defend the interests of its own members and lend a helping hand to other members of the working class in their battles with capitalism. We are happy over the fact that this great body of labor feels with us and shares with us our joys and our sorrows just as we share theirs with them. We never entertained any doubt as to the feelings of the great army of organized cloakmakers about the mighty struggle that we are now engaged in. We have always felt that we can depend upon your fullest support in the event it should become necessary. Your letter strengthens our confidence still more and raises our spirit still higher.

We feel that the progressive labor movement, of which you and we are important factors, is no sordid, materialistic affair for selfish purposes, but that we are all working jointly in the interests of our class as a whole, extending our help wherever it may be needed, even if outside of our immediate ranks.

We all feel that our cause is one and that whether we are fighting as cloak workers against cloak manufacturers, or as clothing workers against clothing manufacturers, we are all fighting for working class interests, for the elevation of our class as such and against the oppression of the capitalistic class as such.

We have always felt that any success achieved by you must naturally redound to our benefit and vice versa. Your present message to us is new proof of the fact that you feel and strive with us for the same purpose.

The fight now conducted by us is for a great principle, to make the life of the worker worth living. The establishment of the 48-hour week, which is our principal demand, will be an important step in that direction. Our victory in this struggle will, as of necessity it must, strengthen your hands in improving your working conditions.

Let us take this occasion to assure you that when our members contributed many thousands of dollars to the support of your strike last summer, it was done with a feeling of happiness, affection and true brotherly love, with a feeling also that the organized cloakmakers' and the organized clothing workers are one.

We all realize that we belong to you and you belong to us. We hope that a time will come when, instead of a number of separate international organizations, there will be one great powerful and all embracing body of needle workers.

Thanking you in behalf of our striking members in New York and our membership generally, I am,

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,
General Secretary,
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

With all the workers out, with all the nationalities standing together as a unit, and led by a powerful organization, the outcome of the gigantic struggle was never in doubt.

Proud of their organization and convinced of the justice of their Cause and its ultimate triumph, our members fought like Trojans in spite of the tremendous obstacles.

At the end of the second week of the struggle we received the following letter:

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

New York, December 28, 1916.

Mr. Max Friedman, Chairman of Labor Committee,
American Clothing Manufacturers' Association, and
Mr. Sidney Hillman, President
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Dear Sir:—

As citizens deeply interested in the peaceful solution of industrial conflicts, primarily and wherever possible, by a full and frank conference of the parties immediately interested, we take the liberty of offering to you but a single suggestion towards the settlement of the pending strike in the men's clothing trade.

We make the suggestion because experience has shown the difficulty of the parties themselves getting together without interposition of a third person; each side is restrained lest its initiative seem a sign of weakness. And thus the very difficulty of meeting engenders new conflicts.

We therefore tender to you our services in arranging a meeting of both sides, in bringing you together for a joint conference, in the confident hope that a frank discussion by you of the differences between the two sides will enable you, alone or with such outside aid as may be mutually agreeable to you, to end the strike and bring about a just and lasting peace.

We suggest an immediate answer so that the meeting may be arranged before the year ends.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) JULIAN W. MACK,
WILLIAM O. THOMPSON.

Address:

Care of Association of Bar,
42 West 44th Street.

We accepted the offer of Judge Mack and Mr. Thompson. The American Clothing Manufacturers' Association did likewise in spite of the "agreement" with the scab agency, having realized that we were determined not to be beaten.

The conferences were held on December 30th, 1916, with the Judas Iscariot previously mentioned eliminated, and resulted in the following understanding:

The universal forty-eight hour week to go into effect January 22; \$2 increase in the weekly wages to the cutters and \$1 increase to the tailors to go into effect immediately.

The terms of settlement were accepted by the General Strike Committee and unanimously ratified by as many and as enthusiastic mass meetings of our membership as had rejected the forty-nine hour proposition.

On January 22, 1917, the clothing industry in New York City became firmly and definitely established on the forty-eight hour basis.

It was a remarkable coincidence that the revolutionary change in our industry, that enlargement of freedom for our members should occur on a date which is a red letter day in the history of Freedom, January 22 being the anniversary of the Russian Red Sunday of 1905.

Whoever has had the privilege of watching the clothing workers emerge from the black plague of sweat shopism with its unlimited hours, overlimited wages, complete absence of rights and hopes, as a compact and intelligently organized body, steadily gaining ground, always asserting their rights, and raising themselves to an ever higher standard of life, has seen the best demonstration of the disinherited proletariat coming into its own, and must find his faith in the emancipation of the working class confirmed and strengthened.

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We feel that we are justified in proudly emphasizing the fact that our great New York strike of nearly sixty thousand workers was financed throughout by ourselves, from funds raised by our own members, without the need of calling upon our fellow workers in other organizations for assistance, without even the need of asking the help of the other local unions in our own International. That, too, was the first instance of its kind in the history of clothing workers' strikes in this country.

The New York strike was followed by movements in other clothing centers for the forty-eight hour week which were crowned with success all along the line. In some cases strikes were necessary; in others they were not.

The New York Call

It may not be amiss at this juncture to record the fact that under its former editorship the "New York Call" had persistently opposed our organization, even to the extent of suppressing the news of the historic class struggles under our banner in Chicago and in Baltimore, though we had the support of the Socialist Party in both cases. During the forty-eight hour strike in New York the then editor of the "Call" took every opportunity to try to stab us in the back and he brazenly encouraged scabbing upon the "agreement" with the scab agency. The members of the Socialist Party finally rose in resentment against the outrageous conduct of the editor and forced a working class attitude of the paper towards our organization. The making of the "Call" what it was intended to be, a clear cut working class paper, has created an atmosphere in which the non-socialist Editor could not thrive. He has since come out in his true colors, as a vilifier and defamer of the socialist movement in the interests of the reactionary powers of the country. Since Comrade Charles Erwin has been placed at the helm of the "Call," the paper has consistently and faithfully championed our cause to our mutual benefit.

BALTIMORE THE OLD BATTLEGROUND

Two years ago we reported to the Rochester convention the conspiracy formed against us by the A. F. of L.-I. W. W. hybrid in Baltimore. The wonderful fight then conducted by our organization in that city is still fresh in our memory. We have made giant strides in Baltimore since then. You will be happy to know that we are now meeting in a city where the clothing industry is nearly one hundred per cent. organized under our banner, where the forty-eight hour week has been made universal for all our members since our last convention, and where our members have received substantial increases in their wages. But while the result achieved is heart gladdening and inspiring, the road we had to travel in order to arrive where we now are was far from inviting.

A famous General in our Civil War said that "war is hell." If he had had in mind the war forced on us by the A. F. of L. and I. W. W. combination in Baltimore in the years 1916-17 he could not have given a more

correct description of it. That war was literally an inferno. We emerged from it strong, powerful and in full command of the situation; the conspirators remained there never to come again.

Before the last convention it was at the Greif factory that the conspirators had concentrated their forces against us. Since that convention they attempted to execute their nefarious schemes against our members at the Strouse & Bros.' factory. If the history of the labor misleaders in America will ever be written, their crimes against the clothing workers in Baltimore will be among the blackest acts of treason committed by them against the working class.

The Baltimore "Public Ownership" of July 15, 1916, official organ of the Socialist Party of Baltimore, Md., contains the following account of the Strouse affair, written by a member of our organization. We reproduce it here in full, headings, text and all:—

"THE TRUE STORY OF THE GREAT STROUSE STRIKE

"Another Chapter in the History of the Notorious Strikebreakers Ferguson, Cohen and Gordon

"FEDERATION PRESIDENT ADVISES SLUGGING DONE AWAY FROM STROUSE FACTORY. BY A MEMBER OF AMALGAMATED

"Since the Greif strike, the I. W. W. who consistently scabbed during that time, have allied themselves, body and soul, with the Gordon and Ferguson combination. The purpose in view is to destroy that splendid organization, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the organization which in the past two years has been successful in obtaining shorter hours and an increase in wages in all of the clothing centers in the United States.

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' organization has always opposed sub-contracting, a system wherein one worker has charge of an operation and exploits those working under him. It permits one man to employ helpers at a low wage from whose labors he reaps a big profit. Thus, the helper who may be just as good a mechanic as the sub-contractor, earns \$15.00 a week, while the sub-contractor who does no more work than the helper, is earning from \$40.00 to 50.00. a week.

"I. W. W. Favors Sub-Contracting

"This system is ENCOURAGED by the I. W. W., and is in effect in the few coat shops that they control.

"On Thursday, June 23, the Amalgamated shop committee of Strouse & Bros. waited upon the firm and insisted that sub-contracting be abolished in the shop. The firm agreed and submitted to the shop committee two propositions, one an increase in the price of the pocket from 13¼ cents to 14 cents, on a piece work basis, or an increase of \$2.00 each to all of the helpers on a week work basis.

"The helpers were content with the concessions obtained by the committee but the sub-contractors were dissatisfied. The sub-contractors de-

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clared to the committee when they left the office of the firm that they would be content to work for 13½ cents per pocket instead of 14 cents, which was one-half cent less than the committee had obtained, provided the shop would agree to the maintenance of the sub-contracting system.

"Profits Gone; Join I. W. W.

"The committee refused this offer and these two sub-contractors, who belonged to the Amalgamated, joined the I. W. W. and persuaded the majority of their helpers, who are their blood relations, to go out on an individual strike without consulting the other workers in the shop. And the sad fact must be recorded that these foolish helpers, whose wages under the new arrangements were increased from 25 per cent to 30 per cent, permitted themselves to be misled.

"Monday, June 27, at 9 A. M., a shop meeting of all the workers in Strouse's shop was held at Fisher's Hall to hear the report of the committee. The committee presented to the shop meeting the final concession won from the firm, which was an increase from 13¼ cents to 14 cents per pocket or a \$2.00 raise for each man on the week work basis. After a lengthy discussion by members of both organizations, the I. W. W., about 75 in number, left the hall before the vote was taken. Of the 700 workers who remained in the hall, only six voted against the proposition submitted by the committee.

"Illegal Strike Called

"Soon after the meeting the people returned to work but the pocket makers remained out. The next day, Tuesday, at 2 o'clock, the workers foreseeing that the rest of the work would be tied up, those working on other operations started to make pockets in order to keep the shop going. At this action the members of the I. W. W. walked out.

"Shortly after the walkout the notorious strikebreaker, John Ferguson, and Abe Gordon, organizer for the United Garment Workers, called out the cutters in support of the I. W. W. This may seem strange company for Ferguson to those who remember his former condemnation of the I. W. W., and one wonders what is behind his affiliation with them. Whatever it is, it is not for the welfare of the workers.

"Ferguson Directs Strike

"The 'strike' today is directed by Ferguson, representing the A. F. of L., Gordon, the organizer of the United Garment Workers, and Doree, organizer of the I. W. W., and to verify this we attach an affidavit to the end of this article, signed by one who was present the first day at the secret committee of the I. W. W. and the cutters.

"The public can judge from this affidavit that this strike was called for the one purpose to protect the two sub-contractors who had joined the I.

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W. W. with the sole purpose in view to attempt to destroy the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in Strouse's building.

THE AFFIDAVIT

"Affidavit of Vincent Sala, which proves that John Ferguson advised the slugging of members of the Amalgamated.

"STATE OF MARYLAND, CITY OF BALTIMORE, to wit:

"Vincent Sala, being duly sworn, deposes and says: That he is a workman in the pocket department at Strouse Brothers, where the pocket makers went out on a strike on the 27th day of June, 1916. A committee was appointed by the strikers, of which committee I was one, to go to the office of Abe Gordon, a representative of the United Garment Workers of America, in the Emerson Tower Building, on the seventh floor, to inform him that the I. W. W. went on a strike. The committee, including myself, went to the office, where we met John H. Ferguson, Abe Gordon and Abe Cohen and informed them that the I. W. W. went out on a strike at Strouse Bros. Mr. Ferguson immediately signalled to the cutters' floor in Strouse's Building, which faces the office of the United Garment Workers of America, and immediately the cutters walked out.

"After the walkout, they held a meeting and decided to stick to the I. W. W. until the I. W. W. got what they asked for.

"After the cutters were through with their meeting Ferguson, Gordon and Cohen appeared at the Tailors' I. W. W. conference in Barrie's Hall, Barre Street, at about 5:45 P.M.

"There Ferguson said that he had been waiting for this chance for some time and that every move made in that shop was reported to him by a spy who supplied him with all the news. He further said that the chance has now come, and that he will fight and fight, until the shop goes back as one organization; he also said that this is no more a question affecting the pocket makers but is a matter of driving out the so-called Amalgamated Clothing Workers from the Strouse shop.

"It was then decided to have a secret conference to outline a plan for future action as to the future conduct of the strikers. The secret meeting was held on the next day, Wednesday, June 8, about 2:10 P.M., at the office of the United Garment Workers, Emerson Tower Building, seventh floor.

"The second man to speak was Gordon. He stated that this present fight is going to be the last fight for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and if the United Garment Workers' strikers and the I. W. W. tailors were not enough—at this point Ferguson interrupted and said: he would get two hundred or three hundred of the husky guys of the Brewery Workers' Union to beat the heads off the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' members, just like they beat them down at Lombard Street, during the Greif strike.

"It was arranged that circulars be distributed inviting those people belonging to the Amalgamated to join their ranks, and it was then said that against

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those who refused to come out with them by Saturday, they would start, on Monday, a rough house.

"Ferguson then said, 'If you want to get anybody, don't get them near the shop but slug them away from the place so that nothing should be known that the slugging was connected with the I. W. W. or Cutters' Union.'

...."VINCENT SALA.

"AFFIANT.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 6th day of July, 1916.

"JAMES D. BECKER,

"Notary Public."

This may be supplemented by the following report in the New York "Weekly People" of August 19, 1916, official organ of the Socialist Labor Party:

"The Greif strike in Baltimore is having its sequel—a sequel written in violence and bloodshed.

"Generalled by John F. Ferguson, notorious strikebreaker and scab-herder, president of the Baltimore Federation of Labor and labor lieutenant of the capitalist interests of Baltimore, there has been organized in Baltimore an association of gangsters who hesitate not at assassination to achieve their nefarious ends. The name given to this body composed of gunmen, stiletto-men and blackjack thugs, is "The Entertainment Committee." It is composed of men affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Bummery Industrial Workers of the World. The leaders of these two organizations have co-ordinated their activities and efforts to attempt to crush out by violence, intimidation and assassination, when necessary to their purpose, any organization of working people that refuses to submit to their domination in the interest of the employing class.

"Amalgamated Workers Assaulted

"During the past seven weeks, particularly, they they have conducted a campaign of violence, attempted murder and terrorism against the Baltimore Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Within this period there have been not less than ten mass attacks in force upon groups of Amalgamated members going to and returning from their work and innumerable individual attempts made to assassinate members of this body of workers. Several persons have been shot, a number stabbed, several blackjacked, and others disabled by stones, brickbats, and clubs. The police ambulance has been kept busy carrying the wounded to hospitals and others to the police stations.

Since the beginning of the strike at Strouse's on June 27 the police have been making special efforts to prevent clashes on the street between the Amalgamated and the Federation-Bummery. Mass attacks by the latter have been made on groups of the Amalgamated in the presence of squads of police officers.

“Blackjack and Stiletto Used

“Individual attempts at assassination are made upon Amalgamated members wherever they are found on the street. Two of the latest of these outrages happened on crowded business thoroughfares of Baltimore on last Thursday evening. Hyman Blumberg, secretary-manager of District Council No. 3, A. C. W. of A., was approached from behind at Front and Fayette Streets and blackjacked into insensibility and is now confined to his home as a result.

“The other dastardly attempt at Baltimore and Howard Street on the same evening was witnessed by your correspondent. An Amalgamated cutter walking on the street was stealthily approached and repeatedly stabbed with a stiletto by an Italian of the Bummery. The blood spurted, and with a cry he sank to the pavement. Probably fifty persons saw the act. Thinking he had killed his man the Bummeryite started to run, and nobody interfering with him he slowed his pace to a deliberate walk. In a few minutes he was arrested.

“These are two examples of what has been happening in Baltimore right along, almost daily, for weeks. The newspapers make no mention of these outrages. Such stories as they print from time to time are inspired by the element of which Ferguson and his accomplices are the leaders.

“Threatened with Death

“Here is a copy of a letter received by J. Friedman, a member of the Amalgamated. Friedman spent some years in South America and speaks Italian fluently. Italians of the Bummery thought he was an Italian. Not long ago an Italian of the Bummery approached him and demanded of him that he leave the Amalgamated and join the Bummery. He refused and gave good reasons for doing so. The letter received by him is as follows:

“Baltimore, Md., July 24, 1916.

“J. Friedman,

“103 Eagle Street,

“You are written down on our books as a dead man if you don't stop work. Listen, Friedman, you dirty scab from South America, if you keep it up I will catch you—if not today I will get you tomorrow. I tell you to stop, for it will be better for you.

“Committee, I. W. W.

“This note of warning was written on mourning note paper (with black border) and enclosed in a black-bordered envelope. There is no question that the dastardly anonymous writer was a member of the ‘Entertainment Committee’ and meant exactly what he said in the letter.

“Attack on Amalgamated Headquarters

“Last week the A. F. of L.-Bummery crowd made a mass attempt to enter and wreck the headquarters of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 108 N.

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Front Street. This was frustrated by a vigorous defense, the police taking part. A number of shots were fired in the melee, clubs were used, and stones and brickbats thrown. One of the attacking party was shot, and others also were made hospital cases. An Amalgamated man was charged with firing the shot that wounded a bystander, and summarily sentenced to eighteen months in prison. Baltimore police justice courts have power to sentence a prisoner for five years.

"In the newspaper stories the Amalgamated people are invariably referred to as 'strikebreakers'; the A. F. of L.-Bummery as 'strikers.' The capitalist newspapers simply will not use proper words to tell the real facts. This is because they allow themselves to be dominated by Ferguson, his fellow conspirators of the A. F. of L. and the Bummery I. W. W.

"In circulars and public prints Ferguson never refers to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The members of this great, organized body of clothing operatives he refers to as 'the strikebreakers who have been rioting along the streets of Baltimore and placing in jeopardy the lives of the innocent,' and he designates the A. C. W. of A. as 'The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the World, an anarchistic body whose leaders are gunmen of unsavory reputations.' Here is a deliberate attempt to mislead the public as to the identity of the organization attacked by the A. F. of L. and the Bummery I. W. W., led by himself.

"Sequel to Greif Strike

"The rioting, shooting, brick throwing, slugging, stabbing, and other forms of outrage perpetrated on members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in Baltimore during the past two months by the American Federation of Labor and the Bummery Industrial Workers of the World officered by John H. Ferguson, president of the Maryland, Baltimore, and District of Columbia Federations of Labor, is the sequence of a series of labor troubles that began with the Greif strike last spring. Labor troubles at the Strouse and Bros factory followed that strike. In the Greif affair the A. F. of L. (John Ferguson) combined with the Bummery I. W. W. to break the strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in the plants of the Greifs.

"There is an intimate connection between these two events. The Greif factories and the Strouse & Bros. factories manufacture the same line of product. The two concerns are business competitors. It is said by those who ought to know that the Strouse concern obtained business to the amount of hundreds of thousands of dollars that the Greifs had contracted for making but could not do on account of the strike in the plants—the strike of the Amalgamated that Ferguson and his I. W. W. allies succeeded finally in breaking.

"Ferguson is, according to affidavits in addition to the evidence of the circumstances, the paid agent of the Greifs.

"The Strouse & Bros. plant has been operated as an Amalgamated shop,

with a sprinkling of the I. W. W., and the cutters who were members of the A. F. of L. The plant employs about 1,000 operatives, approximately 90 per cent. Amalgamated.

“Plot Behind the ‘Strike’

“All the evidence goes to prove that Ferguson and the Bummery officials conspired to attempt to bring about a strike in Strouse’s, for two reasons: First, to avenge the Greif concern, and, second, to destroy the Amalgamated in that shop and make it A. F. of L.-Bummery.

“In a conference about the time the Strouse strike began, B. Strouse, one of the firm, asked Ferguson what motive prompted him in organizing the strike in Strouse’s. Ferguson answered: ‘Because we owe a debt of gratitude to the I. W. W. for their assistance in breaking the Greif strike.’”

The Policy of Savage Bloodshed Extended

A later issue of the “Weekly People” brings the following report from Baltimore, which shows to what acts of desperation the conspirators were driven by their impotent madness:

“A. F. OF L. USES BRUTE FORCE TO OUST BALTIMORE AMALGAMATED

**“Garment Workers of the Independent Union Assailed with Bludgeon, Knife,
and Gun by the Dupes of John H. Ferguson.**

“Baltimore, Md., August 26.—The war for supremacy between the American Federation of Labor and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America daily grows more intense and sanguinary.

“John H. Ferguson, president of the Maryland and Washington and the Baltimore Federations of Labor, labor leader, scab-herder, strikebreaker, and all-around traitor to the working class which he misleads, is quoted in the Baltimore newspapers as having declared: ‘The American Federation of Labor is going to fight the Amalgamated Clothing Workers until every member of that organization is driven out of town.’

“Twenty-four hours after this announcement Saturday, August 26, 8:40 a. m., Henry Sonneborn & Co., makers of the ‘Styleplus’ men’s clothes, became the scene of a terrific battle, precipitated by the A. F. of L. forces in which between 2,000 and 3,000 took part, the weapons for the most part being tailors’ shears, knives, blackjacks, pistols, bottles, chairs, and other sorts of weapons. Six persons were taken to the hospitals and about fifty were given ‘first aid’ treatment in the hospital department of the Sonneborn plant.

“The Sonneborn concern employs approximately 4,000 garment workers, being the largest individual factory of its kind in the world. It is an Amal-

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gamated plant. Of the 4,000 employes, the cutters, about 200 in number, are A. F. of L. The cutting department is on the ninth floor. Among the cutters were three members of the Amalgamated. After making his declaration of war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt, against the Amalgamated, Ferguson served notice on the Sonneborn firm that unless the three Amalgamated cutters were discharged forthwith there would be a strike of the A. F. of L. cutters. The firm refused to discharge the three Amalgamated cutters. As soon as this word was brought to the ninth floor the signal for hostilities was given, and as one man the A. F. L. cutters began an assault on the three Amalgamated men.

"Three pistol shots notified those in the building and in the street that the battle was on.

"The door on the ninth floor had been pushed open in some way, and the men, fighting with the fury of madmen, rolled down the long stairs. When they neared the first floor the office force jumped from the windows and ran to a place of safety. At each floor the fighters were reinforced by men of both factions, until fully 2,000 men were engaged.

"The police arrived to see men hacking at each other with the huge shears. Several onlookers say they saw one man actually try to cut his adversary's arm off with a pair of shears nearly two feet long. The man screamed and fell, and his assailant was lost in the struggling mass.

"Besides the wounded, at least 50 women swooned, and a corps of physicians from nearby hospitals was summoned. In several cases parts of the clothing of the girls had been torn from their bodies. Most of them were taken home in taxicabs.

"A riot call quickly brought about 100 police and eight or ten patrol wagons, but only 12 arrests were made.

"After the police had dispersed the belligerents, John Ferguson said: 'This is only the beginning, unless those gunmen leave the city.'

"To Ferguson and his crowd 'gun-men' and Amalgamated men are synonyms. Notwithstanding that for eight weeks the armed thugs of the Federation and Bummery I. W. W. have systematically attempted murder in scores of individual and mass assaults on members of the Amalgamated who simply defended themselves, and the attacks, many of them, especially in mass, were made on the Amalgamated people while under police escort, the Ferguson crowd and newspapers persist in calling the Amalgamated workers 'gunmen.'

"Ferguson is outspoken in his defense of capitalist interests. He and his supporters declare that he has done more than any other man to hold in check that radical labor element tending toward Socialism."

The violence and bloodshed were also accompanied by a great deal of bluff and bluster. Thus John H. Ferguson, the evil genius of the bloody conspiracy, threatened to call a general strike in all industries in Baltimore in order to destroy the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. We challenged him to

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make good his bluff. Baltimore is still waiting for that much heralded general strike.

Brother Blumberg published the following official statement in the Baltimore press, which we reproduce from "The Baltimore Sun" of August 12, 1916:

"STATEMENT TO THE PUBLIC

"The Thursday newspapers carried a statement of a general strike to be called in this city of all the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. in support of the I. W. W. who left their places at Strouse Bros.

"This statement is so ridiculous that the author of it, Mr. Ferguson, must have relied on the ignorance of the public at large in regards to labor matters.

"The A. F. of L. has no authority to call a strike of any National Organization. It is hoped by Mr. Ferguson that by spreading these misstatements he may create enough confusion and bring public sympathy to his unholy cause.

"It is well for the public to know that the issue between the I. W. W. and the Strouse firm could have been settled if not for the sinister motives of Mr. Ferguson in this whole matter.

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who are now working in the shops of Strouse Bros., is recognized all over the country as a responsible labor organization. It controls the clothing industry and also 90 per cent. of the workers in this city.

"It maintains contractual relationship with the largest employers in the country. It has entered into agreements with the firm of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, of Chicago, for the last seven years, the largest clothing concern in the world, without any interruption of work.

"Its agreements have been investigated and highly commended by the United States Industrial Relations Commission, and in this city the firm of Henry Sonneborn & Co. has an arbitration agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

"Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, president of the Johns Hopkins University, is the arbitrator under that agreement for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and Henry Sonneborn & Co.

"Needless to state that all the talk about the 'gunmen' are unqualified falsehoods.

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America refuse to be run by a few I. W. W. or to recognize the leadership of men of the type of Ferguson.

"We were and are willing to let any impartial committee investigate the record of our organization in this and other cities.

"Mr. Ferguson admitted to Mr. Eli Strouse that the cutters had no grievances and that he insisted on calling the cutters to help the I. W. W. His own statement was: 'I owe the I. W. W. a debt of gratitude for the assist-

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ance they gave me in breaking the Greif strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.'

"It may be of interest to the public to investigate and find out the REAL REASON BEHIND THE ALLIANCE OF FERGUSON WITH THE I. W. W.

"H. BLUMBERG,

"Secretary-Manager District Council No. 3,

"Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America."

The conspirators were completely routed, and the Sonneborn and Strouse factories are now under the full jurisdiction of our organization. The criminal tactics of the conspirators in their mad rush to exterminate us have helped to open the eyes of many of their followers to the fact that they had been misled and betrayed. They abandoned the old wreck of the discredited crew and joined our forces, by whom they were received with a shout of joy. Those converts now constitute our live and energetic cutters' organization of Baltimore, Local 15, and are among the staunchest members of our International.

It was through that baptism of blood and fire that our organization in Baltimore was called upon to pass in order to establish itself permanently and conclusively for the protection of the workers in the industry. Its success has been bravely fought for and won. The organization now stands ready to accept any challenge that may be flung at it. The traitors have been exposed and annihilated and the clothing workers enjoy the full benefits of having made their enemies harmless and their organization strong and powerful.

In some cases we were compelled to call strikes in Baltimore in order to secure for our members the forty-eight hour week and higher wages to meet the growing cost of living. In most cases, however, concessions were gained without the necessity of resorting to strikes.

ACWA Doc Heat 1919.

BATTLE ROYAL IN MONTREAL, CANADA

Our last convention was requested by our Montreal members, who had a good nucleus in that city, to help them organize the industry. We gave them whatever assistance we could and a remarkable organization activity was quickly developed. There were a number of strikes during the first six months that followed our Rochester Convention. All of them were successful.

In each case the organization was strengthened in numbers and in spirit, and the working conditions, until then most deplorable, were considerably improved.

Montreal, like every other clothing center, has a polyglot industrial population. At the beginning it looked as if the French Canadians, the English, the Italians, the Jews, etc., with their different languages, sympathies and antipathies, would fail in the efforts to form a cohesive body for a single pur-

see Toronto Mag, New Jewish Labor Gazette

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pose. But they succeeded wonderfully. The French Canadians in the clothing industry, who had never been organized before, formed their own local union as a part of the Montreal Joint Board, which was the central administrative body for all locals in that city. The conditions of the French Canadians were particularly pitiful because of the large number of exceedingly young girls among them. The workers among the other nationalities are practically all immigrants and, therefore, adults. The French Canadians are natives, born and brought up in Canada. They need not wait until they are old and strong enough to undertake a long journey to a far and distant land in order to enter a clothing factory. They have the privilege of leaving school at a tender age and going straight into the factory in their home town.

The union's representative must always be prepared for sights and stories of misery when attending meetings of workers struggling for better conditions. In time one naturally becomes more or less hardened. And it is well that nature has made it so. Otherwise, human nerves would completely give way in a short time. But however seasoned and hardened a union representative may be, however much his eyes may have become accustomed to look at faces with misery and sufferings deeply engraven in them, and however much his ears may become adapted to hearing their stories of distress, he can't avoid a severe shock when coming to a shop meeting of his fellow members he finds an audience of little girls, some of them still below their teens, their children's locks hanging over their shoulders and their dresses barely covering their knees. The union's representative, being himself a father, and thinking of his own pink-cheeked little girl while addressing those child slaves, cannot help renewing his pledge to fight the cannibalistic industrial system, which, not contented with undermining the health of the manhood and womanhood of the nation and sending them into early graves, also feeds upon helpless childhood.

It was not within our power to abolish child labor. What was the result of many years, possibly generations, of industrial thralldom, could not be removed by a few months of resistance. We were happy, however, to succeed in lightening the burdens for the workers and making life somewhat brighter for the little slaves. We were doubly happy for the sake of the little ones.

For the first time the Montreal clothing workers were strongly united, had a model organization, secured a voice in the determination of their working conditions, and rays of sunshine, of genuine human happiness, broke through the dark gray monotony of their lives of drudgery. Their very interest in the organization, which became so endeared to them, elevated their souls, brought to them a realization of the fact that they were not merely human tools for production of merchandise, rightless, hopeless and aimless, but that they were human beings entitled to the blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They had not wished for the strikes they had gone through. They had to get some relief from the crushing oppression, and

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that was the only way they could get it. Having convincingly demonstrated the power of their organization to protect themselves they prevailed upon the employers to deal with the union in all matters concerning working conditions. The union had hoped that that sane and civilized method of dealing with industrial problems would continue and enable them in all cases peacefully to adjudicate any controversy that might arise.

But the clothing manufacturers of Montreal had been accustomed to unrestrained rule. Every previous attempt on the part of the workers to organize had been mercilessly defeated. The employers alone determined hours, wages, other working conditions. While they accepted the labor organization in our case because there was at the time no alternative, they immediately began to prepare for a war to the knife to wipe it out.

On December 1, 1916, the last of a series of successful strikes was wound up, the strike against the Fashion Craft Company, and on December 18, fire was opened on us. On that day the Semi-Ready Clothing Company forced its employees into a strike by refusing to pay them the wage increases agreed upon in a settlement made shortly prior thereto, and refusing also to permit our organization to take the matter up with it. That was the entering wedge, which the association of clothing manufacturers sought to drive deeper into the cleft by officially notifying our Montreal organization, on December 23, of the abrogation of relations between the two bodies. It became increasingly clear that the Association, which controlled the largest part of the industry, was making efforts to force us into a conflict for which it had chosen its own time, and was trying to maneuver it in such a manner as to fasten responsibility on us. Our organization did all that could honorably be done to avoid a strike, but the other side was determined to have it and was in a position to enforce its will. The only way a strike could have been prevented by us was by agreeing to the abolition of shop chairmen and accepting discrimination against active union members; in short, by committing suicide. That we were unwilling to do. On January 9, 1917, the issue was forced by a carefully laid out plan of the Association. According to that plan the Freedman Company challenged its employees by a defiant act of discrimination compelling the workers to quit work. The Freedman Company work immediately and simultaneously made its appearance at the factories of all the other members of the Association, who openly and deliberately challenged their employees either to make the work of the struck house or quit their jobs. The challenge was made in such a brutally provoking manner that it left no choice, even to those who might have otherwise wavered, but refuse to handle the work. Thirty-five hundred men, women and children accepted the challenge and took up the fight in defence of their right to maintain their organization. It was not a strike. It was a lockout in every respect except in name.

About fifteen hundred people, employed by the smaller and independent firms, remained at work. Within the next few weeks, however, the situation

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took such a turn that it became necessary to extend the strike to the entire industry. On February 12th, the strike was made general. Settlements were soon made with independent firms and a settlement with the Association was made by mediation on March 11th.

Those were eight savage weeks never to be forgotten by any who participated in the strike.

Wherever there are employers and employees, wage payers and wage receivers, a strike or a lockout is likely to occur. Workers, when on strike, do not expect and do not receive any quarter from their employers. A strike is no Sunday school picnic. It is war. In all cases the employers as well as the strikers seek to present their case to the public in the most favorable light. But in Montreal an attempt was made to deceive the public as to the real issue, the right of the workers to be organized, by injecting the race issue. That distinction belongs to one of the judges, Recorder Semple, before whom some of our pickets had the misfortune of being arraigned. The Recorder delivered himself of a bitter tirade against the union, in the course of which he said, referring to the union officials: "They draw fat salaries, which ought never to go to men of such deficient moral and mental capacity as exemplified in the Secretary before me, who, with the three *Jewish defendants*, stand up and give evidence directly contrary to that of five constables, who from their many years of experience know what it is to perjure themselves and are, at least, *Christians*."

That was followed by denunciations in the press, in which the strikers were described as *German-Jewish* workers, who were engaged in a strike that was inspired and led by *German agents*. If we will remember that Canada, as a part of the British Empire, was then, as it still is, at war with Germany, we will realize the brutal motive behind the words "German Jewish Workers" and "German Agents."

The characterization of "German Jewish Workers" was applied to all strikers, including the Italians and French Canadians, there having been no Germans among the strikers or the other members of the Montreal organization.

The nearest approach to the Montreal appeal to racial prejudices was made by the A. F. of L. and I. W. W. conspiracy in Baltimore as a means of breaking the Greif strike.

The Dominion Government was appealed to to deport our officers and organizers, who were, because of that, frequently called by the Immigration authorities.

In addition to appealing to the Government the Association also made the same appeal in the press, declaring that "we have removed this element from our shops, and all we ask now is that such men be removed from Canada as undesirables. They should be deported." (Gazette, January 15, 1917.) The public was, of course, informed that we were not recognized by the American Federation of Labor, that we were a "scab organization," and that our official title was "German Tailors Union." During Secretary Schlossberg's

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stay in Montreal in connection with the strike the Association asked the New York Police Department for his record, hoping that that would supply the eagerly sought pretext for his deportation, but the Police Department had no "record" to furnish.

The clothing manufacturers, who are also stockholders in munition plants, issued strict orders not to give employment to their striking clothing workers, although the munition factories were badly in need of help. They had hoped in that way to beat the workers into submission.

Knowing that the wages paid in their factories were not enough to sustain their employees during any period of idleness the employers anticipated applications for relief to the charity institutions. As contributions to those institutions and officers of them the employers used their influence and authority to deny assistance to any striker who happened to ask for it.

The Manufacturers' Association published the following as a full-page paid advertisement in all the Montreal papers, and in all languages:

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE STRIKE IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY OF MONTREAL

Montreal is the greatest centre in the Dominion of Canada for the manufacture of clothing. It has some of the largest, most sanitary and up-to-date clothing factories on the Continent. It has built up an enviable reputation for the quality and workmanship of Ready-made Clothing.

The clothing workers of Montreal are well paid, they have been well treated as regards hours and conditions of labor. **The majority of them are, however, idle.**

At a time when the interests of the Nation and of the Empire demand that every one should put his shoulder to the wheel, when every citizen ought to do his share to keep the Home Fires Burning, and to upbuild British Industry and British Commerce, the clothing workers are out on strike.

The reason is, because professional alien agitators have cleverly organized Canadian workers for the purpose of imposing tyrannical and ruinous conditions on Canadian manufacturers, conditions which would leave the manufacturers without a shred of authority in the internal organization of enterprises in which their capital is staked.

The Alien Agitators and Their Methods

These agitators came here some months ago for the purpose of launching their propaganda. They began their operations by making a few unimportant requests. The manufacturers granted the requests. Then demands were made, and on concessions being made, still further demands were forthcoming. Again and again the manufacturers met the demands in a conciliatory spirit. But instead of satisfying the agitators, this only encouraged them, until at last their impositions became unbearable.

Their ambition was to secure absolute control so that not a wheel would turn, unless by their sanction.

In effect their demands meant that the direction of the whole productive processes of the clothing factories must be handed over without question to the appointed delegates of these foreign agitators, or not a soul would be allowed to work.

To-day there is a strike of clothing workers in Montreal involving a loss of earning power of not less than \$50,000 a week for the workers, and many thousands of dollars to the manufacturers.

Why Has This Strike Been Called?

Not because of any grievances of the clothing workers themselves, who are a loyal, hard-working body, jealous of the good name of Canadian products, many of whom have been coerced through intimidation into joining the Union.

The following is the immediate excuse for calling this strike:

A Union man applied for a position in a clothing factory. He was given a place at Union wages. A Union-imposed shop "delegate" in an entirely different department

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appeared on the scene and enquired: "Have you got a ticket from the Union officials permitting you to work in this shop?"

Fancy the insolence of it!

The worker replied that he had not, and was told by the delegate that he must either get such permission at once or he would not be allowed to work in the factory. The foreman objected to this, but had no power to interfere, the delegate having usurped authority in the shop.

As this particular delegate had already caused much trouble in the shop and had been notified that his interferences would not be tolerated, and as discipline was being absolutely undermined, the proprietor called in the delegate (who was a paid employee of the firm), gave him a week's wages in lieu of notice and dismissed him. Although the employee was indebted to the manufacturer in a considerable sum, nothing was deducted.

His reinstatement was demanded by the Union, despite the fact that he had at once obtained employment elsewhere. The firm refused, and a strike was called in the establishment.

The other clothing manufacturers undertook to assist the firm in carrying out its Spring orders, and the work was distributed among the various factories. Then the present strike was called.

Here is another instance of these imperious demands.

A manufacturer operating a large plant in Montreal operates also a branch factory in another town in this province. On a certain day two shop delegates from the Montreal plant waited upon the employer to advise him that the first occasion after that date that any materials were sent to this branch factory to be cut and made, would be the signal for the calling out of the hands working in the Montreal factory.

Again, a man working in a certain factory was satisfied with conditions and gave satisfactory service to the employer. The labor agitator called on the employer one day and stated that he had objections to the man working in the establishment. He demanded that the man be dismissed, and failing to have the demand complied with, made the threat "I will tear the guts out of your building." Had the employer not complied, a strike would have been called.

Another case:—

A worker was being instructed in a certain operation on a garment necessary to its proper finish, and although much patience was expended the worker did not wish to learn, and finally refused to try any further. The proprietor told the worker that the garment would have to be made in the manner indicted or his services would not be required. The worker only laughed and retorted, "You can't discharge me anyway, the Union won't let you." To avoid a strike, the proprietor was compelled to swallow the pill.

Intolerable Conditions Imposed by Alien Labor Autocrats

These cases, however, are only a few of many leading up to this strike. A Canadian employer cannot employ a Canadian even if that worker is a Union man, without "permission" having first been obtained from an irresponsible labor trust.

While employers cannot themselves engage workers, but must apply to an organization dominated by alien agitators—they are forbidden to discharge any worker who has been in their employ two weeks! No matter if the worker is unsuitable, no matter whether he is incompetent, insolent, a trouble-maker, or a consistent "slacker," if he has been employed two weeks, nothing short of actual crime for which conviction could be made in the criminal courts, can take him off the pay roll of the unfortunate employer! He is a standing charge against the firm for all time, and the amount the firm must pay him is fixed by this despotic Union.

The manufacturer must retain the right to employ such efficient workers and increase or decrease their number, as the needs of his business dictate. To take away such rights and to force the manufacturer to employ those who are either unsuitable or no longer required would destroy discipline and efficiency and take the control out of the hands of those who are responsible for the success of the business.

The following is an extract from an article which appeared in the "Labor World," the official organ of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council, of the 13th of this month:—

"We have great respect for Recorder Semple, and furthermore we do not approve of the way the members of the Garment Workers' Union have acted in this strike. We wish to state that the garment workers did not follow the usual course, and have not, as required by the Trades and Labor

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Council, to whom they did not apply, exhausted all means of conciliation before going on strike. We are the first to deplore the disturbances which have occurred and to blame those responsible for it."

The Employers' Determination

Driven to self-protection by demands like the foregoing, the clothing manufacturers of this city have formed themselves into an Association, and they have determined that they will resist these demands to the end.

Our shops are, however, open to our workers who are welcome to return, and we guarantee to them, conditions which will be absolutely fair and just.

CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL

JOHN W. PECK & CO., LTD.
SEMI-READY LIMITED
FASHION-CRAFT MFRS., LTD.
SAMUEL WENER & CO., LTD.
S. LEVINSON, SON & CO.
THE FREEDMAN CO.
SAMUEL HART & CO.

FIT REFORM CLOTHIERS
CHRISTIE CLOTHING CO., LTD.
B. GARDNER & CO.
THE CAMPBELL MFG. CO., LTD.
KAPLAN, SAMUELSON & CO.
SAXE CLOTHING CO.
H. KELLERT & SONS

To the above statement of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association the Union published the following reply as a paid advertisement:

REAL ISSUE IN THE CLOTHING STRIKE IN MONTREAL

Our Position is Clear

"The truth about the strike in the clothing industry of Montreal," is the title of a full page statement published by the Clothing Manufacturers' Association in the daily press of Thursday, January 25th. In that statement the charge is made that "Professional alien agitators have cleverly organized Canadian workers for the purpose of imposing tyrannical and ruinous conditions on Canadian Manufacturers, conditions which would leave the Manufacturers without a shred of authority in the internal organization of enterprises in which their capital is staked."

This charge we deny in toto. We emphatically declare that **THE REAL ISSUE IN THIS CONFLICT IS THE RIGHT OF THE WORKERS TO BE ORGANIZED.**

The Clothing Manufacturers' Association shows no spirit of fair play in trying to conceal the true issue by the cry of "Alien Agitators." There are no more "Alien Agitators" on our part of the controversy than there are on the part of the Manufacturers' Association.

It is purely an industrial dispute between employers and their employees, both of whom include practically the same nationalities, races and creeds. It is an industrial dispute between employers and employees such as have occurred in different countries and under various conditions. To charge such a dispute, which is a natural outgrowth of the relations between employers and employees, to "Professional alien agitators," means not only running away from the truth, but also character assassination.

No practical purpose will be served by the airing in the public press of alleged grievances of the Manufacturers' Association against the Union, and the Union's denying them, as we certainly do deny the charges of "Intolerable conditions imposed by alien labour autocrats." It will not bring the issue any nearer a solution.

Nor will the problem be solved by the employers trying to crush the organization of their employees. Wherever this Union-crushing policy does succeed, it only serves to plant the seeds for future industrial friction.

Whatever the merits of the dispute we are ready to meet the employers as a body or individually, as they may prefer, to discuss the issue or issues; anything we may fail to agree upon we are willing to leave to arbitration.

S. W. Jacobs, K.C., offered to both parties the services of Hon. Mackenzie King, former Minister of Labour. Why are the Manufacturers afraid to trust him? He, surely, is not an "Alien Agitator." Nor can the Mayor of this city be classed as such. We are ready to accept the Mayor. There may easily be found a number of other fair-minded and public-spirited citizens entitled to the confidence of both parties.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has been working under

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collective bargain agreements with a number of Clothing Manufacturers, among them the two largest clothing firms on the American Continent: Hart, Schaffner & Marx, of Chicago, employing about six thousand tailors and cutters, and Henry Sonneborn & Co., of Baltimore, employing about three thousand. The "Intolerable conditions imposed by the Labour Autocrats" are found to be perfectly satisfactory by all those establishments. What is possible there cannot be impossible here.

The workers are determined to defend their rights to organize. A right established by the free laws and institutions of this country they will not permit themselves to be deprived of by any set of men. But the organization of the workers stands ready to meet with the employers to confer and adjust.

All that is necessary in order to reach a speedy adjustment is for the employers to agree to meet us.

JOINT BOARD OF MONTREAL, AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

The following letters are self-explanatory:

JOS. SCHLOSSBERG, Esq.,
General Secretary,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Montreal, January 18th, 1917.

Dear Sir:—With reference to the dispute which has arisen between the working men, members of your Association, who are now on strike, and the various Clothing Manufacturers' Firms, I should be glad to learn whether your Association would be prepared to meet, in conference, Members of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association, with a view of settlement, and in the event of the parties failing to agree, to submit such disagreements to the arbitration of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, former Minister of Labour. I am dispatching a similar letter to the Clothing Manufacturers' Association, asking whether they would be prepared to fall in with this view.

I have not been authorized by any of the parties to the dispute to interest myself in the matter and am acting purely with the object of endeavoring to bring about a settlement of the unfortunate trouble, through the means referred to above.

May I have your reply immediately?

Yours truly,

(Signed) L. W. JACOBS .

P. S.—I have phoned Mr. King, who states that if both parties are agreeable to having him, he would be prepared to act.

S. W. J.

Montreal, January 19th, 1917.

L. W. JACOBS, Esq., 83 Craig St., West, City.

Dear Sir:—I have your favor of the 18th inst., asking whether my organization would meet in conference with members of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association with a view of settling the present controversy.

I have not as yet had an opportunity to place your letter before my organization for official action. It has, however, been the policy of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to confer with employers' Associations for the purpose of adjusting disputes. In line with that established policy I shall urge to agree to confer and am confident that it will be done if the other side is ready.

It has been my experience that seeming unsolvable problems in the relations between employers and employees were satisfactorily solved by mutual understanding and agreement as a result of conferences. What was possible in many other cases should also be possible in the present case.

Appreciating the high motive that has prompted your action, I thank you most sincerely.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,
General Secretary,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

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The Labor World, organ of the Trades and Labor Council, in its issue of January 27, 1917, indignantly protested against the manufacturers' use of its name in their fight with us. The Trades and Labor Council also adopted a resolution expressing its sympathy with the strikers.

In addition to the letters given above the following correspondence will be of interest and will throw a strong light on the whole situation:—

Montreal, February 2, 1917.

JOS. SCHLOSSBERG, Esq.

General Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
37 Prince Arthur Street, East, City.

Dear Sir:—With reference to the letters which I addressed on January 18th to you, as representative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and to the Clothing Manufacturers' Association, I have to say that the Manufacturers' Association has completely ignored the same, and unofficially I am given to understand that it is not the intention of that body to take any cognizance of my communication.

In a letter addressed by the Association to the Mayor this week, that body is good enough to refer to my "high motives" in attempting a conciliation, which view on the their part if it expressed their sentiment, scarcely coincides with their failure to reply to courteous communication addressed with the best of intentions. While it is pleasing to learn that the Association understands that high motives may actuate parties even outside of their own body, a few simple lessons in good manners, breeding and courtesy, which they could easily learn from your Association, would, perhaps, make that organization a little more representative of the interests they are supposed to serve.

Yours truly,
(Signed)

L. W. JACOBS .

Public Statement of Mayor Martin of Montreal

After his repeated efforts to bring about a settlement, which were frustrated by the employers' association, Mayor Martin of Montreal issued the following public statement, of which an official copy was furnished to us:

As the attempts I have made to settle the differences which have arisen between the clothing manufacturers and the clothing workers have been a complete failure, I believe it is necessary that the public should exactly know the nature of the steps I have taken and the reasons why the same have been fruitless.

On the 27th of January last, I received the following letter:

Montreal, January 27, 1917.

To His Worship Mederic Martin, Esq., M. P.,
Mayor of Montreal, City.

Honorable Sir:—As a Citizen of Montreal, who is daily brought into contact with the workers effected by the present clothing strike, I feel justified in making on my personal initiative, an urgent appeal to you to use the power and influence of your High Office of the Metropolitan City of Canada, as well as the friend of the working man, in order to effect a speedy settlement of the present unfortunate strike.

The strike is incalculably damaging both to the manufacturers and to the workers; to the former, by demoralizing one of the greatest and most productive industries in the community; and to the latter, by the uncertainties and losses due to unemployment, and this at a period when the high cost of living is such an important problem.

This economic loss and strife is moreover particularly deplorable at a time when

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the burdens of war are falling so heavily on all classes, and when the interests of the nation and of the Empire, demand co-operation and unity.

Experience in dealing with strike conditions, has demonstrated, that the best results are often achieved by mediation and conciliation.

I assure you, that a large number of citizens, would welcome at the present juncture, your personal and official intervention and the nomination of a voluntary Board of Mediators, to be headed by yourself, and to include the Members of the Board of Commissioners of the City, and also Professor Stephen Leacock of the Faculty of Arts of McGill University, for the purpose of carrying out an immediate, direct and impartial inquiry, in order that a basis of settlement, fair and equitable to both parties shall be arrived at.

Such a finding would be backed by the full force of public opinion, and would command instant adhesion and respect. It would also eliminate future causes of disagreement and act as a salutary curb to stubbornness or bitterness on either side. Prompt action cannot fail to be a boon to all interests involved, including the welfare of the public, which is exposed to unforeseen loss and suffering.

The blame of prolonging the present struggle, would then be fixed definitely on the faction refusing to accept the verdict, which would in such event stand condemned before the Bar of Public Opinion.

This appeal is made to you as a public man, who possesses in an eminent degree, the courage, firmness and capacity to act authoritatively to save the situation, and I venture to hope, that it will receive your courteous and due consideration.

I remain, Your Worship,

Yours sincerely,

LYON W. JACOBS,

Treasurer,

Business Men's Strike Relief Committee.

I replied to this letter as follows :

Montreal, January 29th, 1917.

LYON W. JACOBS, Esq.,
Advocate, Barrister & Solicitor,
Main Bulding,
520 St. Lawrence Boulevard, City.

Dear Sir:—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 27th inst., with regard to the present strike in the Clothing Trade and, in reply I wish to inform you that I am writing to-day to the Clothing Manufacturers' Association and to the Joint Board of the Amalgamated Garment Workers, asking them to send representatives to meet me in my office at the City Hall, on Thursday, February 1st, at 10 o'clock A. M., for the purpose of stating whether they would be prepared to accept your suggestion of appointing a voluntary Board of Mediators to whom both factions would submit their respective grievances in order that a basis of settlement, fair and equitable to both parties, may be arrived at.

Trusting you will be present at the meeting, I beg to remain, Dear Mr. Jacobs,

Yours very truly,

(Signed)

MEDERIC MARTIN,

Mayor,

I instructed at the same time my Secretary to transmit the following letter to the Manufacturers:

Clothing Manufacturers of Montreal,
Attention of Mr. Lyon Cohen,
c/o Freedman Company,
Solmer Bldg., Mayor Street, City.

Montreal, January 29th, 1917.

Dear Sir:—With reference to a letter from Mr. Lyon W. Jacobs, B. C. L., Treasurer Business Men's Relief Committee addressed to His Worship the Mayor, and relative to the present strike in the Clothing Trades, I have been directed to ask you to send representatives to meet His Worship the Mayor, in his office at the City Hall, on Thursday, February 1st, at 10 o'clock A. M., for the purpose of stating whether they would be prepared to accept the suggestions of Mr. Lyon W. Jacobs of appointing a voluntary Board of Mediators to whom both factions would

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submit their respective grievances in order that a basis of settlement, fair and equitable to both parties may be arrived at.

Trusting you will give this request your prompt attention, I beg to remain,
dear Sir,

Yours very respectfully,
(Signed) E. L. ESPERANCE,
Secretary.

I then received the following reply from the Manufacturers:

THE CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL

8 Beaver Hall Hill.

His Worship Mederic Martin, Esq., M. P. Montreal, January 30th, 1917.
Mayor of Montreal,
Montreal, Quebec.

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 29th, requesting the Clothing Manufacturers' Association to send representatives to the City Hall, on February 1st, at 10 o'clock, for the purpose of stating whether they would be willing to accept suggestions respecting appointment of a voluntary Board of Mediators in connection with the strike in the Clothing Industry, was laid before a meeting of our Association held this Afternoon.

After careful consideration and while appreciating the kind offices of gentlemen like yourself, Controller Ross, Mr. L. W. Jacobs, K. C., and others, who are no doubt prompted by the highest motives to interest themselves in the present situation, regret to be obliged to advise you that they are unable to entertain the suggestion relative to a Board of Mediators.

The Members of the Association, in the interest of peace and harmony, have already conceded everything, with the exception of the right to control their own affairs, which in their opinion, is not a matter which may be arbitrated.

The Association's statement published in the press a few days ago fully covers our position and shows what our members have had to contend with. We can only reiterate what we have publicly stated, that our shops are open to our employees, whom we will treat with fairness and justice at all times.

While, as stated, we respectfully decline to submit the vital question of the direction of our business to any Committee, no matter how worthy, we shall be glad to wait upon Your Worship personally, if you so desire, at any time you may appoint, in order to explain our position more fully.

We are,

Yours sincerely,

THE CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL.
(Signed) Charles J. Harrod, Secretary.

I then invited the manufacturers to come and discuss with me the causes of the conflict.

CHARLES J. HARROD, Esq., Secretary,
The Clothing Manufacturers' Association,
8 Beaver Hall Hill.

Dear Sir:—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 30th ult., and in reply would ask you to kindly arrange to have representatives of your Association call at my office this afternoon at 2 o'clock. If the delay is too short to get your members together, kindly let me know what time will suit you best.

Believe me, Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,
(Signed) MEDERIC MARTIN,
Mayor.

In the meantime I received the following letter from the Clothing Workers' Union:

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

JOINT BOARD OF MONTREAL.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 37 Prince Arthur St., Est. B. Rishikof, Sec.-Treas. Phone: East 318

MEDERIC MARTIN, Esq., M. P. ,

Mayor of Montreal,
City Hall, City

Montreal, February 1, 1917.

Honorable Sir:

Confirming our conversation of this morning at your office, I beg leave to state that if, as the Clothing Manufacturers say, the only issue of the present conflict between our organization and theirs is the discharge of the Shop Delegate of the Freedman Company, I assure you that as far as we are concerned the matter will be easily adjusted if we meet in Conference with the Employers.

I may also add that any other problem that may properly be placed before us will likewise be solved as a result of such conference. My confidence in this is based upon my experience with similar situations in the past.

Thanking you for your kind interest, I beg to remain,

Very respectfully yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG.

General Secretary,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

I then had an interview with the representative of the Manufacturers' Association and I urged them to agree to meet their employees or their representatives to discuss the question at issue.

From what these gentlemen stated to me, I understand that the Manufacturers were willing to meet their employees but that they did not want to have anything to do with outside representatives of the Clothing Workers' Union.

In the course of the interview, the representatives of the manufacturers declared that they could not comply with certain requests made by their employees and that they could not allow anyone to interfere with the internal administration of their work-shops.

The manufacturers pointed out certain abuses which they had to suffer from their employees namely:

1. That shop delegates quit their work and intervene each time anything happens. The manufacturers declared that they did not object to the presence of representatives of the union in the work-shops, provided that they attended to the business of the union outside of working hours.
2. That the shop delegates refuse to allow any gang to do the work of another gang, when the manufacturers are compelled to act thus owing to the absence of employees.
3. When a new employee is engaged in any work-shop, the shop delegate quits his work, goes over to this new employee and asks him if he has his Union Card; if the latter replies in the negative but adds that he will go and fetch it during lunch hour or in the evening, the shop delegate refuses to allow him to work and stirs up all the other employees. Moreover, if this new employee applies to the union for his card, they refuse to give him the same and he is told that there are unionists on the list before him and that he must wait for his return to get work.
4. That they sought to prevent the manufacturers from discharging any employee even when there is not sufficient work for everybody, the workers contending that the shops should rather remain open only during three days per week.

The representatives of the manufacturers then withdrew after stating that they would again discuss the matter with the other members of their association.

On the 4th of February, I had an interview with about thirty representa-

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tives of the Clothing Workers' Union, and I submitted to them the statements made to me by the representatives of the employers. These gentlemen asserted that all the differences might be easily settled if the unionists could meet the employers.

I then promised that I would again communicate with the manufacturers and induce them to prevail upon the employers to meet the workers.

I thereupon wrote the following letters:

CHARLES J. HARROD, Esq., Secretary,

February 5, 1917.

The Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Montreal,
8 Beaver Hall Hill, Montreal.

Dear Sir:—I had a long interview, yesterday, in my office, with about thirty representatives of the Garment Workers' Union, and I stated to them that the manufacturers were willing to meet their own employees but were refusing to have anything to do with outside representatives of any labor organization.

I made this statement because I understood from the representatives of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Montreal, whom I met last Friday, in the City Hall, that this was the decision of their association.

If the members of your association have not changed their views on the matter, I will try to arrange to have three workers of every shop meet their employers to discuss the means to put an end to the unfortunate strike which is paralyzing the clothing industry in the city and bringing sufferings to such a large number of our good citizens.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) MEDERIC MARTIN,
Mayor,

LYON W. JACOBS, Esq., K. C., Treasurer,

Business Men's Strike Relief Committee,
Montreal.

Montreal, February 5, 1917.

Dear Sir:—In pursuance with the understanding arrived at yesterday, during the Conference with the representatives of the Clothing Workers' Union, I may say that from what I have been told, I believe that the Clothing Manufacturers would be willing to meet their own workers if such meeting can be arranged.

Will you kindly lay this matter immediately before the Garment Workers who are presently on strike, to find out if they would be willing to appoint a Committee of, say three workers from each shop, to meet their employers.

An early reply will oblige,

Yours very truly,
(Signed) MEDERIC MARTIN,
Mayor,

The manufacturers transmitted to me the following reply:

THE CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL.

His Worship MEDERIC MARTIN, Esq., M. P.,

Mayor of Montreal,

February 5, 1917.

Montreal, Quebec.

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 5th inst., was submitted to a meeting of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association held this afternoon and I have been requested to reply as follows:

The manufacturers have not in any respect changed their minds relative to the question of meeting their employees at their respective offices, and in order that their position may be made perfectly clear in the matter, they beg to refer you to the clause dealing with that subject in their general statement appearing in the press of date of January 25th, and also to the letter to Controller Ross of date of February 2d, a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) CHARLES J. HARROD,
Honorary Secretary.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

I thereupon wrote to the manufacturers the following letter:

CHARLES J. HARROD, Esq., Secretary,
The Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Montreal,
8 Beaver Hall Hill, Montreal.

Dear Sir:—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your reply to my letter of the 5th., instant. I am sorry to see that the Clothing Manufacturers' Association do not think advisable to meet a delegation of their employees as representatives of the Union to which they belong but are only willing to receive them in the office of the respective shops where they used to work.

I never understood that such was the way your Association had decided to act, otherwise, I would not have pressed the matter any further.

I fail to see the reluctance of your Association to discuss the different questions at issue with a body of men representing those directly interested in a settlement of the present difficulties; on the other hand I quite realize the objection of the Workers to treat questions of vital importance to them without proper support.

I admit that the manufacturers may have had cause for complaints against certain of their employees, but, nobody can deny that if all the grievances which the workers have suffered were put before the public, these grievances would be found far more serious than the complaints of the employers.

I was told this morning that the Union had practically decided that the whole question of the rights of their members being at stake it was advisable to immediately ask for additional wages and shorter hours to which they claim they are entitled. I succeeded this morning to have this matter postponed and I promised to write again to your association to urge once more the advantage of having a meeting between the employers and the employees, both as representing their respective associations.

I sincerely hope that you will reconsider your decision and that you will give me the necessary help to arrive at an early settlement of the present difficulties.

Believe me, dear sir,

Yours very truly,
(Signed) MEDERIC MARTIN,
Mayor,

After sending this letter I had a further interview with the representatives of the manufacturers which said interview had no result.

As a last shift I tried to prevail upon the interested parties to agree to the appointment of a Board of Arbitration, as shown by the following correspondence.

This suggestion was accepted by the workers and rejected by the manufacturers.

MR. LYON W. JACOBS, Treasurer.

Montreal, February 9, 1917.

Business Men's Strike Relief Committee,
520 St. Lawrence Boulevard, Montreal.

Dear Sir:—I am very sorry to see that all my attempts to effect a settlement of the present difficulties between the clothing manufacturers and their workers, have up to now met with no success.

I had decided therefore to abandon further negotiations and to lay before the public the whole situation as I understand it. Nevertheless, before doing so I will make one last suggestion to put an end to the present situation and, if this suggestion is rejected the public will judge who is responsible for the present state of affairs.

My suggestion is simply the appointment of an arbitration board composed of

three members, one to be appointed by the workers, one by the manufacturers and these two arbitrators to select the third one.

This method of settling difficulties is nothing new and should be accepted by both parties.

I am writing a similar letter to the Clothing Manufacturers' Association, and I am anxiously awaiting their reply as well as yours.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) MEDERIC MARTIN,
Mayor,

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The same letter was sent to the Clothing Manufacturers' Association.

MEDERIC MARTIN, Esq., M. P.
Mayor of Montreal,
Montreal.

Montreal, February 12, 1917.

Honorable Sir:—I beg leave to knowledge receipt to your favor of recent date in connection with the Clothing Workers' Strike in which you suggest the appointment of an Arbitration Board composed of three members one to be appointed by the workers, one by the manufacturers and these arbitrators to appoint a third one.

I beg leave to report in this connection that I have duly submitted this matter to the Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for their consideration and in reply kindly permit me to inform you that in line with the established policy of this organization that the Joint Board are quite willing to accept your suggestion for the appointment of an Arbitration Board for the purpose of submitting all matters in dispute, with the exception however of the recognition of the Union or the right of the Workers to be organized which is a matter of principle and therefore cannot be arbitrated.

I may state that the Joint Board will be pleased to meet your Worship at any time convenient to you in this connection.

Thanking you for the interest you have taken in this strike and deeply appreciating the high motives which have prompted you to endeavor to regulate this matter,

Believe me, with kind respects,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) LYON W. JACOBS.

THE CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL.

His Worship MEDERIC MARTIN, Esq., M. P.,

Mayor of Montreal,
Montreal, Que.

Montreal, February 13th, 1917.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 9th inst., suggesting the appointment of an arbitration board composed of three members, one appointed by the Workers, one by the Manufacturers' and these two to select the third, was duly placed before a full meeting of the Association. After careful consideration and while appreciating your further efforts, it was felt that the Association had in their letters to you of 30th January, plainly set forth the fact that the Manufacturers had already conceded everything with the exception of the right to control their own affairs, which is not a matter that may be arbitrated.

In our several interviews with Your Worship, you have stated that the strike was not a question of wages, hours or working conditions and Controller Ross in his last statement publicly advised the men to return to work.

We must again say that having made our case plain, we respectfully decline to submit our affairs to a board of mediators.

Yours sincerely,

THE CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL.

(Signed) CHARLES J. HARROD.

Hon. Secretary.

The main fact which the above correspondence discloses is that the employees desire that their Union be recognized and that the employers, while they do not seem to formally refuse to recognize such Union, seek the means of suppressing it by refusing to confer with those who have organized the same and are the principal supporters thereof.

I have always been an ardent Unionist, and today, more than ever, I am of opinion that the workman should organize, inasmuch as this is the only means he has of improving his condition.

The workers desire that their Union be recognized; I approve them, for if such Union were suppressed, they would be at the mercy of the employers and treated as mercenaries.

Why do the manufacturers refuse to meet their employees, as Unionists, and discuss with them the terms of an arrangement which would permit of the employers

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being masters in their work-shops and which would ensure for the workers the protection of their rights against the abuses of power or caprices of a foreman or employer?

I can only find one answer to this question, namely, that the employer lacks sincerity when he says that he is in favor of the Union formed by his employees.

The manufacturers refuse to concede anything; they decline to discuss with their employees, as Unionists, and object to arbitration. In view of this stubbornness on their part, I can only repeat to the workers what I already said to them, to wit, that they should act with calm, but energetically insist on the upholding and recognition of their rights.

Their cause is just and will ultimately triumph.

MEDERIC MARTIN,
Mayor,

The Strike Spreads

We had a number of conferences with the Mayor and other public spirited citizens who were anxious to assist in bringing about a settlement of the strike, but the manufacturers stubbornly clung to the famous Pullman formula of "Nothing to Arbitrate," and refused to listen to anyone, not even excepting the Mayor of the city. Their stubbornness was due to the fact that business was dull during the strike period. That was also the reason they selected that time for the contest. The organization realized that as for itself it was a question of endurance. The problem was then, Can we hold out until sometime in March? At the time the Mayor made his statement public the strike was general throughout the industry, including fifteen hundred workers in the independent shops. While the extension of the strike had its advantages, in other ways it had this one disadvantage that removed an important source of revenue while it increased the number of people who required assistance. There were then 5,000 strikers instead of 3,500.

The rigors of the Montreal winter are well known. To do picket duty at six o'clock in the morning with a temperature of twenty-eight degrees below zero requires a high sense of duty and a spirit of self-sacrifice. Nor was the inclemency of the weather the only hardship. The police displayed the usual brutality towards the strikers except that in addition to making effective use of their clubs they, being mounted police, literally rode roughshod over the strikers, who were trampled under the hoofs of the horses. The aged, the young, the men and the women, were alike clubbed, ridden over, beaten up and otherwise prosecuted and persecuted.

The distress was acute. The Montreal organization, very young and constantly on the firing line, had not an opportunity to prepare itself financially for such an onslaught. The manufacturers depended on the poverty of the organization and its members to break the spirit. They had hoped to starve them into submission. Financial relief came from our general membership and also from a Business Men's Relief Conference organized in Montreal. The General Office contributed large sums of money. Still larger sums would have been contributed were it not for the general strike in Philadelphia that was on at the same time and required liberal support.

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The financial assistance received by the strikers was far from sufficient but they fought bravely on. The lines remained intact and the spirit strong until the end. We are happy to attest to the fact the Montreal strikers proved equal to the very best in the history of the battles of our organization. They conducted a magnificent fight against terrible odds.

The Settlement

In the course of the month of February individual settlements were made with independent firms and on March 7, after a number of attempts at mediation, a memorandum was signed referring the entire controversy to a Committee of Inquiry. It took eight weeks to prove to the manufacturers that the workers could not be pounded into renouncing their right to organize. Business was beginning to revive and the time came for the employers to agree to end the test of strength.

The memorandum of agreement which ended the strike was signed for the Joint Board by Mr. Peter Bercovitch, its attorney and member of the Provincial Parliament, and for the Manufacturers' Association by Mr. Michael Hirsch, a prominent business man. The memorandum was as follows:

"Whereas Mr. Michael Hirsch and Mr. Peter Bercovitch have discussed ways and means of adjusting, if possible, the differences that exist between the following clothing manufacturers of Montreal, to wit: John W. Peck, Ltd., Semi-Ready, Ltd., Fashion Craft, Ltd., Samuel Wener & Co., Ltd., S. Levinson & Co., The Freedman Co., Samuel Hart & Co., E. A. Small Co., Ltd., Christie Clothing Co., Ltd., B. Gardner & Co., The Campbell Mfg. Co., Ltd., Kaplan Samuelsohn & Co., Saxe Clothing Co., H. Kellert & Sons and their employees, and

"Whereas, they deem it advisable to reduce to writing the suggestions that they are prepared to offer to both manufacturers and employees as a basis for an amicable settlement of the difference and grievances which employer and employee pretend to have against each other,

"They therefore submit to the clothing manufacturers and their employees the following suggestions:

"1. A Committee of Inquiry is to be appointed in the manner hereinafter stated with power to inquire into all differences between employer and employee.

(a) Up to the moment that the disagreement occurred;

(b) Into all other grievances of both parties.

"2. The Committee may make such recommendations as in their opinion will remedy the differences or grievances that exist, and suggest such means as may avoid all such differences or grievances arising in the future.

"3. The Committee aforesaid is to be composed of five gentlemen, none of whom are to be connected either directly or indirectly with the clothing industry.

"4. The Committee is to be appointed as follows:

(a) Two are to be named by Mr. Hirsch, and two by Mr. Peter Bercovitch, and the fifth, who will also act as Chairman, is to be selected by the four appointed as aforesaid.

"5. The employees are to return to work forthwith without reserve of any kind.

"6. The Committee will report within four weeks from date, if possible, and in any event not later than the first of May, 1917.

"7. Both of the parties hereto undertake to use every effort to have the report of the Committee and the remedies suggested carried out by both employer and employee.

"8. The report of the Committee is to be delivered to Messrs. Hirsch and Bercovitch as soon as it is rendered.

"9. Pending the report of the Committee, any misunderstanding that may arise shall be referred to Messrs. Hirsch and Bercovitch whose decision in all matters submitted to them is to be final.

"Thus done and passed at the city of Montreal on this seventh day of March, 1917.

"MICHAEL HIRSCH,
"PETER BERCOVITCH."

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When Brother Hillman, who represented the Union in those proceedings, submitted the report to the Joint Board it was accepted and subsequently ratified by the membership at a large mass meeting. Our members returned to work, and the following gentlemen, chosen as a Committee of Inquiry took up the task assigned to them: John T. Foster, Secretary of the Trades and Labor Council of Montreal, and J. C. Remmeon, Professor of Economics in McGill University, for the Union; Issac Freedman and W. N. Wyman for the Association, and A. Falconer chairman. On May 11th they submitted the following report:—

Montreal, May 11th, 1917.

Messrs. MICHAEL HIRSCH and PETER BERCOVITCH, K. C.,

Dear Sirs:

The Committee of Inquiry appointed in accordance with the memorandum signed by you, dated 7th March, 1917, have the honor to report as follows:

By the reference we are given power to enquire into all differences "between employer and employee; (a) up to the moment the disagreement occurred, (b) into all other grievances of both parties; and it is also stated that "the Committee may make such recommendations as in their opinion will remedy the differences or grievances arising in the future."

We have held almost daily sessions from the 24th April and at the first sitting representatives of both parties appeared before us. For the employees it was stated that no enquiry or report was asked with regard to the past save such as the Committee might think necessary for the purpose of dealing with the demands under Clause (b) or of making suggestions, and no evidence was offered.

Grievances under clause (b) were put in the form of demands as follows:

1. Union shops.
2. 46 hours to constitute a week's work.
3. A \$2 increase of salary per week for all workers.
4. Time and a half for overtime.
5. Sanitary conditions in the shops.
6. To be paid for all legal holidays.

For the manufacturers witnesses were called who testified as to what had happened in a number of instances given as illustrations of the general situation and their grievances were summed up later as follows:

The manufacturers objected to any interference by any outside individual, or set of individuals, dictating to them as regards the policy on which the factory is to be run, as regards hiring and discharge of employees, or as regards wages or manner of employment. The manufacturers have no objection to discussing individual differences or complaints that might arise between the particular manufacturer and his particular employee or employees, and that such differences or complaints of the employees be made either by individuals or a Committee of employees," and we were asked to fix the blame for the strike.

Under (b) it was stated that there was nothing additional to offer, and the Committee was asked to suggest means to prevent a recurrence of interference such as complained of.

In reply for the employees it was stated that except in one or two cases covering the incidents immediately preceding the strike in January, 1917, they were not in a position to bring witnesses. As regards the incidents on which no testimony was offered, their position was stated, namely: that some of the acts of interference complained of were in accordance with what they claimed to be their rights, while others, if they occurred, were unjustifiable.

When the employees were called on to present their case as regards the first demand made under (b) "Union Shops" the manufacturers objected that the Committee should not deal with this question as it was not covered by the references. They claimed that the parties to the references were fourteen named employers and their respective employees; that the former had throughout refused to discuss differences with their employees with any organization and that it was understood that the Union question would not be introduced. Your Committee by a majority of three to two,

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ruled that although the reference was undoubtedly between fourteen employers and employees, yet the breadth of its wording permitted the bringing up of this particular grievance, especially as it had been a real question of difference prior to the strike. Thereupon the manufacturers after two adjournments to give time for consideration, withdrew from the Committee which then had no option but to proceed, unfortunately being able to hear one side only, that of the employees.

Their case was presented without calling witnesses, it being stated that reliance was made on such facts as the Committee might accept as being generally known, or which could be easily ascertained by the Committee itself by reference to indicated sources of information.

Your Committee feel that for the proper understanding of the case some short reference to the facts is necessary.

Prior to the strike there had been differences, gradually increasing in number and intensity, between the manufacturers and their employees, the majority of whom, except in the case of two or three factories, were Union members.

Shop delegates, officers of the organization, but elected solely by the employees of the shop or set in which they themselves worked, from time to time claimed and insisted on exercising, on behalf of the employees, a voice in the decision of questions of wages, engagement or dismissal of employees, conditions of labor and even in some instances of questions in which it was admitted that their interference was unwarranted.

The employers consistently, save in a few cases, when serious trouble seemed imminent, maintained their position as above stated, or refusing to recognize the organization in any way and in many cases made special objection to the time and manner of interference.

Finally a delegate of one of the factories, after warning, was dismissed for improper interference and breach of discipline. The employees demanded his replacement, taking the ground that the real reason of his dismissal was that he was an officer of the Union, and that an attempt was being made to destroy the influence of their organization. On reinstatement being refused the employees went on strike.

At this time the factory in question had on hand work under contract nearing completion and immediately made arrangements for its completion in other factories.

These factories gave directions to their employees to complete these unfinished articles, were met with a refusal and as a consequence there was a general cessation of work. At this date there was pending no claim for increase of wages or grievance of any kind, other than as above stated.

In view of the step towards a compromise later on referred to, your Committee feel that no good purpose can be served by attempting to apportion blame for this condition of affairs.

During the adjournment taken to enable the manufacturers to consider their action, conferences were held between the representatives of both parties with a view of preventing the manufacturers' withdrawal. Though unsuccessful for that purpose they led to a subsequent appearance before us of representatives of the manufacturers with suggestions indicating their readiness to go a certain distance to meet the employee's demands and on some specific points on which the two had not been able to come together, to abide by the Committee's decision. Although the employees' representative had left town it was made clear to the Committee that he took a similar attitude.

This action of both parties has been of great help in avoiding what might have been a long inquiry into disputed facts and in enabling us to reach an early decision.

Dealing first with the specific demands made by the employees we report as follows, taking them in reverse order:

6. To be paid for all Legal Holidays: This was admitted to be a somewhat complicated question in view of local conditions and we feel that no sufficient evidence has been put before us to justify a suggestion that this demand should be acceded to: we therefore advise that it should not now be pressed.

Your committee agrees that the employees have such a right, but in fairness to the manufacturers concerned deems it proper to state that no specific grievance of any kind has been put before it.

4. Time and a half for overtime: The Committee approve of time and a half for overtime; all difficulty being removed by the manufacturers' declaration of their willingness to accede to this request.

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3. **Forty-six hours to constitute a week's work:** Your Committee recommends that after the first of August, 1917, forty-six hours shall constitute a week's work.

2. **Wages:** That there has been a very heavy increase in the cost of living, one beyond any increase that up to the date of the reference had been granted to the employees, we think is clear. To determine exactly what advance in wages should be approved would involve a long and difficult investigation, and the Committee is glad to have been saved this through mutual concessions made by both parties, which enable it to recommend that an immediate increase of a minimum of One Dollar per week be granted and that the manufacturers should give special consideration to requests that may be made for an additional increase in special cases.

A difficulty has arisen owing to a statement made to us that a number of increases have been made since the 1st of March, 1917. We feel that it is impossible to lay down a general rule which will be fair in all cases, but we suggest that in all cases in which a general increase has been made since the 1st of March, 1917, such increases be deducted from any increase which may be made in order to comply with our recommendations. By general increase we mean an increase granted to all the members of a set of employees.

1. **UNION SHOP:** On some of the questions involved in this claim the Committee cannot fairly be expected to report with the material put before it. On the other questions involved, the suggestions made by the manufacturers and the evidence we have of the willingness of the employees to accept for the present a partial measure of their demands enable us to make the following recommendations to avoid future differences:—

We suggest that a Conference Committee be established in each factory; that this Committee be composed of one or more employees of the factory interested, not exceeding four in all unless there be more than four sets in the factory in which case this number may be proportionately increased; the rules governing the election other than as herein laid down to be fixed entirely by such employees provided that all employees shall have an equal voice.

No member of the firm, foreman or outsider shall be present at the election, except that a foreman or member of the firm may be present if invited. Such election to take place every six months or at the beginning of each season. Should any employee elected refuse to act or should he leave the firm, another employee shall be elected in his or her place.

If in any factory be a minority, however limited in number, they shall have the right to select in any way they see fit, one additional member of the Committee.

It shall be the duty of the Committee to examine into and report upon such requests, complaints and grievances as any worker or body of workers may have from time to time with one another or with the firm.

The Committee shall bring these grievances to the attention of the executive heads of the firm, who shall after conference with the Committee, deal with them with a view to bringing about an amicable adjustment if possible.

All matters of dispute shall be dealt with out of working hours and shall be indicated and examined in a way that will not distract the attention of employees from their work or otherwise interfere with the operations of the factory.

We have pleasure in stating that the foregoing recommendations and suggestions while they cannot be said to embody an agreement between the parties to the reference, are nevertheless for the most part based upon suggestions made by both in a spirit indicating a willingness to compromise existing differences as regards wages and conditions of work and to assist as a means of adjustment of future difficulties by abstaining for the present from urging all that they think themselves entitled to.

We believe that the suggested Conference Committee will assist both employer and employee to a better understanding of the other's point of view and in this way should be of appreciable service in securing a friendly adjustment of future difficulties and we ask that it be given a fair trial.

We feel, however, that if we left the matter here we should not be doing our full duty. Our enquiry has made clear to us that underlying all difficulties and standing in the way of both their prevention and their settlement have been:

1. The want of some means satisfactory to both employer and employee that would permit of full and friendly discussion of differences with a view to settling them by mutual agreement; and

2. The want of some provision for overcoming deadlocks in which unless there

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be some third person or body authorized to decide between conflicting views, a frequent consequence is the strike or the lockout with their attendant suffering and loss until the weaker is compelled to yield.

For the purpose of meeting the first difficulty the Conference Committee has been suggested. It differs from the former practice in that it calls for presentation of grievances through representatives of the whole body of employees of the particular factory in which they arose, thus bringing to bear on the discussion of any question raised the influence of employees who may be able to take a broader view than the employee or group immediately interested.

The second difficulty is more serious and we offer no solution. But we suggest that the interested parties may themselves do something towards finding at least a partial solution if they will consider the advisability of permitting as an experiment a reference to arbitration of some difficulty in which a deadlock has been reached.

Experiments have been made elsewhere in connection with both these difficulties. We express no opinion as to whether or not they have proved successful as we have had no opportunity of informing ourselves fully about them. But we believe that much good would come from a better knowledge of what they were and of the result obtained and therefore suggest that a careful and systematic study of these experiments be made with the object of adopting and putting in force any ideas that may have proved successful in practice or may otherwise commend themselves as likely to prove useful.

Submitted as the unanimous report of the Committee.

(Signed)

A. FALCONER, Chairman,
ISAAC FRIEDMAN,
JOHN T. FOSTER,
W. H. WYMAN,
J. C. REMMEON.

On May 14, our members at a monster mass meeting accepted the report of the Committee.

The right to organize has been vindicated by our Montreal membership in such a convincing manner that it is doubtful whether it will ever again be assailed by the employers.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK IN PHILADELPHIA

The Philadelphia clothing workers were not at the beginning in the front ranks among the wide awake men and women in the clothing industry. While other clothing centers were rapidly organizing, successfully rebelling against slavery and affecting considerable improvements in their conditions, Philadelphia was looking on helplessly and hopelessly, and, true to the "education" given them by the Bible House misleaders, dared not move a muscle lest the rattle of their chains disturb the peace of their masters. But freedom is contagious. Once it gains a footing somewhere it spreads and "contaminates."

With New York, Baltimore and other clothing centers marching onward Philadelphia was bound, sooner or later, to fall in line. And it did. It repudiated the usurpers, as did the other clothing workers throughout the country, and began a mobilization for better working conditions.

Immediately before the General Executive Board meeting in February, 1916, the first large mass meeting was held. Lyric Hall was filled to capacity

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and proved to be far too small for all who sought admission. A fighting spirit not seen in that city for a long time asserted itself unmistakably. It was intended to be a demonstration of the Philadelphia clothing workers. Such demonstrations, on the eve of a big strike, are usually dramatic. This one, however, had also an element of the tragic in it. One of the largest firms in the city, whose factory resembled more a penitentiary than a working place for free citizens, fearing that its employees might hear the Union's message at the meeting, sent its lackeys in full uniform to Lyric hall. The purpose was not to spy on "disloyal" workers. A conspicuous uniform is a poor disguise for a spy. The purpose was to terrorize the workers. And that was accomplished. No sooner did an employee of that firm notice the familiar uniform upon his entering the hall than he rushed back with all speed before the wearer of the uniform could eye him. But while the workers were frightened away from the meeting the brutal action of the masters engendered feelings in them that were far from advantageous to the firm. It is not at all unlikely that the employer's agents purposely made themselves provokingly conspicuous with their lackey's uniforms and brazen manners in order to "pull something off." With such a vast audience demonstrating its resentment and protest against prevailing conditions the slightest provocation might prove to be a spark in a keg of powder. It was due to the intelligence and consciousness of the audience and the managers of the meeting that the employers' agents did not succeed in "pulling" anything off.

A committee from District Council No. 2, appeared before the General Executive Board, who met in February in that city, described the deplorable conditions in the industry, and asked for permission to call a general strike. The General Strike Executive Board, after thoroughly going into the matter, took whatever action the situation called for and a general strike was declared at the end of February, 1916.

As was expected, the Bible House outfit, true to their record of crime and treason, immediately rushed to the employers with offers of assistance. They sent letters and emissaries promising to break the strike, but they could get no strikebreakers to carry out their promises. They also invoked the co-operation of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, who, according to newspaper reports, sent a telegram to Philadelphia admonishing the employers not to grant improvements in our working conditions. But promises and telegrams make no garments. Members of the Amalgamated are required to do it.

The strike lasted about two weeks. It was wound up by an agreement with an association of contractors, limiting the hitherto outrageously long working week to 51 hours, and granting an increase of 15 per cent in the wages.

Under the circumstances that was the most we dared hope for and we got all that the most optimistic amongst us had expected.

The greatest gain, however, was the firm establishment of the organiza-

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tion. The concessions secured by the settlement and the spirit they gave rise to among the members left no doubt in anyone's mind that the Amalgamated has come to Philadelphia to stay. It has become a factor in the industry in that city not to be dislodged by any power. But it was likewise clear that the progress made was but the beginning of a huge task. A good idea of what the situation in Philadelphia was may be had from the fact that a strike of Custom Tailors in November, 1916, resulted, besides an increase in wages, in the reduction of the working week from 70 and 80 hours to 57. The conditions allowed to exist and constantly grow worse by the former state of disorganization on the part of the workers, and of irresponsibility on the part of the officials, made of the Philadelphia clothing industry a veritable Augean stable. It required Herculean efforts to give it a proper cleaning. The settlement of March, 1916, was a long step in that direction. But still more, very much more, remained to be done. It required patient, arduous and continuous toil. The organization met the problem as good as it could. Finally a general strike became necessary: (1) in order to maintain the fruits of the previous strike; (2) in order to make further gains, particularly the 48 hour week.

To those who knew Philadelphia in the years past, when sunrise, sunset and time had no meaning for the workers in the clothing industry, a demand by them for a 48 hour week sounded like a grim joke. Yet it was in every respect a reality. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Once the Philadelphia tailors tasted the benefits of an honest and capable organization they quickly learned how to make the most of it. The splendid victory in New York and the 48 hour movements in other clothing centers whetted their appetite.

On January 11, 1917, the Philadelphia tailors began a general strike with the 48 hour week as the principal issue.

On January 30, our victory was clinched by the signing of an agreement with an association of the smaller manufacturers for the 48 hour week, one dollar increase in wages to the week workers and 20 per cent increase to the piece workers.

Within a short time like settlements were made with individual firms outside of the association, including some of the larger houses in the city.

The 1916 strike established the organization in Philadelphia and the settlement was made with the contractors only. The 1917 strike extended our jurisdiction. Settlements were made with the manufacturers and Philadelphia was brought in line with the most progressive clothing centers by the introduction of the universal forty-eight hour week.

In the course of the past year gratifying progress has been made in the internal affairs of the organization. Philadelphia can now boast of an organization which it had never hoped to see.

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Philadelphia is entitled to special congratulations on the manner in which the uniform work has been handled. The subject of military uniform labor will be fully discussed later. We shall, therefore, not enlarge upon it here. But there is one matter in which Philadelphia has particularly distinguished itself in this connection. In that city our organization has reached an understanding with the Cloakmakers Union, which is a branch of the International Ladies' Garmen Workers' Union, for full and complete cooperation. Both organizations have jointly maintained a uniform labor department, with a labor bureau and a staff of business agents and clerical workers. Through that joint department both organizations have worked harmoniously to organize the uniform workers and protect their interests to the fullest extent. The success attained and the benefits secured for the members of both bodies have fully compensated for the efforts made. Not only have the conditions of the workers been greatly improved but the fraternal feelings always prevailing between us and our sister organization have been very much strengthened.

BOSTON ALIVE AND WIDE AWAKE.

We reported to our Second Convention of the conspiracy of the notorious crew who betrayed the Boston clothing workers and brought about a lockout in that city, in 1915, in the hope of wiping out our organization. With the help of the employers, the official "labor leaders," the police, detectives, capitalist press, traitors in our own midst, and all other enemies of the working class, they succeeded for the time being. But their joy was short lived. While not underestimating the degree of the ruin wrought by the destructionists we lost no courage and time in taking up anew the task of again building up the organization. With the staunch support of a handful of members who had weathered all storms and clung to their posts in the face of all discouragements we struggled on and our efforts were rewarded. We have succeeded in raising a magnificent edifice on the ruins of the old one. Boston now has a strong organization to the great chagrin of all of our enemies and to the still greater benefit of the clothing workers in that city. Another illustration of the fact that the class struggle cannot be smothered. To the militant working class a defeat can only be temporary. So long as class rule and the wage system continue will the workers be forced to band themselves together in spite of all opposition and raise the banner of revolt, ever learning and profiting from past experiences.

That was what happened in Boston.

The patient, steady and systematic organization work brought new life to the old members. They returned in a constant stream until they again formed solid ranks in a united army.

The employers had not failed to take advantage of the organization's

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powerlessness and reduced the working conditions to the lowest possible level.

The oppressive policy of the employers and the revival of the spirit of militancy among the workers made a general strike in that city unavoidable. And it came May 23, 1916.

In the first week of the strike settlements were made for fifteen hundred members, who immediately returned to work with the following gains: Recognition of the Union, fifty hour week, reduced from 52 and 54 hours, and wage increases of ten to twenty per cent. Those who returned to work contributed financially to the support of those who remained on strike.

On the Sixth of June, 1916, an arbitration agreement was signed with the Clothiers' Association of Boston, providing for a fifty hour week, a ten per cent wage increase and machinery for the adjudication of disputes.

Boston was again in line with the organized clothing workers throughout the country, this time, however, with more life, more vigor and more hope.

An Injunction That Materially Failed and An Injunction That Failed to Materialize.

Here we could write the word "finis" to the story of the shortest, most fruitful and least eventful clothing workers strike in Boston, were it not for one incident that should be properly recorded here. It was the never ending Leopold Morse affair.

In order to throw proper light on the matter we shall quote the following from our report to the Second Biennial Convention.

"About the same time that we smashed the conspiracy between employers and traitors in New York and crowned our victory with an agreement between the manufacturers' association and the union, an agreement was also entered into between the Leopold Morse Company of Boston and our organization.

"We had not solicited that agreement. There was no strike on against the firm nor was one contemplated. All of the tailors employed by the firm were members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the firm evidently believed that it would be to its advantage to establish a machinery for the adjudication of disputes. To which we had no objection to raise. Hence the signing of the agreement.

"That was February 1st, 1915.

"On the Eighth of March, 1915, the workers were surprised by an order from the firm to repudiate their own organization and pay tribute to the traitors lest they forfeit their jobs.

"That came like a bolt from a clear sky. The workers were amazed. It was beyond anyone's comprehension!

"The firm had but a few weeks ago voluntarily, without force or compulsion, concluded an agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The workers were called upon to vote upon the agreement and they did so, giving it their approval.

"They had during those few weeks no quarrels with the firm, the latter making no change and the workers presenting no new demands. The same people were employed by the firm then as theretofore and as at the time of signing the agreement. The firm served no notice upon the union that it would abrogate the agreement, but suddenly surprised the workers with an order to LEAVE the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and JOIN the United Garment Workers of

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America, with which later, the firm informed its employees, it had signed an agreement. How the firm could sign an agreement with that body almost immediately upon signing one with us; how the firm could sign an agreement with that so-called union at a time that none of the tailors in its employ were affiliated with it, and how the firm could take it upon itself to choose a 'union' for the workers and 'assure' them that that was a 'real' union while the AMALGAMATED was not, were among the many puzzles of the situation that the workers failed to understand.

"The amazement of the workers grew still more when they saw a so-called organizer of the 'union,' chosen for them by the firm, enter the shops with a representative of the firm, and under the Chairmanship of the latter attempt to harangue the workers. The Judas in this case not only disgraced Organized Labor but was also masquerading in the disguise of Socialism.

"The workers were curious to know why the 'organizer' could not call them to a meeting in the usual manner in which workers are called and address them outside of the august presence of the employer, as their own and real organizers did. They were likewise inquisitive as to the nature of the 'better' agreement with the 'better' union. When the agreement with our organization was drawn the workers knew every word of it, deliberated and voted on it. No signature was attached to it for the union before the workers so ordered. They were anxious to know why they could not enjoy the same rights at the hands of the 'better' union. If the firm had the privilege of making and breaking agreements at its sweet will why could not the workers exercise their rights when the new agreement was made by somebody for them? But those were curiosities that neither the firm nor the 'organizer,' both of whom acted in admirable unison, was capable of gratifying. The Dr. Jekyll masque was quickly dropped and the firm and 'organizer' appeared in the full hideousness of Mr. Hyde. A few of the workers, the influence of whose presence was very much feared by both parties to the game of fettering the workers, were shanghaied away from the factory and a safe distance were told that they were discharged. The remaining workers were told bluntly and brutally that unless they stab their own organization in the back and go back to those who had betrayed them in the past, they would be condemned to starvation.

"The workers, prompted by the feeling of resentment at the black act of treason against them, told the traitor who he was, showed the firm that workers are no contraband goods that may be stolen and passed on to pirates, and left the shops in a body. That was a splendid demonstration of what workers could do if imbued with a consciousness of self respect.

"But it was not the good fate of the Boston lockout to wind up so gloriously in favor of the workers as did the New York lockout about one month earlier."

The Leopold Morse "Union" had given the firm carte blanche to impose on the workers such conditions as it saw fit. The firm reciprocated by lending its assistance to the "Union" in the latter's efforts to keep the workers effectively muzzled, docile and submissive in the interests of both the firm and its "union." But somehow the workers could not be made dependable. They were bitter against the firm and cursed its "union."

Under such circumstances it was little wonder that the doubly enslaved Leopold Morse workers were caught by the strike spirit the moment the general strike in Boston was proclaimed.

We did not call them. We had quite sufficient work in the general field and were not in a position voluntarily to take up something that was bound to make our task more difficult. But the Leopold Morse workers came out of their own volition. The courage and spirit of their fellow workers gave strength to those slaves. They quit work in a body in spite of the strenuous efforts of the officials of the firm's "union" to hold them back. They went straight to the headquarters of their "enemy," the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Our striking members naturally received them with joy and delight.

That was not the first test of the great "moral" value of the agreement

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between the Leopold Morse Co. and the United Garment Workers, but it was the first of such magnitude.

Instead of appealing to the "responsible" officers of the "union" to live up to its agreement the firm took the strange course of appealing to the courts to compel us to enforce its agreement with the United Garment Workers. In its petition for an injunction against us the firm related of the existence of the agreement, and stated that one of the provisions was to the effect that "Should the employees of the company stop work in violation of this agreement the Union agrees to order their return to work or to furnish satisfactory workers in their place."

Why did not the firm demand of the "Union" to carry out its "agreement"?

Those who know anything at all about the labor movement know that a union who enters into an agreement with an employer guaranteeing that "should the employees of the company stop work the union would order their return or furnish others in their place," must be in a position to exercise sufficient moral authority over its members to enforce such guarantee. It is clearly the business of the contracting union to see to it that the members live up to the terms of the contract. It alone is responsible for it. But in this case the firm did not complain to the court that the organization which is a party to the agreement was violating it but that some other organization, not a party to the contract, was guilty of such violation. The firm complained "that all or nearly all of said employees were willing to continue in plaintiff's employ, but for the acts of the defendants and the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America" who had "illegally, wrongfully and improperly persuaded and induced employees of the plaintiff who were members of the Union to break the contract entered into between the plaintiff and the Union." Indeed, a most unusual complaint for an employing firm to make to a court of law. The strange procedure becomes still more strange when we learn that the firm admitted that it did not ask its own "Union" to carry out the agreement before applying to the court for an order to compel us to carry it out. The strange procedure becomes exceedingly amusing when we remember that that same firm deliberately, intentionally and maliciously broke its agreement with our organization in order to make a "better one" with the United Garment Workers, and then demanded of us, whose agreement it broke, to enforce for the United Garment Workers its agreement with the firm because the United Garment Workers was incapable of doing it.

Our attorney asked the firm to produce along with the U. G. W. agreement also the agreement it had made with us and broke, in order to make the case complete. But the firm did not think it wise to do so. If the case as presented by the firm to the court meant anything at all it meant that while the firm was in a position to force its slaves to pay tribute to its "union" it was not in a position to destroy their spirit of loyalty to our organization. All that the firm's "union" can succeed in getting from its

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"members," and in an ever increasing measure, is enmity, heartfelt, soul deep and unqualified enmity. They know that the only hope for the workers in the industry is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

In its injunction application the firm repeated ad nauseum the story that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America refused to permit its employes to carry out the contract between it and its "union." It finally asked that we be enjoined not only from refusing permission to members of the firm's "union" to carry out that "union's" contract, but also from asking them to leave the firm's "union" and become members of our organization.

At this juncture it may be well to quote a very significant passage from the report of the Master to whom the court referred the case for examination. It was as follows:

"MANY OF THE EMPLOYEES OF THE PLAINTIFF ARE DISSATISFIED WITH THE MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNION (UNITED GARMENT WORKERS), OR WITH THEIR EARNINGS OR CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE SHOPS OF THE PLAINTIFF."

The firm's pitiful prayer for an injunction only served to show the plight it was in. But instead of the very sweeping injunction that it had asked for it received one so utterly useless that it could find in it not the least consolation.

The injunction as granted to the firm by Justice Morton of the Superior Court was as follows:

"They are enjoined and restrained from preventing or attempting to prevent persons now or hereafter in the employ of Leopold Morse Company who are or shall hereafter be under contract as members of the United Garment Workers of America from working or continuing in the employ of the Leopold Morse Company by picketing in and around any of these shops of the Leopold Morse Company, or preventing or attempting to prevent by the use of violence, force, coercion, intimidation, threats or persuasion, such persons now or hereafter in the employ of the Leopold Morse Company from being employed or continuing in that employment."

Our attorney in Boston, George E. Roewer, Jr., made the following comment in a letter to us informing us of the injunction:

"This did not satisfy counsel for Leopold Morse for the reason that they wanted to prevent us from accepting members of the United Garment Workers into our organization and to compel us to relinquish all of those who have deserted the United Garment Workers and joined our organization since the beginning of the general strike in Boston.

"The injunction simply prevents us from inducing by picketing or by the use of violence people now or hereafter working for the Leopold Morse Company who are under contract 'as members of the United Garment Workers of America.' Since there are very few now working in the shops of Leopold Morse Company who are under contract, and since this injunction does not apply to those who have already left the shops of the Leopold Morse Company, and who are not now under contract with them, it is apparent that the injunction is of no practical value to the Leopold Morse Company.

"In other words we are not permitted to induce persons who are now under contract to work for Leopold Morse, all other persons we can induce by picketing to join our organization and to refrain from working for the Leopold Morse Company.

"The injunction which the Leopold Morse Company desired contained eleven hundred words. They started proceedings on May 24th and expected to obtain an injunction immediately, but they received no assistance from the Courts until June

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16th, and as the injunction will not affect the strike one way or the other I have no objection to it."

On June 24, some time after the strike in the entire industry had been settled and the workers were all back at work, the firm was still struggling to get its employees back. Though the injunction did not materialize in the sweeping form desired by it the company still tried its hand in utilizing the injunction as it was in order to intimidate its striking employees into returning back to work and, incidentally, deliver a blow to our organization. Accordingly, the firm on above date instituted contempt proceedings against our local and international officers and other active members, charging them with violating the injunction. In September, 1916, all those cases were dismissed.

With the help of the official "labor leaders" the firm again succeeded in breaking the resistance of its workers to slavery and oppression. The workers remember well all the crimes committed against them by the firm's "union" and they will also remember them when the Day of Judgment will come for the Judas Iscariots.

Boston does not seem to have a favorable atmosphere for injunction culture. That has, at any rate, been our experience. Bad as the Leopold Morse Company fared the story of another firm's injunction venture is still worse.

On January 2, 1917, the Barron Anderson Company wished to begin the New Year with a clean slate and therefore filed a petition for an injunction against us as the simplest and most direct means of winding up the strike that was then being conducted against it. The Judge thought that arbitration might be a better way of doing it and suggested it to both parties. We accepted the suggestion immediately and the firm took it under consideration. On January 26, after the firm had uselessly waited for signs of weakening in the strike, it decided to accept the Judge's view and settled the strike by arbitration.

Steady Progress in Boston

In October, 1916, the custom tailors in Boston struck for the 48 hour week and got it; also a ten per cent increase in their wages. Since then the 48 hour week has been made general for the clothing industry in that city.

Boston has the distinction of having the first overall workers local under our banner. That is local union 150. In November, 1916, that local had its first strike and succeeded in making the following gains: Recognition of the union, reduction of the working week to 50 hours from anywhere between 54 and 60 and increases in wages. The local had another strike in November, 1917, gaining the 48 hour week and a ten per cent increase in wages. Shortly before this convention they secured a further ten per cent increase without a strike.

A general wage increase of 10 to 13 per cent was won by negotiation from the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Boston, May 31, 1917. On September 20, 1917, the agreement with the association was renewed, making

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the 48 hour week definite and general. The agreement will continue in force until May, 1919.

During the past two years Boston has given a good account of itself and we are confident that it will continue doing so.

EFFECTIVE WORK AND ENCOURAGING RESULTS IN SMALLER PLACES.

We cannot pass Boston without paying our respects to the robust and lively organization in Worcester, Mass., which is, for our organization purposes, in a sense a part of Greater Boston. The pantsmakers in that city, the only clothing branch there, are well organized and doing splendid work in promoting and protecting their conditions. By a strike in July, 1916, it increased wages and reduced the working hours from 60 to 55. That was for Worcester an unprecedented victory. But progress was made so rapidly that in September, 1917, the 50 hour week was established through a general strike of one week, securing also wage increases. Our Boston organization has frequently assisted its Worcester sister local. We are particularly grateful to Brother Lazarus Marcovitz, secretay of the Joint Board of Boston, who is always ready to represent us in Worcester whenever our assistance is equired.

In this connection we may point out that the small towns and country places outside of and away from the larger clothing centers have progress in the future. We can point with pride to such places as Vineland, also Passaic, N. J., where the workers are under the jurisdiction of the Children's Clothing Joint Board of New York, Woodbine, and Norma, N. J. We have good organizations in those towns, alive and active. We have also made progress in Norwich, Conn. The workers in all those places had always been used as strikebreakers, particularly against New York and Philadelphia. Sometimes the workers were unconscious of what they were doing against their fellow workers. It is different now. Not only do the workers refuse to act as strikebreakers because of their better understanding and of their sense of solidarity but they are also steadily improving their own conditions.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CHICAGO.

Chicago had a most sensational year in 1915, when its general strike was the headliner in the clothing industry for three long months. A complete report of that memorable struggle was made to our 1916 convention. Over two thousand arrests were made. A number of those cases were still pending at the time of our last convention. They included charges of murder and conspiracy. They have all been dismissed since. The fact that there was not a single conviction on all of those most serious charges shows to what lengths our enemies went in their desperate efforts to prejudice the public mind against us and destroy our organization.

While our Second Convention was in session in Rochester we received the report of a cutter strike in Chicago. We did not wish another

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big fight in that city so soon after the battle of 1915. But the Association members precipitated the strike among the cutters by discharging all those of whom the firms learned that they joined our organization, who included in their number such as had failed to go out with us in the big strike of 1915. We considered it our duty to stand by the striking workers in spite of the past errors of a number of them, and our organization gave its fullest support to the strikers in their demand for the reinstatement of their discharged brothers. All cutters and trimmers walked out and fought bravely for seven weeks. But conditions were not such as to make a favorable outcome possible. The fight was a credit to the cutters even if the desired results were not attained.

On May 12, 1916, three days after the strike had begun, Judge Frederick A. Smith, of the Circuit Court of Cook County, issued the most sweeping injunction ever granted by a court to employers against their striking employees. The court enjoined our organization and the strikers from doing anything except returning to work on the employers' conditions. The fact that the strikers held out for seven long weeks in the face of that injunction, besides other serious obstacles, is proof of the bitterness that had accumulated in the breasts of the workers during the years of unmitigated slavery under the barbaric despotism of the industrial tyrants who still rule with the iron rod of the blacklist.

The peculiar spirit of justice and conception of equality before the law in which the injunction was issued against us may be seen from the fact that while no hearing at all was granted us before issuing the temporary order the hearing for making the injunction permanent was set for the end of July, twelve weeks after the date of the temporary injunction. That was justice with a vengeance!

We herewith reproduce the injunction in full:

INJUNCTION WRIT

In the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois.

B. 20801

B. Kuppenheimer & Company, a corporation; Rosenwald and Weil, a corporation; Leopold, Solomon & Eisendrath, a corporation; Hirsch, Wickwire Co., a corporation; Schoenberg Bros., a corporation; Ederheimer Stein Company, a corporation; Kuhn, Nathan & Fischer Co., a corporation; Chas. Kaufman and Aaron Kaufman, partners, doing business as Chas. Kaufman & Bros.; Alfred Decker, Abe Cohn and A. G. Peine, partners, doing business as Alfred Decker & Cohn; Joseph Mayer, Edward Mayer and Milton Mayer, partners, doing business as Mayer Bros.; Solomon L. Abt, Herman Abt and Jacob Abt, partners, doing business as L. Abt & Sons,

Complainants,

vs.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a voluntary association, hereinafter referred to as the union; Sidney Hillman, individually and as president of said union; Samuel Levin, individually and as manager of the Chicago joint board of said union; Frank Rosenblum, individually and as member of the general executive board of the said union; Sam Rissman, individually and as president of Local 61 of said union; A. D. Marimpietri, individually and as member of the general executive board of said union; Stephen Skala, individually and as organizer of said union; Hyman Schneid, individually and as organizer of said union; Jacob Potofsky, individually and as treasurer of the joint board of said union; Sam Barnett; Henry Friedman; S. Rubin; L. Kanak; B. Kleisner; E. Sestak; O. B. Rohden; Jos. Gregor; G. Lagerholm; W. Kobleski; George Carroll; Harry Wicks;

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Joe Abrams; Arnold Abel; Frank Niematz; Harry Goldberg; Frank Hanus; Joe Tomanek; E. Ulmer; Robert Kucera; William Runge; Jack Nussbaum; Sam Singer; Sam Goldberg; individually and as members and representatives of said union and the local branches thereof,

Defendants.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS:

To Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a voluntary association, herein-after referred to as the union; Sidney Hillman, individually and as president of said union; Samuel Levin, individually and as manager of the Chicago Joint Board of said Union; Frank Rosenblum, individually and as member of general executive board of the said union; Sam Rissman, individually and as president of Local No. 61 of said union; A. D. Marimpietri, individually and as member of the general executive board of said union; Stephen Skala, individually and as organizer of said union; Jacob Potofsky, individually and as treasurer of the joint board of said union; Sol Barnett; Henry Friedman; S. Rubin; L. Kanak; B. Kleisner; E. Sestak O. B. Rohden; Jos. Gregor; G. Lagerholm; W. Kobleski; George Carroll; Harry Wicks; Joe Abrams, Arnold Abel; Frank Niematz; Harry Goldberg; Frank Hanus; Joe Tomanek; E. Ulmer; Robert Kucera; William Runge; Jack Nussbaum; Sam Singer; Sam Goldberg, individually and as members and representatives of said union and the local branches thereof, defendants, and to all associations, firms and persons, assisting, aiding, confederating or conspiring with them, or HAVING KNOWLEDGE HEREOF, and to each and every one of them, GREETING:

WHEREAS, it hath been represented to the Honorable Judges of the Circuit Court of Cook County in the State aforesaid, on the part of B. Kuppenheimer & Company, a corporation; Rosenwald and Weil, a corporation; Leopold Solomon & Eisendrath, a corporation; Hirsh, Wickwire Co., a corporation; Schoenberg Bros., a corporation; Ederheimer, Stein Company, a corporation; Kuhn, Nathan & Fischer Co., a corporation; Chas. Kaufman and Aaron Kaufman, partners, doing business as Chas. Kaufman & Bros.; Alfred Decker, Abe Cohn & A. G. Peine, partners, doing business as Alfred Decker & Cohn; Joseph Mayer, Edward Mayer and Milton Mayer, partners, doing business as Mayer Bros.; Solomon L. Abt, Herman H. Abt, and Jacob H. Abt, partners, doing business as L. Abt & Sons, complainants, in their certain bill of complaint, exhibited before said Judges, and filed in said court against you, the said above named defendants, among other things, that you are combining and confederating with others to injure the complainant, touching the matter set forth in said bill, and that your actings and doings in the premises are contrary to equity and good conscience. And Honorable Frederick A. Smith, one of said judges, having entered an order that a Writ of Injunction issue out of said Court, according to the prayer of said bill. We, therefore, in consideration thereof, and of the particular matters in said bill set forth, DO STRICTLY COMMAND YOU, the said above named defendants, and the persons before mentioned, and each and every one of you, that you do absolutely DESIST AND REFRAIN:

From in any manner interfering with, hindering, obstructing or stopping the business of the complainants, respectively, or of their respective agents, servants or employees in the operation of the business of the complainants, respectively;

From picketing or maintaining any picket or pickets at or near the premises of the complainants, respectively, or along the routes followed by the employees of the complainants, respectively, in going to and from their homes and to and from the place of business of the complainants, respectively;

From watching or spying upon the complainants' places of business, and upon the employees of the complainants, respectively, and from watching or spying upon those who enter or leave said places of business, or who seek to enter the employment of the complainants, respectively, or who seek to do business with the complainants, respectively;

From assaulting or intimidating by threats or otherwise the employees of the complainants, respectively, or any persons who may become or seek to become employees of the complainants, respectively;

From congregating about, or near the places of business of the complainants, respectively, or any place where the employees of the complainants, respectively, are lodged or boarded, for the purpose of compelling, inducing or soliciting the employees of the complainants, respectively, to leave their employment or to refuse to work for the complainants, respectively, or for the purpose of preventing, or attempting to prevent, persons from freely entering into the employment of the complainants, respectively;

From entering upon the grounds or places where the employees of the complainants, respectively, are at work for the purpose, or with the effect, of hindering, interfering with or obstructing the business of such employees or of the complainants, respectively;

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From interfering with, or attempting to hinder the complainants, respectively, in carrying on their respective business in the usual and ordinary way;

From following the employees of the complainants, respectively, to their homes, or to other places, or from calling upon such employees for the purpose, or with the effect, of inducing them to leave the employment of the complainants, respectively, or for the purpose, or with the effect of molesting or intimidating such employees or their families;

From attempting by payment or promise of money, employment or other rewards, to induce employees of the complainants to leave their employment;

From instituting or maintaining any boycott or boycotts against the complainants, respectively;

From compelling or inducing, or attempting to compel or induce, any of the employees of the complainants, respectively, to refuse or to fail to do their work or to perform their duties as such employees;

From sending any circulars or other communications to customers of the complainants, respectively, or to other persons who might deal or transact business with the complainants, respectively, for the purpose, or with the effect of dissuading such persons from so doing;

From doing anything which subjects any of the complainants' employees to hatred, criticism, censure, scorn, disgrace or annoyance because of their employment by the complainants, respectively, until this Honorable Court in Chancery sitting, shall make order to the contrary. Hereof fail not, under penalty of what the law directs.

To the Sheriff of said County to execute and return in due form of law.

(Seal) Witness, JOHN W. RAINEY, Clerk of the said Court and the Seal thereof, at Chicago, aforesaid, this 12th day of May, A. D. 1916.

JOHN W. RAINEY, Clerk.

DUDLEY TAILOR,
SILBER, ISAACS, SILBER & WOLEY,
Solicitors for Complainants.

He who will succeed in improving on this injunction as an instrument for strikebreaking will have earned immortality.

The big strike of 1915 broke the ground so completely that nothing can close it again to prevent receiving the seeds of our propaganda, provided the organization work is kept up steadily. Chicago now needs patient, continuous and persistent constructive work. This work is now being done. It has already yielded results. The prospects are good for more effective work and more encouraging results in the future.

Inroads have been made into new sections of the industry. Thus the bushelman in the department stores on State street and the Northwest Side have been organized, their working hours considerably reduced and their wages raised. Agreements have been made with the Associated Wholesale Tailors, employing about 1500 workers and with others of the smaller houses.

In January, 1917, when the victory in New York made the 48 hour week the standard working week of the industry, we asked for the same standard in the factories of Hart Schaffner & Marx. The provisions of our agreement of May 1, 1916, make such a change possible during the life of the agreement. In those factories and in others the 48 hour week was established by our direct jurisdiction; in the non-union houses it was introduced by our indirect jurisdiction, i. e., the fear of the employers that refusal to grant it—"voluntarily," of course—would add strength to the Union. The fear of the union is continuously haunting the injunction and blacklist employers.

In May, 1917, we asked for a wage increase for the employees of Hart

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Schaffner & Marx. The Board of Arbitration granted a ten per cent increase, rendering the following interesting opinion:

An application is made to the Board of Arbitration of the Hart Schaffner & Marx agreement for a readjustment of the wage scale adopted for the three year period succeeding May 1, 1916. The application is made by the workers, and is based on the clause of the agreement entitled "Emergency Powers," which is as follows:

"If there shall be a general change in wages or hours in the clothing industry, which shall be sufficiently permanent to warrant the belief that the change is not temporary, then the board shall have power to determine whether such change is of so extraordinary a nature as to justify a consideration of the question of making a change in the present agreement, and, if so, then the Board shall have power to make such changes in wages or hours as in its judgment shall be proper."

The claims of the workers were explained to the Board by Mr. Sidney Hillman, international president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. He stated that the application was made primarily because of the enormously increased cost of living which had so diminished the purchasing power of money that it was virtually equivalent to a reduction in wages. He stated also that in response to this condition wages had been generally advanced in the clothing industry, that so far as human foresight could perceive the condition was a permanent one, and that the extraordinary situation which existed fully met the requirements of the provision of the agreement under which application for a readjustment of wages was brought. He made no specific demand, nor did he expect a full equivalent for the losses sustained by the workers by reason of war prices and conditions, but he maintained that a measure of relief should be granted, and that the workers should not be required to bear all the burden of a common calamity.

The company, through its representatives, acknowledged the claim of increased cost of living but called attention to the fact that since 1915 the average earnings of the people had increased from thirty to thirty-five per cent., due to the fuller employment brought about by a larger volume of business.

More important, however, was the fact that the goods in the process of manufacture for the fall season were already sold at prices that were agreed on before the present claim was made, and this fact should be taken into consideration by the arbitrators in adjudicating the case.

The Board of Arbitration approaches the decision of the question submitted to it with a deep sense of responsibility. The cause of our common distress is a national calamity which it is not in the power of the Board to remove or ameliorate. All that it has power to do is to readjust the burden so that it may not fall too heavily on the weaker party.

It admits the truth of the claim that any advance granted in midseason must come out of the company, and it recognizes the fact that ordinarily, increased wages should be added to the cost of the goods, and passed on to the consumer. But this is an extraordinary occasion. The workers have already suffered heavily in the diminished purchasing power of their wages, and throughout the clothing and other industries' wage increases have been made in response to the war prices which afflict the country. The Board believes that, on reflection, the company can hardly expect to pass through the present war crisis and not share a part of the loss which falls so heavily on its workers, and, indeed, on all members of the community. It accordingly decides that the company shall give its workers a general advance of ten per cent to be paid in the following manner:

All workers under the jurisdiction of this Board, except the cutters, shall receive a horizontal advance in wages of ten per cent, to take effect July 1, 1917.

The cutters shall receive an equivalent of ten per cent converted into a uniform flat weekly increase, which is agreed to be \$2.35 per week for each cutter, whether temporary or permanent, and also apprentices. In view of the fact that other departments have received more direct advances of wages than the cutters, it is decided that the cutters' increase shall go into effect on June 1, 1917.

It is decided that these increases shall be recorded separately by the company; that it shall take the place of the increase of pay asked for on behalf of the week workers in the tailor shops; and in the event of any other claim being made under the emergency clause of the agreement, that such claims must be made in advance of sales for the affected season being made by the company in order to be entitled to recognition by the Board of Arbitration.

In the case of week-workers, the increase shall be calculated from the pay roll of the last week in May, 1917.

June 2, 1917.

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With the spectre of the union always before them the Association houses likewise announced a ten per cent. increase to their employees, hoping in that way to continue keeping them out from the organization.

When negotiations with the firm of Hart Schaffner & Marx for a wage increase were taken up this spring the Association houses thought they would steal a march on us by announcing their "voluntary" wage increase before the union had an opportunity to announce the increase to the employees of Hart Schaffner & Marx. They considered that particularly good policy this time because of the live organization campaign that has developed of late. Accordingly they announced a ten per cent. increase. But those increases are misleading. In the first place, they are not given as increases but as bonuses. As such they may be withdrawn at any time. In the second place, while the employers speak of ten per cent. those so-called increases actually amount to about seven per cent. The increases or bonuses are computed not upon the basis of the wages as paid at the time the increase is granted but of wages as they existed before the series of fraudulent increases began. On the other hand, the increases secured by us are bona fide as they are not bonuses and become incorporated into the wage scale. In the case of the Association the wage scale at best remains stationary in spite of all "increases"; in our case every increase permanently raises the wage scale.

Shortly after the Association employers announced their fake ten per cent. wage increase we reached an agreement with the firm of Hart Schaffner & Marx for a ten and fifteen per cent. increase as is shown by the following report we received from the Chicago organization:

For the second time during the life of the present agreement between Hart Schaffner & Marx and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, it became necessary to demand an increase in wages due to the high cost of living.

When the present agreement was signed in May, 1916, a 10 per cent. increase was secured and distributed by the Union to the many sections, giving higher increases to the lower paid sections. In the fall of 1916, a 2 per cent. increase was added to the piece workers on account of reducing the hours from 49 to 48 per week. In May, 1917, an additional 10 per cent. increase was secured through the Arbitration Board and was applied horizontally throughout the shops.

Some time ago it became evident that another increase was essential in order to keep up, somehow, with the constantly rising cost of commodities. Accordingly, a demand for a wage increase was made. The Joint Board found it advisable to call our General President, Brother Sidney Hillman, to Chicago, and to conduct the negotiations. He arrived in Chicago on Monday, April 22, and immediately proceeded to make arrangements that resulted in a conference called by Mr. J. E. Williams, the Chairman of the Board of Arbitration, at which the representatives of the Amalgamated and the firm were present. Mr. Williams presided.

In justice to the representatives of the company, it must be said that from the very beginning they realized the necessity of giving an increase to keep, as they stated, their employees contented and happy and within reach of the high prices. This being the case, the discussions were limited to a discussion of how much the firm could give and still keep up with its competitors; how little could the workers accept under the circumstances; and how could the increase be applied to be of equal benefit to all workers? After a long but very friendly discussion the following agreement was reached:

INCREASE IN WAGES

A conference of the chairman of the Board of Arbitration with representatives of Hart Schaffner & Marx and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America reports an addition to wages in the form of a payment to be made during the life of the present agreement, in addition to the increase granted in June and July, 1917.

CUTTERS: All cutters, apprentices, temporary and regular, on the pay roll

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on May 2, 1918, shall be granted an additional increase at the rate of \$3 per 48-hour week, beginning May 2, 1918.

TRIMMING ROOM: All employes of the trimming room on the trimmers' pay roll on May 2, 1918, shall be granted an additional increase at the rate of \$3 per 48-hour week, beginning May 2, 1918.

TAILOR SHOPS: All week workers in the tailor shops on May 2, 1918, whose work is directly productive, not including foremen, section heads, examiners or attendants, shall receive an increase at the rate of \$3 per 48-hour week, beginning on the first day of the pay roll week after May 1. Persons who are working at piece rate operations on a minimum weekly guarantee shall be considered as piece workers.

INCREASE IN WAGES: All piece workers in the coat, vest and trousers factories beginning on the first day of the pay roll week after May 1, 1918, shall be paid an additional percentage on their weekly earnings, including the ten per cent. increase of 1917, as follows:

A list of sections selected by the sub-committee, which includes all sections having received the relatively lower earnings during the past, shall be granted an additional payment of fifteen per cent.

Sections not included in the above list shall be granted an additional payment of ten per cent.

The agreement was enthusiastically received and approved by the Joint Board and it will serve as a great stimulus in the present campaign of organization that is going on in this city. The Amalgamated in this city once again, true to its principle of equality, thought of the lower paid workers, as it can be seen that a much larger increase was given to those sections earning less, thus gradually raising them to a level of equality with the higher paid workers.

The above increases were announced at a very successful May Day celebration of the Chicago Joint Board at Guyon's Paradise.

TORONTO THE FIRST TO SECURE A REAL EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Toronto is next to Montreal as a clothing center in the Dominion of Canada. The experiences of the Toronto Clothing Workers with organization matters in previous years were in line with those of all other clothing centers. When we entered the field we found the workers discouraged and hopeless. After the usual hardships of pioneering we succeeded in arousing a strong sentiment for organization. The situation developed steadily until the organization was ready for action to secure improvements in the working conditions of its members. Immediately after the conclusion of the Montreal strike, in March, 1917, the Toronto Joint Board sent a set of demands to the employers. On March 22, 1917, the demands were granted as follows: A 44-hour week, reduced from 49, and a wage increase of one dollar a week. A compromise was made in the wage increase, the demand having been for \$2. In Toronto as elsewhere our members considered a bigger reduction in the working hours as of relatively greater importance than a larger increase in wages.

As already mentioned above Toronto holds the palm for the shortest working week. It is the first, and so far the only city in the clothing industry in North America to have a real eight-hour day, a forty-four hour week. Nor was a big fight necessary to get it.

In Toronto, the same as in other clothing cities, all local unions are welded together by a Joint Board, which is the central body in the city. The Joint Board is always active, dealing with organization and individual prob-

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lems as they present themselves and the members appreciate the benefits secured through their united efforts.

Hamilton, Canada, which is near Toronto, was also brought within our folds. There we succeeded in establishing the 48-hour week and securing wage increases. Conditions were not as favorable there as they were in Toronto for the establishment of the 44-hour week.

In July, 1916, the firm of Davis Bros., locked out its employees. The union took the fight up and won it after a few weeks.

Dundas, a small town near Hamilton, with one clothing factory, was organized by the Hamilton local and made a branch of it.

TRAITORS AT WORK IN ST. LOUIS.

The clothing workers in St. Louis have had more than their full share of experience with the Bible House band of traitors. A number of years ago the rank and file rebelled against misrule and corruption. In its efforts to destroy opposition and stifle criticism the ruling clique revoked charters of locals and blacklisted members. An agreement was forced on the workers of one firm which meant slavery and oppression to them.

The man to whom the destinies of the three thousand workers in the industry had been entrusted, fought bitterly, as head of the Knights of Labor in that city, when representatives came some twenty-three years ago to destroy the K. of L. locals of the clothing workers by forming rival organizations. When they succeeded the "vanquished" assimilated himself with the "conquerors" so well that you cannot now tell one from the other.

The spirit of the St. Louis clothing workers seemed so low as a result of all they had gone through that we were greatly surprised when we received from them a charter application in May, 1916, shortly after our last convention.

The workers who formed the Amalgamated local were no members of the United Garment Workers and were employed by the firm of Loth and Hoffman.

The U. G. W., who were quite willing to let the workers stay unorganized, were touched to the quick the moment they realized that the workers joined our organization. The strikebreaking crew quickly succeeded in convincing the firm that it will be to its advantage to force its employees into the "Union" they did not wish to join. Accordingly, the firm suddenly discovered that it entertained a special affection for "organized labor" and directed the workers to withdraw from our organization and join the firm's "union." The first man who refused was promptly discharged. That was June 29, 1916. The other workers met and decided to defend their right to belong to their own union. On June 30, the entire force, nearly three hundred in number, half of them women, went out on strike demanding the reinstatement of their fellow worker and the right to be organized.

The scab agency relieved the firm of the task of fighting the strikers; it took over that noble mission itself. All efforts of the scab agency to fill

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the shop with scabs having failed for more than a month the agency decided to be good to the strikers and give them an opportunity to make good the bargain struck between the agency and the firm. On July 5, they sent warning to the strikers that unless they returned to work by July 12th, their places would be filled with other workers. Note, it was not the struck firm that sent that warning, nor was it the firm that did many of the other criminal things against the workers; no, it was not the firm, it was the firm's "union." The workers, in self-respect, did not reply to the scab agency's warning, and continued the strike long after the 12th of July.

Threats having failed the firm's "union" changed its tactics. It opened guerilla warfare against the strikers, beating them up at every occasion, treating, in that respect, men and women on a basis of equality. The following quotation from one of the reports received by us will serve as an illustration.

"This was an awful day. The U. G. W. of A gangsters, about 40 in number, slugged our pickets at every opportunity, with the police winking. Total arrests for the day, eight. The picketing is done by girls only now."

Please remember again that that was done not by the firm but by its "union."

Not only were the strikers beaten up by the scab agency's sluggers but they were also persecuted by the politicians, with whom the scab agency has exercised considerable influence. Throughout the strike large numbers of strikers were arrested, big fines were paid and several of our members were sent to jail, where they were compelled to spend some time before we succeeded in liberating them.

Some local politicians who are posing as socialists, one of whom is the editor of a local labor paper, assisted the strikebreaking agency against the strikers.

The wonder is not that the strike was lost. The wonder is that the young local organization, just formed, displayed such wonderful fighting spirit and vitality as to hold out about three months against such terrible odds.

We now have a good nucleus in St. Louis and are confident that sooner or later St. Louis, too, will be a well organized clothing center.

IN THE SUNNY SOUTH--LOUISVILLE.

Few of our members knew that Louisville, Ky., had any sort of clothing industry worth speaking of. We had never heard of a clothing workers organization or a strike in that city. In our minds Kentucky had been so much associated with romance and folksong that it would have seemed almost a sacrilege to think of the "Old Kentucky Home" as housing an industry that was built on sweat shopism as its cornerstone, and of "Kentucky Eyes" as those of a garment maker stitching her life away for \$3.50 a week.

We know better now.

Somehow the romanticism and poetry of Old Kentucky have failed to afford the workers any protection from overwork, underpayment and other

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evils. When the rising cost of living began to press too forcibly on the waist line, and new holes had to be pierced in the belt, the workers, though unorganized, made demands for higher wages, and receiving no satisfaction were compelled to take action. The employees of the largest firm in the city, Shymanski & Sons, were the first to formulate demands. They asked for a ten per cent increase in their wages. When that was refused they all went out on strike, 250 strong.

Some of the strikers knew of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and sent us a request for help. We directed Bro. Samuel Levin of Chicago to proceed to Louisville and make an investigation. He found a splendid set of men and women, mostly women, who were ready to organize and stay organized. Bro. Frank Rosenblum was then placed in charge of the situation and he remained on the ground until the end of the year when the strike ended.

It was found that there was ample room for improvement in the working conditions in all clothing houses in the city. As soon as a local union was formed the task of securing improvements was undertaken.

The following letter was mailed to all clothing manufacturing firms, including the struck firm:

Louisville, Ky., July 20, 1917.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the demands formulated and adopted by the Clothing Workers of Louisville at a Mass Meeting held Thursday evening, July 19, 1917, at Y. M. H. A. Hall, in which your employees participated.

The undersigned was instructed to forward the demands to the Clothing Manufacturers of Louisville, with a request for a conference.

It is the aim and desire of the workers and their officers to maintain peace with honor in the Clothing Industry in this city, and, with that object in view, we respectfully ask that you give this matter your careful consideration and prompt attention, and meet us in conference for the purpose of adjusting any and all questions at issue.

Trusting this will meet with your approval, and that you will favor us with an early reply on or before Tuesday, July 24, 1917, I am

Respectfully yours,

FRANK ROSENBLUM,
Member General Executive Board,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
of America.

DEMANDS FORMULATED BY LOUISVILLE CLOTHING WORKERS AT MASS MEETING HELD THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 10, 1917, .. AT Y. M. H. A. HALL.

1. 48 hours shall constitute a week's work.
2. Time and one-half shall be paid for overtime.
3. A general increase in wages of 15 per cent.
4. Minimum wage of \$8.00 per week for women apprentices.
5. Minimum wage of \$16.00 per week for men.
6. There shall be no discharge without just cause.
7. Sanitary conditions to be established, with emergency rest rooms in shops.
8. Abolition of all fines and blacklists.
9. Recognition of Union.
10. The following legal holidays to be observed, with pay: New Year's Day; Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas.
11. That an Arbitration Board be established to adjust all future grievances (if any) where both parties cannot agree.

The employers did not reply. As the strike continued it extended in scope until it included the following houses in addition to Shymanski & Sons:

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Moses Rothschild & Co., Falls City Clothing Company and M. Cohen & Sons. The aggregate number of strikers was nearly six hundred.

We cannot speak too highly of the courage and loyalty of the strikers, particularly since that was their first experience in organization and strike.

The Socialist Party of Louisville generously placed its large Karl Marx Hall at the disposal of the strikers as their headquarters, where the strikers met, sang and danced when not on picket duty. The Socialist Party also furnished speakers to encourage the strikers and educate them.

We also received the liberal support of the United Trades and Labor Assembly, the central trade union body in Louisville.

The strikers participated in the Labor Day parade of the United Trades and Labor Assembly and made a most favorable showing.

The strikers enlivened the city by their wide awakesness and aroused general interest. Thus they were on several occasions the official guests of various organizations in the city.

The United Trades and Labor Assembly and a number of individuals made efforts to bring about a settlement, but the employers were so obdurate that no progress could be made. It was evident that the clothing manufacturers, never having seen any labor organization in their industry before, were determined to prevent it from gaining a foothold. But the workers were no less determined to uphold their organization. The wholehearted support they received from us has so encouraged the strikers that they would not under any circumstances go back to the old conditions. They saw the light of working class unionism and were inspired by it.

In October they had the joy of achieving the first victory. The firm of M. Cohen & Sons made a settlement with the new local union, granting the 48 hour week, one dollar increase in wages, and other concessions. The fruits of victory are always sweet, but the fruits of the first victory have a particular relish, the invigorating effect of which lasts very long. The realization of the fact that they, the newly organized workers, cannot only fight but also win, gave birth to a new spirit of self reliance. And though the strike had already become drawn out and protracted, the struggle becoming more difficult as the days, the weeks and the months passed, the backbone of the strike was stiffened by that first victory.

The employers, as usual, made desperate efforts to break the strike. They tried to get work made in other cities and partly succeeded. In Cleveland they were blocked by our Cleveland local union. They imported scabs from other cities. In this they were particularly unfortunate. When the "scabs" arrived in Louisville they proved to be active members of our Chicago organization, whom the firms gave an opportunity to visit their factories and report the exact conditions to the strikers.

The strikers made their acquaintance with the "chivalry" of the police and found out where the courts stood as between employers and strikers.

The brutal conduct of the police compelled our local union to send the

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following letter to Edward T. Tierney, chairman of the Board of Public Safety:

"Dear Sir:

On July 9, of this year, after our demand for an increase in wages to meet the increased cost of living had been refused by our employers, we declared a strike. Our strike has been conducted since that time in an orderly and lawful manner although we have been oppressed by the police officers and private watchman.

The female garment workers wish to complain to your board concerning the outrageous conduct of several members of the Louisville police force who have been stationed in the vicinity of the Snead Building at Ninth and Market Streets. Patrolman Montgomery has on numerous occasions cursed and abused us in an outrageous manner and has even gone so far as to take hold of us bodily and maliciously and violently to pull and jerk us about and to shove us from the sidewalk into the street. He constantly calls us "streetwalkers" and his manner is always malicious and insulting.

Sergeant Lee has cursed and abused us unmercifully and his attitude and manner have been absolutely insulting.

A patrolman bearing badge No. 180, has cursed and abused us and threatened us with arrest for no cause. This officer when told by a young lady that she had done no wrong and had violated no law informed her that his word would go further than her word. He made a statement that "we make the law as we go along."

During this strike we have conducted ourselves in a lawful, quiet and dignified manner; we have given these officers no cause for the abuse heaped upon us, and we, therefore, request that your board make an investigation of these charges and further ask that we be protected in our legal rights.

On last Tuesday, October 24, our books and records were stolen from our headquarters in Karl Marx Hall; the theft was immediately reported to the authorities, but no steps have been taken to recover the stolen property.

Trusting you will use your authority to protect us from the insults and abuses we have heretofore suffered at the hands of the police and that you will cause the police department to make an effort to locate our stolen records and to bring to justice the parties of this theft, we beg to remain, etc.

(Signed) ELNORA SAUER, Secretary."

As may be seen from the above letter the union's headquarters were burglarized and ransacked. Books and records were stolen. There can be no mistake as to the party interested in stealing them. But that theft served no useful purpose. There was nothing in the records to embarrass the organization. Nor could their absence hamper the organization's work, as a duplicate set of records was kept at another place in order to meet just such an emergency.

On December 12, a settlement was effected with Shymanski & Sons. All the strikers returned to work with one dollar a week increase in their wages, pay for legal holidays, time and one-half for overtime, and provisions for reducing the working time. More wage increases have been secured since. The former sixty hour week has by this time been reduced to fifty-one hours with an understanding for an ultimate forty-eight hour week. The forty-eight hour week is in force at M. Cohen & Sons.

The strike has improved conditions in that factory to such an extent that although the settlement was not formally made with the organization the workers realize that their better working conditions of today are due entirely to their united power, and they jealously guard that power.

We now have a very good, lively and thriving local union in Louisville to the pride and benefit of the local membership and to the joy of the general membership.

INTRODUCTION OF THE 48-HOUR WEEK IN CLEVELAND

We had no organization in Cleveland, and no connection of any sort, until late in 1915, when the big strike was on in Chicago. One day we received a telegram from a friend of our organization informing us that Chicago work made its appearance in Cleveland shops. We sent Brother L. Zuckerman into that city, while there he organized a local union. It grew slowly and made steady progress. In a few cases strikes were called and won. Agreements were signed with several of the smaller houses for better wages than had been paid before and for a shorter working week, reduced in some cases from as many as sixty-four hours.

The organization activity was not kept up constantly and the local union in that city was considerably weakened.

Recently, however, local activity has been revived and the prospects are good for continued and fruitful work.

On March 30, agreements with three firms were renewed, bringing the workers increased wages and introducing the forty-eight hour week, which was reduced from 50 and 52 hours.

MILWAUKEE AND CINCINNATI

We have grown so accustomed to continued and rapid progress and to frequent and great victories that an occasional adverse experience seems almost unnatural. Yet, as a fighting organization we must be prepared at times to sustain a setback here and there. Milwaukee and Cincinnati happened to fall into that category for the time being.

Milwaukee had a fairly good organization and conducted and won strikes. A strike of the 600 employees of Adler Bros., began May 2, 1917, ended unfavorably July 11, 1917, and had a discouraging effect on the membership.

In Cincinnati, too, the local organization conducted strikes and gained concessions for its members. But conditions were otherwise unfavorable and the progress made was not supported by further organization work.

As a result both organizations failed to hold what they had achieved, which confirms the rule that eternal vigilance is not only the price of liberty but also of security.

We shall take up anew the organization work in those two cities and bring them back into the column of the organized clothing centers.

ROCHESTER AND WESTERN NEW YORK

Rochester is still within the unchecked power of the Clothiers' Exchange.

We have not made the progress we had a right to expect in that city since the last convention. But progress has been made nevertheless. We have extended the influence of the organization, raised the spirit of the workers generally and aroused their faith in the Union. Satisfactory progress has been made among the cutters, an unapproachable element in the

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past. Our Rochester organization has gained quite a number of them into its ranks.

The Syracuse organization is hopeful of good progress in the near future. In Buffalo it will likewise be possible to organize the clothing workers.

Until recently two organizers were maintained for Western New York with headquarters in Rochester. They are not on the staff now. At the time of this writing a new campaign of organization has been mapped out for that section of the country. We have confidence that more rapid progress will be made in the future as the way has been paved for more effective and constructive work.

THE SOARING COST OF LIVING AND THE EFFORTS TO RAISE WAGES.

The cost of living has been rising steadily for many years, but since the beginning of the European war the upward rush of prices of the necessities of life has been such as if they were consciously hastening to get beyond the reach of the people. A situation was created by both natural and artificial causes, mainly the latter, which became menacing to the American workers. Repeated demands for wage increases were dictated by the iron law of self preservation. One of the strongest counts in the indictment of capitalism will be its violent efforts to reduce the conditions of American labor at a time when the working class was being called to make its greatest sacrifice for the country, give up its sturdiest sons, work hardest and increase still more its thriftiness, which means more self abnegation, in order to contribute to the Country's war chest. The interests of the Nation and the interests of the war did not require the deterioration of the workers' conditions; the capitalists' interests alone required it. Yet attempts were made to discourage the workers' outcry for relief by the charge of "treason" and "disloyalty." Many a shouter of "treason" has swelled his fortune by the misfortunes of the human race.

It is a very hopeful sign, and to the great credit of the American workmen, that they have not permitted the "stop thief" cry of "treason" and "disloyalty" to intimidate them.

The high cost of living is of all other economic issues, the burning question of the day for the people. In our efforts to meet it we, the working class, are placed at a tragic disadvantage.

We are informed by the beneficiaries of the present social order that high prices are incidental to prosperity. There may be many reasons for the high cost of things. It may be the European war. It may be the increased output of gold. It may be the trustification of the necessities of life. It may be all that and more. For the worker's lean purse the cause of the rising prices are immaterial. The phenomenon of rising prices is the all-important matter.

When high prices become general, when instead of the high cost of a given product we speak of the high cost of living, what does that mean in

the final analysis? It means that we pay more for what we buy and receive more for what we sell. If Mr. Retailer must pay to Mr. Wholesaler fifty cents for what he formerly paid twenty-five cents and he receives from Mr. Consumer one dollar for what he formerly received fifty cents, Mr. Retailer is not the loser by the change in prices. Nor is there any disturbance in the relations between seller and buyer.

Our grocer, our butcher, our dairyman, pay more now for their wares and they charge us more for them. If we refuse to pay an extra cent for the bottle of milk, we may permit our babies to go without it. If we wish to feed them and keep them in good health we must pay the raised price. There is no extraneous compulsion either on the part of the seller or the buyer. Likewise with bread, meat, clothing and all else. The prices have been raised automatically. No haggling will help. We may grumble, and our grocer and butcher may sympathetically grumble along with us, but we will pay the new price. We know that we must do it if we want to have the things that sustain life. Our dealer's argument: "It costs me more and I must get more" is unanswerable. The law that determines the increase in prices operates with wonderful precision all along the line.

Yes, all along the line, except at one point, where it is suspended, as it were. That point is where the wage earner is located. A dealer in any line of goods may say: "It costs me more and I must get more" and without any exception he will get more. But not so with the workingman.

The worker approaches his employer and tells him that the goods he must buy and consume in order to reproduce his labor from day to day—food, clothing, shelter, etc.—cost him more now than they did before. In order that he may be able to meet the higher cost he must be paid more for the thing he sells, his labor power. He applies to his case the very same formula that all others have applied to theirs: "It costs me more and I must get more." But here the law that automatically raises prices stops short. There is no automatic price raising for labor power. The employer informs the man with the hat in his hand, with indifference, contempt or rage, as the temperament of the employer or superintendent may be, that if the wages paid in that factory do not suit him he is at liberty to look for another job. The worker must pay the higher prices asked of him for all he buys, including the goods at the making of which he is himself employed. He must pay. Arguments are superfluous and useless. But in order to get the increase due him he must—fight!

A tremendous machinery must be set in motion. Large mass meetings are called. Prominent speakers discuss with the workers the great injustice done to them. Demands upon the employers are formulated. A strike is called. The papers denounce the strikers as disturbers of the peace, destroyers of our prosperity. Strikebreakers, thugs, guerillas, private detectives and all other tools of the employers, become the saviours of society. The police get busy clubbing and arresting strikers; the courts get busy convicting them; the prison cells open wide to receive them. Feelings run high in the

community. One set condemns the employers, another set the workers. The latter are subjected to hunger, cold, prosecution and persecution and must appeal to other members of their class for help. And all that for the only purpose of enforcing the economic law which is being self enforced as between a manufacturer and his customers and as between his customers and theirs.

When the workers succeed in wresting the much needed increase in wages and they make merry and rejoice over their victory, what was it that they really won? An improvement in their condition? We call it so, but it is in reality but a check upon degradation. We assume that the workers have secured a ten per cent increase in their wages. It is often less and very seldom more. With the cost of living fifty or sixty per cent higher and wages but ten per cent higher, the improvement is real only as compared with yesterday and the day before, but not in the long run. The deterioration of conditions has been checked to the extent of ten per cent.

In our days it takes but a short time and the ten per cent in wages is more than wiped out by a new rise in the cost of living. The best organized workers cannot possibly strike for higher wages as often as the prices of necessities of life rise.

A BLOTCH ON THE NEW YORK MARKET.

In the face of that who is there so cruel as not to begrudge the wage earner's slight increase in his pay in order to at least partly restore its former purchasing power! In the face of that, too, what sane man could credit the possibility of employers repudiating a wage increase already granted by them!

Yet that is precisely what happened in New York.

Early in the summer of 1917 we submitted to the New York Clothing Manufacturers a demand for a wage increase. After some conferences we agreed on an increase of one dollar a week. The Associated Boys' Clothing Manufacturers agreed to put the increase into effect June 18, and the men's clothing manufacturers July 1. At the proper time our children's clothing members received the increase as agreed. Not so in the larger branch of the industry. Hiding themselves behind the backs of the contractors a large number of manufacturers attempted to rob the workers of the increase due them. The circumstances made it quite apparent that it was the aim of those responsible for the manoeuvre to discredit the officers of the Union by conveying the impression that the wage increase report made by the officers to the members was a fabrication. The organization took the matter up with a firm hand. The members were called to a large number of mass meetings, Monday, July 16, where the situation was fully discussed. The following resolution was unanimously adopted at all meetings:

The rising cost of living has forced the workers everywhere to demand of their employers wage increases in order to at least check in some measure the deterioration of their standards of life.

For the same reason our organization was also compelled to ask for raises in

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wages, which have been granted to our members in different parts of the country, in some cases to the extent of ten percent and more.

In this city a conference between our Organization and our employers resulted in an agreement that wages be raised one dollar a week, beginning July 1st, 1917.

We did not insist on a higher rise in wages, such as were received by our fellow members in other parts of the country; nor did we insist on the increase going into effect immediately. We agreed to concessions both as to the amount and the time because of our anxiety to avoid an industrial conflict.

The first of July came and passed. We are now already in the third week of the month, but our employers still refuse to give us what has been promised to us in order to avoid a strike.

We feel outraged at this show of bad faith.

We resent most emphatically the conduct of our employers in trying to snatch from us what is justly ours by a definite and solemn understanding between our organization and them.

By the action of our employers in withholding from us the increase guaranteed by them, a situation has been created in which not the amount of money but a high principle is involved.

The question for us to answer is: Shall tens of thousands of workingmen, organized in a strong Union—using their organized power with due regard for the community as a whole—shall these tens of thousands of workingmen and their families allow themselves to be made a football for the entertainment of their employers?

Our dignity as American citizens, as enlightened workers and as an organized body, calls for the strongest resentment at the insult and outrage perpetrated upon us.

Our answer to the above question is: Our settlement for one dollar increase, to begin July 1st, 1917, was made with our employers in perfect faith; we now, as a matter of honor, insist that that settlement be upheld. We, therefore, authorize the New York Joint Board and our officers to do all that may be necessary in order to enforce the settlement agreed to by us in honor, good faith and without any mental reservation.

We hope that no extreme measures may be necessary, but we pledge ourselves to instantly respond to the call of our organization, in any emergency, in order to enforce the condition of the settlement and establish the fact that an understanding by our employers with us must be respected not only by ourselves but by the employers as well.

The firm stand of the organization had the desired effect. In a number of cases the increase was immediately paid to our members; in others strikes were necessary to enforce payments. Within a few weeks all paid.

THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMY CLOTHING

Our fervent hope that this country might be spared the horrors of war remained unfulfilled. In April, 1917, America became a co-belligerent of the Allies against Germany. The National Army authorized by Congress had to be clothed and the Government gave out contracts for the making of army uniforms.

We were immediately confronted with that distressing problem.

Before the war the American people had been free from war industries. With relatively slight exceptions we were all occupied in the pursuits of peace. We all lived in the happy illusion that this far and distant country was out of reach for the militaristic monster of Europe. We were harshly disillusioned. The world encircling flames of the great conflagration caught us and made us a part of Europe. The Western Hemisphere became united with the Eastern in the great catastrophe.

Greedy profiteers have seized upon the war as a godsend for their further enrichment. That has been so ever since men have learned to carry on warfare scientifically and in a "civilized" manner. Every war in the past

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has swelled old fortunes and created new ones for individuals who were perfectly willing to amass wealth through the misery of their fellow human beings. All that is "proper," "legitimate" and "good business policy."

To the workers, however, war work does not mean large dividends. To them it means labor, toil, an opportunity to convert their labor power into food for themselves and their families. They would much rather do work more to their liking. But they don't do the work they desire; they do the work they are hired to do. They do war work when that is required.

That was the attitude of the workers to the making of army uniforms. When these uniforms made their appearance in the industry, replacing civilian clothing, our members fully realized the meaning of it. The young men were highly sensible of the fact that they would be among the ones to wear them under fire and shell; the older ones were likewise conscious that the very khaki garments they were going to make would be for their own sons, brothers and other dear ones. It is a part of the general and univesal tragedy of today that with all that feeling and consciousness the workers were praying for the army uniform work in order that they might be able to earn their bread.

There was widespread unemployment in the industry. Very little civilian clothing was being manufactured. Partly because the market was dull: the young men did not buy new clothing because they expected to be drafted; the older people made last year's suit do extra service because of the high cost of living, and in some cases also, because the departure of the young men made general retrenchment necessary; partly, or largely also, because the mills were giving preference to the manufacture of cloth for the government.

But when the making of Army Clothing was finally begun very few of our members had the good fortune of participating in it. It looked as if the Government had taken special pains to avoid the union's jurisdiction. The manufacturers certainly did. The highly specialized process of labor employed in the making of uniforms made possible the employment of unskilled labor. The manufacturers who had secured contracts, taking advantage of the general state of unemployment, hired workers from other industries at ridiculously low wages, employed children and sent work into tenement houses. Wages were slashed, the forty-eight hour week, for which we fought so bitterly, was abolished, and many thousands of our members walked the streets in idleness. The first contractors were employers who had succeeded in evading the jurisdiction of the union and were thus freed from the necessity of paying living wages, giving their employes decent treatment, etc. Where the workers showed any inclination to demand improvements the employers held the Government's contract as a club over their heads, threatening with arrest and imprisonment.

The state of affairs was such that the New Republic of New York, was compelled to publish the following complaint (July 7, 1917):

Take the situation in the men's clothing industry. The government has gone into the market for tens of thousands of uniforms. The contracts for these uniforms

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are let through the quartermaster's department in Philadelphia. For some unknown reason, the quartermaster's department has followed the practice of placing most of these contracts with unorganized factories where the cheapest labor is employed and with factories so ill equipped to do the work that their owners have resorted to sub-contracting which in turn has spilled over into the tenements. Since the beginning of the war there has been a conspicuous recrudescence of the old sweat-shop conditions which the best manufacturers and the unions have struggled for years to abolish. The quartermaster's department has taken the position that the government is not concerned whether or not union labor is employed. Most of the clothing on government account is manufactured in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and it happens that in these cities approximately 85 per cent of the industry operates under the protocol agreements which provide not only for the maintenance of decent labor standards in the establishment of which the manufacturers, the workers and representatives of the outside public have had a voice, but which also provide a highly developed and effective machinery for the modification of standards in times of emergency and the adjustment of industrial disputes. With few exceptions, the factories which have remained outside the scope of collective agreements operate under sub-standard conditions of wages and hours give the workers no voice in the control of the shop and provide no machinery for the correction of grievances. Yet it is such factories that appear to be getting most of the government contracts today with the result that unrest and resentment is rapidly spreading throughout the industry.

Would not the government be following a wiser course if it called into consultation the representatives of the manufacturers' associations and the union which control 85 per cent of the industry, made preferential arrangements with them for the execution of government work and made them jointly responsible for the maintenance of uninterrupted production?

The threats of the employers did not, however, prevent uprisings. When the conditions of slavery became unbearable the workers in a number of places struck.

We took hold of the strikes wherever they occurred. We investigated conditions and caused others, such as the Mayor's Committee of National Defense, of New York, to make investigations. Most shocking conditions were revealed. The press gave publicity to our disclosures and called for immediate action by the Government:

The Evening Post of New York said:

"Investigation should be made of the charge that Government contracts for uniforms are being executed by contractors whose employees work under sweat-shop conditions. A good deal of the agitation has been backed by New York manufacturers unable to meet out-of-town bids, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Association, which sees garment makers attracted from a highly unionized centre, like New York, to towns where the union has comparatively little influence. But several disinterested and public-spirited citizens, after looking into the matter have declared themselves satisfied that unjust and unsanitary conditions prevail in many establishments engaged on government work. If conditions are upon inquiry, found to be as alleged, they should be remedied at once. If the allegations turn out to be untrue, a full report should be made of that fact to the public."

When in one case little girls under sixteen years of age were pointed out to the naval officer who accompanied the investigators, and that they were working for four dollars a week, the officer said, "Well, those girls are doing their bit." That was the way the workers were looked upon by the employers, the authorities and all who had charge of the situation.

A photographer accompanied our investigators and took pictures wherever possible. We reproduce four of them here. Let these photographic records of capitalistic greed and industrial slavery be perpetuated for the coming generations. Those conditions would have prevailed to this day were it not for our efforts to abolish them.

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BABY CARRIAGE FILLED WITH ARMY UNIFORMS
TO BE FINISHED IN TENEMENT HOUSE.



BABY CARRIAGE FILLED WITH ARMY UNIFORMS
TO BE FINISHED IN TENEMENT HOUSE.



CHILDREN TAKING ARMY UNIFORMS ON
BABY CARRIAGE FOR FINISHING AT HOME.



CHILD LABOR EMPLOYED IN THE
MANUFACTURE OF ARMY UNIFORMS

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Each picture represents child labor in the making of military uniforms for the American Government.

One was taken in Red Bank, N. J., in front of the factory of the Sigmund Eisner Company, where a strike was on for humane working conditions.

The young toiler in knee pants, whose right place is on the playground, may be one of those who have answered the Eisner Company's advertisement for "Boys Wanted" for the cutting department to work with machines that maim and cripple, to scab it upon the adult workers, upon breadwinners for their families.

This picture, in order to tell its full story, should have been taken inside of the factory, but, for obvious reasons, that was not quite possible. It had to be taken on the outside where the child was happy to breathe free air again and be on his way home.

For workmen, however, for our members, themselves heads of families, and themselves being forced into competition with these children, perhaps their very own children, the significance of the picture is perfectly clear. The child in the photograph is not only a young scab—though in his sacred childish innocence he is unconscious of it—against a full grown man who is fighting for sufficient food for his family so that he may not be compelled by the pinch of poverty to send his own children to the factory to earn their own bread; he is not only a temporary club over the heads of the strikers, but through the gate of the government's uniform contract, he is being brought into the industry to stay and compete with his father.

The employment of children, which means the unemployment of their fathers, is, because of that, self perpetuating.

It is the other picture, however, which was taken in our metropolis, that cries loudest to announce the brutish conditions under which the uniforms for our National Army were being made. No more powerful indictment could be drawn against barbaric capitalism than that picture. If revelations such as those made by that picture should fail to make the lovers of true democracy and civilization rise in their wrath against those responsible for the shameful conditions, we may well wonder what will.

Look at the picture carefully and you will see clearly both what the camera has reproduced and what it has not.

The fact that the two little girls are taking the military coats home for finishing tells us plainly enough that there is a mother at the children's home to do the finishing, possibly with the assistance of these and other children. The mother could not go herself to the uniform factory to fetch the coats as she, very likely, could not leave her baby alone, who may be sick with scarlet fever, diphtheria, infantile paralysis or small pox. She sent her two oldest children. But they are not strong enough to carry the bundle. The problem is easily solved. There is a baby carriage in the house, bought before the father was competed out of his job by child labor.

Ordinarily the sight of a baby carriage gladdens one's heart. It tells him that there is in the family a little cherub to whose growth and happiness

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that carriage makes its contribution. The baby carriage never fails to bring what we may truly call a divine smile to the mother's face and a sacred glow in her eyes.

The baby's carriage is pressed into service to assist in the manufacturing of uniforms for the American Army by child labor.

Not only is innocent childhood corrupted by child slavery, corrupted physically, mentally and morally, but the glory of infancy is desecrated.

An American army is organized of the best young sons of this nation to fight for world democracy, and the baby's carriage is used for the carting of uniforms for that army from the factory to a filthy and poverty and disease stricken "home."

The baby may by chance be well and healthy. It is allowed to roll in dirt because its carriage is needed for industrial purposes, to bring uniforms for mamma and the sisters to work on them. But the baby may also be sick, kept in the carriage whenever anyone can manage to take it out for an airing in those fine summer days, and then the germ ridden carriage is made to "do its bit," to infect the soldiers' uniforms while transporting them from the factory to the tenement and back again.

Our efforts were rewarded. The Government heeded our protests and appointed a Board of Control to guard labor conditions in the manufacture of uniforms. The Board was composed of Louis E. Kirstein, manager of the department store of Filene & Co. of Boston; Mrs. Florence Kelly, general secretary of the National Consumers' League, and Capt. Walter Kreusi, of the Quartermasters Corps, U. S. Reserves.

Secretary Baker accompanied the announcement of the creation of the Board of Control with the following statement:

"Through this board the Quartermaster General will be enabled to enforce the maintenance of sound industrial and sanitary conditions in the manufacture of army clothes, to inspect factories, to see that proper standards are established on Government work, to pass upon the industrial standards maintained by bidders in army clothing and act so that just conditions will prevail.

"The Government cannot permit its work to be done under sweatshop conditions and it cannot allow the evils complained of to go uncorrected. Only through the establishment of such a body as the Board of Control now created will the government be assured that army clothing is manufactured under recognized industrial standards and in an atmosphere of good will between manufacturers and operatives. This alone will assure fit clothing and its prompt delivery for army needs."

The Government failed to give our organization representation on the Board. That constituted a just grievance on our part, to which we gave expression in our press in the following manner:

The protest raised by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America against the enslaving and degrading conditions prevailing in the factories in which clothing is being made for the National Army has brought one definite result: The appointment by the Federal Government of a committee to control labor conditions in the manufacture of uniforms.

We are thankful for whatever the Government has done in order to close the gates which its army contracts had opened wide to child labor, tenement house labor and conditions of slavery all around.

But we still have a very just grievance.

No committee, such as was appointed by the Government, can be complete unless it includes a representative of our organization. It is a committee on conditions and standards of LABOR. Who, then, is more vitally interested in the work of such a

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committee than the workmen? Such a committee should include an official representative of our organization. But it does not.

Mr. Kirstein, of the big Boston department store firm of Filene & Sons, is a gentleman of high character and will bring much strength to the committee, but as an employer of labor he cannot and he does not assume to speak for labor.

Mrs. Kelley is a most estimable lady, for many years active in the interests of the people in many ways, and a credit to any movement she is identified with, but she is not a representative of labor.

Captain Kruesi's position on the committee has been clearly defined as representing the Army Quartermaster's Department.

Labor is unrepresented.

The relations of the Government to the manufacturer are not those of an ordinary customer in ordinary times.

Even an ordinary customer, if of sufficient commercial importance, could enforce upon the manufacturer humane working conditions if he be so inclined. But while a private customer whose highest principle is to buy cheap and sell dear, cannot ordinarily be expected to concern himself with the humaneness or inhumaneness of the conditions under which the goods he bought are being made, the Government must make that its concern.

The Government is the organ of organized society. Its highest aim should be the welfare of the people.

If it is its business to enforce laws for the regulation of working conditions in production generally, how much more must that be its business in production that is carried on for the Government itself.

In this case of Army clothing the Government is the actual employer.

While the manufacturer is the immediate employer of our members; while he is doing the hiring and the firing and is handing out the pay envelopes to the workers employed in the making of uniforms, he is, in the final analysis, the agent for the Government, who, as stated above, is the real employer.

We have, therefore, a full right to turn to the Government with our grievances in connection with the work done for it.

The conditions inaugurated by the uniform manufacturers were so shocking as to force the public press to call for immediate remedy. The committee appointed by the Government has been charged with the task of applying such remedies as the prevailing evils may call for.

We regret sincerely that our organization was not granted representation in that committee. We are, however, glad that the Government has heeded our protest and done as much as it has in order to free itself from the disgrace of having the clothing for the National Army made by child and tenement labor, and under conditions of long hours and starvation wages.

The work of the Government committee, if carried out with energy and determination, as we expect it will be, and supplemented by the united power of the organized Clothing Workers employed in the industry, will eradicate the evils which have crept into our industry through the Army contracts.

The Government's action has had a wholesome effect on conditions in the industry. Unorganized factories were brought under our jurisdiction, employers of our members received contracts, the 48 hour week was restored, and good wages established. In short, a situation was created enabling the workers to earn a living wage under the Union's protection.

Once a Traitor Always a Traitor.

It was but natural for employers to resist in all possible ways the influence of the union and the introduction of better conditions for the workers, particularly so in the case of an employer whose factory was never unionized before. For an employer who had managed to withstand the progress of the labor movement and to keep intact the happy regime of absolute industrial irresponsibility as regards his employees, it is exceedingly difficult to accept the absurd and dangerous theory that workers have rights employers should respect.

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The firm of Mark Cowen & Company in New York is such an employer. The worst evils known in the industry bloomed undisturbed in the Cowen factories, including the curse of subcontracting. There were many petty tyrants with the head of the firm as the Overlord.

Our success in bettering the conditions of the clothing workers in other army uniform shops aroused the Cowen employees, who were also making army clothing, to the possibility of making their own lives a little less miserable. They naturally called on us to take up their cause. Following the usual course those of them who were not yet members became such and we assisted them in affecting a shop organization headed by a shop chairman. It was perfectly natural for the firm to feel outraged by such a "conspiracy" on the part of its industrial subjects even as it was natural for Nicholas Romanoff to feel outraged at conspiracies of his political subjects. But unlike Romanoff, Cowen had no Siberia to exile his rebels to. Nor did he have gallows. He did the next best thing. He discharged the shopchairman, hoping thereby to set an example for the other rebels. The discharge was very impressively accompanied by physical blows administered by a gentleman who specialized in that line of activity. When the shop chairman woke up to a full realization of the firm's attitude towards him as a representative of the workers he found himself minus his watch and chain.

By that action the firm precipitated a strike in all of its shops involving about seven hundred workers, who not only demanded the reinstatement of the discharged chairman but also formulated their grievances and asked that they be remedied.

Once the workers were forced into a strike to defend their right to be organized we were compelled to deal with the matter vigorously, and we gave it all the attention required.

The Board of Control offered to mediate. We accepted the offer; the firm rejected it.

Instead of allowing the Government's Board to affect an adjustment the firm, in whose factories union sympathy has always been considered a capital offense punishable by immediate discharge, turned for assistance to the scab agency doing business under the trade name of United Garment Workers of America.

The scab agency hastened to conclude an agreement with the firm to break the strike.

With all the workers out on strike the scab agency declared the Cowen shop "unionized" and gave this latter fact the widest possible publicity. The agency had no scabs to furnish, and the agreement could not produce garments. So the firm sent the following letter to the striking employees:

To the Employees of Mark Cowen & Co.:

You will report for work on Thursday morning.

We will give an increase of \$1 per week to all employees, male and female, beginning with the week of September 24.

The contracting system will be abolished in the shop and all the employees will work directly for and be paid by the firm.

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Any complaints or grievances will be settled by the employers' representatives. An agreement has been made between the firm and the United Garment Workers of America, which organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

It is interesting to see the firm notify its striking employees that it made an agreement with the "union" and asking them to return to work. The "union" did not dare face the workers with that message.

Returning to work would have automatically converted the strikers from Amalgamated members into members of the scab agency. They failed to avail themselves of that rare opportunity. Instead of going into the factory to scab against themselves they preferred to remain outside of it and prevent others from scabbing. And they did it like seasoned fighters.

There was, of course, the usual line up of scab agency, guerillas, police and the rest of the outfit, who beat up, maimed and arrested the officers and strikers.

The fight was continued for three months, and the workers will forever remember the scab agency with the same feelings that outraged workers struggling for their rights always remember gangsters, traitors and strike-breakers. The strikebreaking agreement is in the firm's office and the Amalgamated union spirit is in the hearts and souls of the workers. They are ours to a man.

THE SHIRTMAKERS IN OUR RANKS.

The conspiracy to break the Mark Cowen strike was as good an illustration as any of the maxim that "there is no ill wind that blows no good." It served to bring two elements into our ranks which until then were under the domination of the scab agency. Those were the Shirtmakers and the Overall workers.

In our report to the Second Biennial Convention we said the following with regard to the Shirtmakers:

It has been the fate of this organization to be tested in all possible ways. We emerged triumphantly from all. One of them was in a sense the supreme test and our organization was probably the only labor body in this country to be subjected to it.

We refer to the case of the shirtmakers.

The workers in the shirt industry in New York had been disorganized for many years.

Over a year ago a movement was begun to organize them. Through no fault of the rank and file the shirtmakers' union was delivered to the United Garment Workers. Those responsible for it had clutched at a burnt straw. They had hoped to receive from those people strong financial support and also moral, inasmuch as the shirt cutters were organized under the United Garment Workers, and the backing of the American Federation of Labor was promised. But neither has materialized. The United Garment Workers of America, not having been in the habit of using their funds in the interests of the workers when they had money to burn, could certainly not be expected to do it when they needed whatever funds they had to meet their own payroll. The cutters stabbed the strike in its vitals at the very beginning, lining up with the employers against the strikers. But that did not invalidate their membership in the general organization. Scabbing is quite the natural thing in that quarter.

The poor struggling shirtmakers were left stranded and they turned to their natural kin, to their own flesh and bone, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. They appealed for help to our New York Joint Board. Remember that that happened at the very time when the entire machinery of the United Garment

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Workers, assisted by Samuel Gompers, were busy trying to break our strikes in Philadelphia and Baltimore, to mention nothing of the crimes committed by them against us in the past. Would it have been surprising if the accumulated feelings of bitterness and resentment had caused our members to give vent to them by visiting punishment upon those who owe allegiance to the people who had betrayed us? But our members acted with real working class nobility.

It was a source of sacred inspiration to see these shopworkers rise to the lofty heights of true working class intelligence and solidarity.

Our members argued thus to the shirt strikers: "We have nothing but contempt for your parent body and its officers, but we have no quarrel with you. You are engaged in a struggle with our common enemy. You are part of ourselves even if your organization has been misplaced into the camp of our enemies instead of being brought into our ranks where you belong."

That showed a degree of intelligence and revolutionary spirit that will be a credit to our entire movement.

The New York Joint Board gave the striking shirtmakers three hundred dollars. Its only regret was that it could not make the amount bigger, as it had just given \$1,300 to the Philadelphia and Baltimore strikers.

When the shirtmakers called another time they received two hundred dollars more.

They also received financial assistance from other subdivisions of our organization. We are proud of our membership and rejoice in their class loyalty.

Our demonstration of solidarity was not lost. Its effect sank deep into the hearts of the shirtworkers and they proved it two years later. The Mark Cowen strike was the occasion for it.

We had made no attempt to form shirt locals under our banner. We steered clear from that field and allowed the Shirtmakers to work out their own salvation under the banner that was supposed to be theirs. If the Shirtmakers were ever to free themselves from misrule and demoralization it was to be done upon their own initiative.

But the ways of the labor misleaders are such that they inevitably make for the ultimate undoing of those misleaders. It is in such self destroying acts of traitors in all walks of life that the hope of the honest men lies.

The Cowen firm has a shirt department, whose workers went out on strike along with the workers in the clothing departments. The scab agency finding itself incapable of carrying out its contract to break the strike, hit upon the idea of using the shirt department as an entering wedge. Is not shirtmaking its own and legitimate field? The Amalgamated has no shirt making organization and the scab agency has. Accordingly, the Shirtmakers' Union was directed by the scab agency to send its members to fill the vacant Cowen shops. The highly specialized system of labor made it possible for shirtmakers to work also on many operations on army clothing outside of shirts.

The Shirtmakers were put to a severe test: Would they pay us in our own coin; or would they pay us with stones for bread? Did they remember 1915? Were they conscious of their duty to their striking fellow workers?

Great was our joy when we learned that the Shirtmakers decided against their then general officers and in favor of the striking wage slaves. They decided not to become strikebreakers. Working class consciousness and self respect won out against treason.

"The Forward" of September 25, 1918, reported the action of the Shirtmakers in the following news article:

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SHIRTMAKERS REFUSE TO OBEY THE ORDER OF THE UNITED GARMENT WORKERS TO SCAB ON THE AMALGAMATED.

The United Garment Workers are determined to become a scab agency and to compel innocent union men to become scabs. These creatures of the Bible House want to use the shirt makers as a tool in their shameful attempt to break the strike of the Amalgamated, in one of the Mark Cowen shops.

According to information from reliable sources the United Garment Workers ordered the shirt makers to organize Mark Cowen's shirtshops. The executive board of that union promptly held a special meeting Saturday night regarding this matter. As an answer to the order of the United Garment Workers the shirtmakers issued the following statement:

"We the Executive Board of the Shirt and Boys' Waistmakers' and Shirt Ironers' Union, Local 249, United Garment Workers of America, declare that we have nothing to do with Mark Cowen, where the tailors are now on strike."

The scabby creatures of the Bible House did not stop their activity even after the slap they received at the hands of the Executive Board of the shirt makers. Instead, they began to induce individual members of the shirt makers' union to scab in the shop where the Amalgamated tailors are on strike.

The resolution of the Executive Board of the Shirt Makers' Union not to be used by the United Garment Makers as strike breakers will be given over to the members to vote upon, then the United Garment Workers will be convinced that they cannot destroy a well organized labor organization in order to carry out their personal schemes.

The leaders of the United Garment Workers are threatening to organize another local in case the shirt makers will persist in their refusal to scab. The Amalgamated wishes them God speed. The shirt makers will know how to answer with dignity to such a disgraceful act.

The Executive Board of the shirt makers' union is calling special meetings for members to discuss the matter.

These meetings will be held in the following places:

Thursday, 8 P.M., two meetings: One meeting in the BROOKLYN section, in Manhattan Casino, 115 Manhattan Ave., another meeting in the BROWNSVILLE section, 432 Blake Ave.

Friday, 8 P.M., the meeting of the NEW YORK section will take place.

It is to be hoped that all members will come to those important meetings.

The scab agency, mad with rage at the refusal of the shirtmakers to become a blackjack for the assassination of the strike, charged their officers with having been bribed by us. The minds of the scab agents are so depraved that they are incapable of conceiving of anybody doing anything honestly and without corruption. That was the first time to our knowledge that anyone was charged with being bribed in order to act straight and keep his hands clean. Needless to say that the bribery story was a lie out of the whole cloth. But it is amusing, and in a way even flattering, to be charged with giving bribes for the purpose of keeping bribees loyal to the interests of the working class.

The inevitable soon followed. The Shirtmakers' Union being a bona fide organization had to part company with the scab agency.

By a referendum vote of the membership, taken in five halls, in different parts of Greater New York, on October 11, 12 and 13, 1917, the Shirtmakers almost unanimously decided to withdraw from the United Garment Workers and apply for a charter of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Of 968 votes cast only 40 were in favor of remaining with the scab agency.

On October 6, 1917, we issued a charter to the shirtmakers' Union as local 248 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Within a short time the Shirtmakers' Union of Philadelphia followed suit. They now constitute

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local 153 of our organization. In the early part of this month we granted a charter to the Shirt Cutters of New York, who are now known as local 246 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. We appointed Bro. S. Cutler as general organizer for the Cutters. With the help of our organizers, financial support and general encouragement the Shirtmakers have made satisfactory progress. Of the gratifying record of success the agreement with the very large firm of Miller, Sons & Co., of Philadelphia, is most noteworthy. The agreement provides for recognition of the union, substantial wage increases and other improvements in the working conditions, and was ratified by the membership November 19, 1917.

The Overallworkers, Too, Purge Themselves of Treason.

Having met with a crushing defeat at the hands of the Shirtmakers the strike assassins turned hopefully to the Overallworkers. As the highly developed subdivision of labor on Army clothing made Overallworkers available the scab agency began to press its Overall subjects into scab service. But there is something so vital in the revolutionary power of working class revolt that once it develops sufficient strength to assert itself it not only cannot be downed where it has once raised its head but it spreads contagiously. In this case it spread also to the Overallworkers. Aside from our own immediate interest in the matter; as members of the working class, as advocates of the closest labor solidarity, and as rebels against the regime of treason to labor, we delighted in the action taken by Overallworkers, Local 178, United Garment Workers of America, which was given expression to by the following resolution, published in the "Forward" of October 13, 1917:

At the last meeting of the Overall Makers' Union, Local 178, United Garment Workers of America, held on Oct. 9, 1917, at 133 Eldridge St., the following resolution was accepted:

Whereas, our members are being utilized as tools in many places in order to break the strike of the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Whereas, many of our members are not familiar with the situation.

Be it resolved that no member of the Overall Workers' Union should dare go to work in any place where the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have declared a strike.

(Signed) M. DUBINSKY,

(Signed) B. FOX,

(Signed) NATHAN KRETCHMAN.

Resolution Committee.

By their action of loyalty to the working class the Overall Workers' Union, like its sister organization, the Shirtmakers' Union, made its position within the United Garment Workers untenable.

At a special meeting held December 11, 1917, the Overall Workers of New York, Local 178, United Garment Workers of America, by a vote of one hundred against five, decided to leave the United Garment Workers and apply for a charter of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. A charter was granted to them on December 15, 1917, and the Overall Workers are now a part of our organization, known as Local 178, A. C. W. of A.

Having our hands full with the industry of men's clothing we made no attempt to enter the field of men's working garments, even as we made no

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attempt to enter the shirt industry. The Overall Workers of New York, as did the Overall Workers of Boston and the Shirtmakers of New York and Philadelphia, came to us of their own accord.

The overall industry is the rock upon which the misleaders and traitors of the clothing workers had built their fort from which to impose their rule upon the workers. It was through the overall workers that they had fought the clothing workers and it was from the former that they had drawn the power to rule the latter. The magic that made that possible was the union label.

The union label! What crimes have been perpetrated upon the workers under that guise! How many workers have been sold and betrayed through the medium of the union label!

The tailors' label more than any other label was abused and misused. Most of all it was misused in the overall industry.

In many industrial centers, as in the mine-fields, the workers demand the union label on their overalls. They care not to investigate whether the label does in reality represent good working conditions. Nor can they do it. The label on the working blouse is sufficient guarantee for them. In an honest labor movement this would present an ideal condition for the workers. It was otherwise and to the contrary for the overall workers. The demand of true unionists in other industries that their clothes bear the union label makes the overall manufacturers dependent not upon his employees but upon the general officers, who have a large stock of labels in store, registered by the Government to insure monopoly, for which the manufacturers must pay so much per thousand. If you pay the price you get the linen certificate, misleading you into the belief that your overalls are "strictly union," no matter what slavery may exist in the factory.

When the overall manufacturer pays the price for the labels, and as financial agent for the label dealers he collects or deducts from the wages of his employees their monthly dues for the "union," he secures a free hand over his workers.

Many of the overall manufacturers are located in scattered places West and South. They employ helpless girls, whose condition is so unscrupulously exploited by the employers and the "union" officials that most of those poor girls seem to feel that the boss, the label and the union are an inseparable trinity and the workers must bow their heads to it.

The following case is a striking illustration of the psychology of the overall workers in the South and the West. One of our New York delegates to the Nashville Convention explained to a woman delegate of an overall local the true nature of our struggle at that time. He endeavored to show her why she should as a matter of justice vote for the seating of the clothing workers' delegates. She replied: You are perfectly right and I sympathize with you, but I can't favor seating your delegates because my boss warned me that he would not purchase any label from any other president than the present one.

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The boss instructed her what to do at the convention. The boss most likely told her to go to the convention, which she could not refuse.

A representative of the Overall Manufacturers' Association was also in Nashville during the convention. He was seen by the delegates giving directions to the overall locals' representatives and instructing them how to act at the convention.

As between the oppressive employers and the faithless union officials the overall workers were pitifully helpless.

The overall locals are mostly small in membership, but large in number. When the occasion calls for it a local is divided into two in order to increase the number of delegates. The 1914 convention was purposely called to Nashville because it was a convenient place for the small overall local unions. Thus the Nashville convention was packed by a large number of delegates representing a minority of the membership. It was that minority that voted against the seating of the clothing workers' delegates who represented the majority.

When at that time the general officers refused to submit to a referendum vote a motion to change the convention place from Nashville to Rochester they did so not only because they feared that more clothing workers' delegates would come to Rochester than to Nashville but also because they knew that fewer delegates of the Overall Workers would come to Rochester.

The union label overall industry is a gold mine for self-made rulers. The sale of labels and the collection of dues through the courtesy of the manufacturers are an endless source of income that never dries up. There are no strikes, no other expenses that are so big in other unions. There is also no responsibility to the membership.

This, in brief, is the meaning of the overall industry to the labor movement.

Since the clothing workers freed themselves from the traitors it had been generally conceded that the traitors were to continue their undisputed rule over the overall workers. We made no attempt to win those workers having had so much work in the clothing industry. So great were our tasks in this field that there was no occasion for us to look for new fields. But time did its work and the largest local of overall workers in the country with a membership of about three hundred voluntarily decided to joint our ranks.

It is unnecessary to say that the Overall Workers are welcome. Just because they are Overall Workers and just because they come to us on their own initiative they are doubly welcome.

The Overall Workers of New York are now a part of the great and cordial Amalgamated family. They are now our members with all others alike. They will help us in our great work and will share our joys with us.

In this case, too, we are in the fortunate position to report to you that since their entrance into our ranks, and with our assistance, the Overall workers in New York, have greatly increased their wages—the increases

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ranging from four to six dollars a week, and otherwise improved their conditions.

Another Army Uniform Situation

Attacks upon our organization have been made so frequently that they have become quite a normal condition. If our enemies should cease attacking us we should deem it our duty to our membership to institute a searching self examination in order to find out what is wrong about us. No attack could surprise us; no attack could discourage us. Yet we did not expect our enemies to pay us such a glorious tribute as they did by the general onslaught instituted by them at the end of 1917. That was a most flattering attestation of our strength.

It was our success in protecting the interests of the workers in military uniform shops that drew the fire this time from the camp of labor's foes.

Acting upon the noble German principle of "Keep slandering, something is bound to stick," they fired at us their broadside of "disloyalty." Relying upon the fact that that was a charge that need only be made in order to do mischief, they repeated it in various forms and ways. The public was informed that all the Russian, Italian, British and American born clothing workers in our organization, all of them working hard and honestly for their livelihood, most of them American citizens, many of them already drafted or expecting to be drafted—that they were all German spies, enemies of America, and should not be allowed to work on Army clothing.

The uninitiated were led by the skilled publicity agents to believe that we not only controlled our members but also the United States Government. The Board of Control which had set itself conscientiously to the task of eradicating the evils as above described from the Army Clothing industry, was openly and viciously attacked because it refused to play politics, dealt honestly and fairly with us and did not lend itself to the schemes of our enemies against us. The stupid charge was made that we dictated the appointments of the members while we failed to get representation for ourselves.

To feed the sensational campaign against us, and in the hope of impressing Washington, "protest" meetings of "unemployed cloakmakers" were called to denounce us. The meetings were called and boisterously advertised by no responsible organization or individual. The magic name of the "masses" was constantly employed as the very intangible authority for the "popular movement." The cry was raised that we had monopolized the Army clothing jobs, and that because we would not permit the "thirty thousand idle cloakmakers" to assist in the work, there was a shortage in clothing for the National Army. The trained publicity staff of the "unemployed masses"—a staff which has been conspicuous by its absence in all other cases of unorganized and unemployed workers—very diligently circulated that story through the public press. Fortunately, Secretary Baker issued a statement at that time that the shortage in clothing was due to shortage in cloth. But the slander against us was kept up and pushed with vigor. To the thinking

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observer it must have appeared rather strange that only "traitors" were selected to make Army uniforms and that all loyal citizens were carefully combed out into idleness.

The true situation was this:

When we took up the fight against sweatshop conditions in the Army uniform manufacture, and for the restoration of Union standards, the shops were largely filled with workers from other industries, mostly cloakmakers, whose own trades were dull. It was because they considered their jobs temporary that they had contented themselves with any sort of conditions offered to them. When we organized those shops the workers from the other industries continued at their Army uniform jobs. For the purpose of controlling conditions we only required of them to become temporary members of our organization. When we opened our Labor Bureau for Uniform work, from which help was sent to uniform shops under our jurisdiction, we sent members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union along with our own members. An investigation made by us showed that nearly half of the workers in such shops were members of the I. L. G. W. U. Large numbers of our own members were at that very time jobless. The union shops were filled; the non-union shops were closed to them.

In view of the fact that the members of both organizations were looking to the uniform industry for employment we proposed to the I. L. G. W. U. to undertake with us a joint campaign for the organization of the entire industry, wipe out sweatshop conditions everywhere and open up all shops to the members of both organizations. As already stated above such arrangements were successfully carried out in Philadelphia to the great benefit of both unions. It is very much to be regretted that it was not carried out in New York. The number of shops we succeeded in extending our jurisdiction to could not, of course, absorb all of the unemployed workers in the needle industry. Bad as the situation was it was further aggravated by the lack of cloth, which caused frequent layoffs of those who were fortunate enough to have jobs. The important point is, however, that while other organizations would in such circumstances, with perhaps not unpardonable selfishness, keep whatever jobs there were for their own unemployed members, we shared them with the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. We also permitted them to have their own representative in our Labor Bureau in order to make sure that they received their just share of jobs.

Nor could it be otherwise. Our industries are closely allied. Many of our members hold membership in the International and work in their shops and vice versa. The human material is the same. The same nationalities, the same languages, living in the same sections of the city, reading the same daily papers, holding the same social views, and coming to one another's aid whenever necessary. The progressive views on the labor movement, economic, political and in matters of mutual aid, prevail among the members of the International as well as among the members of the Amalga-

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ated. The members of the International know also that the fact of our being outside of the so-called official labor movement, outside of the A. F. of L., cannot be charged up to us as the official labor movement is responsible for it.

Our enemies seized upon the state of unemployment, charged us with responsibility for it, and called "protest" massmeetings. Who paid for the expensive halls, large quantities of printed matter, and various committees, whose personnel was not of the altruistic kind? The Cloakmakers Union repudiated those meetings, hence, it surely did not pay for them. The employed workers could have no interest in paying the bills. The "unemployed masses" were unable to pay, since poverty was the claim made for them.

The first "protest" meeting disclosed some of the elements in charge of the affair. That was a combination of the Bible House scab agency, the traitor who was made an outcast first by the workers and then by the employers, some renegades from the socialist movement, and some employers who had their own reasons for assisting the "movement" of the "unemployed masses."

The thinly veiled purpose of the first meeting was to bring about a breach between our organization and the I. L. G. W. U. The Cloakmakers' Union was, therefore, spoken of in very friendly terms, and fire was opened on us in order to "save the Cloakmakers and their Union" from our domination.

On the next day the papers published reports of that meeting with such amazing headlines as "The Clash Between Clothing Workers and the Cloakmakers Growing." The officers of the I. L. G. W. U. and of our organization promptly denounced the conspiracy and warned their members as well as the general public to be on their guard. The later "protest" meetings were, therefore, directed against the I. L. G. W. U. as well as against our organization.

Women's Wear, a trade paper for the cloak and suit industry, said in an issue in the month of December, 1917:

"It appears certain in the minds of men familiar with conditions in the labor circles that the protest meeting, held yesterday on the East Side, was staged, and that certain individuals who have spent most of their time in recent years switching from the manufacturers to the unions and back again, according to the amount of money involved, were responsible for the event. They saw to it that newspapers were informed of the gathering.

"Factors in the cloak trade and students of labor conditions . . . declare that little importance can be attached to the meeting of yesterday. They add that if an investigation were made, it would disclose some people were hired to attend and contribute in the proceedings."

This onslaught on us was more vicious and desperate than all others in the sense that an attempt was made to destroy us by the cry of "treason" to the nation generally—pro-German; "disloyalty" to the labor movement particularly—secession, and "antagonism" to the Cloakmakers' Union most especially—denying their members an opportunity to work.

All of the subsequent activities of that crew were along the same lines and for the same purpose. They ran their course and are now forgotten.

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We were not the losers by that additional experience.

The Board of Control was discontinued and Mr. Kirstein was made sole administrator of Labor Standards in Army Uniforms. Later Mr. Kirstein resigned and Prof. William Z. Ripley succeeded him. But none of those changes has affected our organization. What we have attained we hold in the teeth of all foes, all conspirators and all traitors.

United Hebrew Trades Refuses to Betray Clothing Workers.

The United Hebrew Trades is a local central body of Jewish trade unions in New York. Since the advent of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America all possible pressure was brought to bear in order to force that body on the warpath against us. But the U. H. T. has steadfastly refused to betray the organized Clothing Workers.

In our report to the Second Biennial Convention we gave a complete review of the case.

On March 20, 1915, the U. H. T. was expelled from a fictitious "Federated Central Body" for refusing to unseat our local unions and substitute for them the "local unions" of the scab agency.

On May 10, 1915, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, appeared in person at the meeting of the U. H. T. and ordered the expulsion of our local unions.

At its meeting of August 16, 1915, the U. H. T. received a peremptory order from Gompers giving it two days time to expel our locals. The order was not carried out, however.

The U. H. T. sent its then secretary, Abraham I. Shiplacoff, to the A. F. of L. convention in San Francisco in the hope of finding a solution for the vexing problem. No solution was found. The situation became so acute that on December 6, 1915, our local unions voluntarily withdrew from the U. H. T. in order to spare it the painful embarrassment of expelling them. The U. H. T. adopted a resolution pledging itself not to admit locals of the United Garment Workers.

Our formal relations were severed but not our actual relations.

Our local unions, like other large organizations, do not need the assistance of the U. H. T., but the latter needs their assistance for those Jewish trade unions which must look to the U. H. T. for their sole or chief support. Our local unions have cheerfully continued to give liberal aid to such organizations whenever called upon.

For nearly two years the U. H. T. was let alone. The withdrawal of our locals from that body seemed to have given our enemies some measure of satisfaction. In 1917 they renewed their crusade. The Central Federated Union of New York, not the Federated Central Body mentioned above, whose secretary was conspicuously mixed up with a pro-German movement, arrived at the conclusion that the U. H. T. was not loyal to the United States and must, therefore, be annihilated.

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Accordingly, the Central Federated Union caused a resolution to be submitted to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Buffalo, which is known as resolution No. 120, and is given below.

Back door diplomacy in Buffalo resulted in the dropping of the disloyalty charge against the United Hebrew Trades and its new secretary assured Gompers that he was against the Amalgamated and with the Bible House clique. That seemed to have paved the way for complete "exoneration" of the United Hebrew Trades, although while the secretary of the United Hebrew Trades professed opposition to us, Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, insisted that all the organizations affiliated with the United Hebrew Trades, his own included, were in full accord with the Amalgamated, as they could not be otherwise.

The United Hebrew Trades was to stand the test of "loyalty" by admitting into its ranks the "locals" of the United Garment Workers and declaring open war against the Amalgamated. That was the substance of a resolution the United Hebrew Trades was called upon to accept, and which would have been accepted without opposition, if the situation as described by the secretary in Buffalo were true.

The Executive Committee of the United Hebrew Trades voted by six votes against four to recommend the adoption of the resolution.

For a full month a battle royal was waged, a vote having been postponed from meeting to meeting.

The matter was finally brought to a head at a meeting of the United Hebrew Trades on Wednesday, Feb. 6, 1918. After a fierce battle of words until the small hours of the morning the resolution as recommended by the Executive Committee was rejected by ninety votes against twenty-six. The fight for the resolution was led by the secretary, Max Pine, and the fight against it by Benjamin Schlesinger, Assemblyman Shiplacoff and others.

While the Amalgamated has been made the target for the attacks of the reactionary oligarchy in the official labor movement, those attacks have really been aimed at the progressive and radical spirit of the Jewish unions. Two years ago that point was generally lost sight of because of the fact that the Amalgamated was the only organization directly and immediately involved. This time, however, the Amalgamated enjoys the pleasant company of the Capmakers' Union. If the recommendation of the Executive Committee had been accepted by the United Hebrew Trades, it would have meant warfare not only against the Amalgamated but against the Capmakers' Union as well. The Union which is now a credit to the labor movement, though officially an outlaw, would have been branded as a "band of traitors, disloyalists, etc," and a scab agency similar to that of the Bible House would have taken its place in the United Hebrew Trades.

The status of the Capmakers' Union in addition to that of the Amalgamated has forcibly brought home to the delegates the fact that it is not a question of this or that organization but of a great principle: The right of the workers to have honest and progressive unions. If submission to the arbitrariness of the official "labor leaders" meant war against the Amalga-

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mated in 1917, war against the Capmakers' Union in 1918, why may it not also mean war against the Cloakmakers' Union in 1919, against some other union or unions in 1920, until the entire progressive labor movement would be disrupted?

The realization of this great fact fired the spirit of the United Hebrew Trades. The delegates realized that by submitting to the highhandedness in our case two years ago they did not stop it but encouraged it. They now decided to act with courage, and they did.

No sooner did the action of the United Hebrew Trades become known than the C. F. U. secretary of pro-German propaganda notoriety rushed into print to denounce the U. H. T. as disloyal, pro-German, traitors, etc. In other words, the loyalty of the United Hebrew Trades to the nation is not to be determined by the manner in which it discharges its duties to the country, by the number from its ranks in the National Army, and other criteria usually applied to citizens, but by whether the United Garment Workers are affiliated with it or not. If that dead body had been admitted the United Hebrew Trades would have been pronounced loyal and patriotic. Because it was not admitted the United Hebrew Trades is branded as disloyal and pro-German.

That may give one a fair idea of the value of the indiscriminate cry of "disloyalty" or "pro-German."

The proposition on which the Central Federated Union was willing to purge the U. H. T. of the false charge of disloyalty, and allow it to live, is contained in the following letter from Gompers:

Washington, D. C., Jan. 25, 1918.

WHEN REPLYING KINDLY REFER TO RESOLUTION NO. 120
OFFICERS AND DELEGATES,
OF THE UNITED HEBREW TRADES,
NEW YORK CITY.

Dear Sirs:

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will shortly hold a meeting at headquarters. It will be necessary for me to make report to my colleagues of the E. C. regarding the Hebrew Trades matter as dealt with by Resolution No. 120 of the Buffalo Convention of the A. F. of L.

There have been two hearings on the Hebrew Trades matter and several conferences. At one of these meetings the representative of the New York Central Federated Union submitted the following:

"All unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor as local unions or through international unions, making application for representation to, and in the United Hebrew Trades, must be seated by that body, and full and sincere support given.

"All independent, dual or seceding unions at present seated in the United Hebrew Trades must be unseated until they affiliate to the American Federation of Labor direct or through International Unions so chartered.

"The United Hebrew Trades shall not by resolution or otherwise endorse, support, or assist any dual, independent or seceding organization."

As yet the representatives of the Hebrew Trades have not answered. It will be necessary that I have that answer to report to my colleagues of the E. C.

I am therefore writing to request that you let me have an answer so that the entire matter may be in proper shape for report to the Executive Council.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) SAM'L GOMPERS,

President.

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In accordance with its action of February 6, the U. H. T. sent the following letter to the American Federation of Labor:

Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

New York, February 9, 1918.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The tried policy of the United Hebrew Trades, during the thirty years of their existence, was to organize the Immigrant Workers with the view to affiliate such organizations with the American Federation of Labor. That policy has been carried out in every respect in letter as well as in spirit. At no time did the United Hebrew Trades fail to urge and in some instance compel trade unions organized by it to affiliate with the A. F. of L. either as federal locals or through their National or International bodies.

While we never have been and are not now directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. we have at all times worked in harmony with you. In the break that occurred in Oct., 1914, in the ranks of the men's garment workers, the United Hebrew Trades had no hand. In the two years subsequent to the secession of the tailors from the United Garment Workers the U. H. T. left no stone unturned to restore peace in the industry and to bring about harmonious relations between the men's garment workers and the official body, recognized by the A. F. of L. but in vain were our efforts because of the stubbornness of the officers of the United Garment Workers. The resignation of the locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was then affected to satisfy the demands of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and a resolution was then adopted a copy of which, is in the hands of Mr. Samuel Gompers, which reads "UNTIL THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR WILL SUCCEED IN BRINGING THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE MEN'S GARMENT WORKERS TO A NORMAL AND UNITED CONDITION THE U. H. T. SHOULD REMAIN NEUTRAL TO BOTH THE UNITED GARMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA AND THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA AND THAT UNTIL THAT DESIRED TIME THE UNITED HEBREW TRADES SHALL HAVE NO OFFICIAL CONNECTION WITH ANY OF THE BRANCHES OF WHICH THE AFORESAID TWO ORGANIZATIONS ARE COMPOSED."

We therefore cannot possibly adopt the resolution of the Central Federated Union of New York. If we were to do so it would demean us and destroy our usefulness. Our loyalty and service to the cause of Labor during the last thirty years gives the lie to the insinuations contained in the wording of the proposed resolution of the Central Federated Union, as we have no seceding or opposition unions in our midst.

We take this occasion to impress upon you and the membership at large of the American Federation of Labor, that we will at all times serve and support the American Federation of Labor in its activities and require trade unions whether affiliated with us or not to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. We will also use every effort in our power to bring about harmony in the labor movement, whether it be in the needle trade or any other trade.

With assurance of good will and loyalty to the cause of labor, we beg to remain,

Very Fraternally Yours,

UNITED HEBREW TRADES.
(Signed) M. Feinstone, Asst. Sec'y.

Samuel Gompers sent the following letter to the International organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L.:

Washington, D. C., March 12, 1918.

Dear Sir & Brother:

The Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor when considering Resolution No. 120, dealing with the subject of the United Hebrew Trades, declared as follows:—

1. That a conference be held at the earliest possible time in the city of New York at which five representatives of the United Hebrew Trades should meet with five representatives of the Central Federated Union of New York.

2. That a representative of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall preside and participate for the purpose of endeavoring to carry out the program of unity, solidarity, as well as loyalty to the American trade union movement as represented by the A. F. of L.

3. That the representatives of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. shall report the results of the conference to the following meeting of the Executive Council.

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4. That until after the conference and report as above provided, Resolution No. 120 be held in abeyance.

5. That unless a more satisfactory situation be established the Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to carry the provisions of Resolution No. 120 into effect.

In conformity therewith, on December 16, 1917, the undersigned called and participated in a conference in New York City, between the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades, and the representatives of the New York Central Federated Union. The Central Federated Union made the following proposition:

"All unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor as local unions or through international unions, making application for representation to and in the United Hebrew Trades, must be seated by that body, and full and sincere support given.

All independent, dual or seceding unions at present seated in the United Hebrew Trades must be unseated until they affiliate to the American Federation of Labor direct or through International Union so chartered.

The United Hebrew Trades shall not by resolution or otherwise endorse, support or assist any dual, independent or seceding organization."

The United Hebrew Trades asked that another conference be held. The conferees decided for a further conference.

January 6th another conference was held in New York City. At that conference the United Hebrew Trades asked for extension of time so as to prepare those whom they represented for the acceptance of the recommendation of the previous meeting.

The matter was held until the latter part of January, when on the 25th of that month I wrote the United Hebrew Trades and insisted upon an immediate answer so that the matter might be reported to my colleagues of the E. C. at their meeting scheduled for February 10th.

February 7th I was officially notified that the United Hebrew Trades had declared against the proposition of the Central Federated Union.

The whole matter came before the E. C. at its meeting, February 10-17. The E. C. directed that the instructions of the Buffalo convention as contained in Resolution No. 120 should be put into effect. The resolution is as follows:

"Whereas, a serious condition exists in the clothing industry in Greater New York, caused by what is known as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who seceded from the United Garment Workers of America, with the intent of destroying that recognized organization;

Whereas, the United Hebrew Trades, a body consisting of various local unions of different trades and which is not chartered by the American Federation of Labor, renders all possible support to the seceders, and is, therefore, antagonistic, and

Whereas, the United Hebrew Trades fathered and abetted and is in sympathy with the organizations known as the "People's Council" and "Workmen's Council," who have declared in public print their intention of organizing one thousand branches in the United States, the purpose being to, if possible, supplant the American Federation of Labor; be it, therefore

Resolved, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct all international unions whose local unions are represented in the United Hebrew Trades to order all such local unions to withdraw from that body, and in case such local unions refuse to withdraw, to reorganize them under the banner of the American Labor movement."

Therefore, the object of this letter to you is to officially advise you of the action taken upon this matter and to ask that the local unions of your international union represented in the United Hebrew Trades in New York City, take necessary steps to conform to the directions of the Buffalo convention, and that you advise me in regard thereto.

That the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council have been absolutely fair and just in the course followed in the United Hebrew Trades case, no one, I am sure will dispute. There is a bona fide central body in New York city affiliated to the A. F. of L., that is, the New York Central Federated Union; there is no need for another central body in New York City, particularly one organized on a racial or political basis. In addition it is prejudicial to the good name when such a body is not only organized but refuses to accord equal advantages to all bona fide trade unions. The A. F. of L. counts upon your prompt co-operation and compliance with the declaration and decision, that if any local union of your international

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union is represented in the United Hebrew Trades of New York City, that it be directed to withdraw therefrom.

Trusting that I may hear from you at your early convenience and with kind regards, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) SAM. GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

Let us add here that the effect of the anathema pronounced against us by the A. F. of L. at its 1914 convention in Philadelphia was the reverse of what it was intended to be. We have thriven and prospered and loomed bigger at each succeeding convention of the Federation.

The 1914 convention in Philadelphia declared that whether right or wrong we must not be heard. That was supposed to seal our fate. It did, but not in the traditional sense. It served to enhance the determination of our membership to fight their own battles, depending entirely upon their own strength. The wonderful powers of self-reliance were thus developed in our organization.

The 1915 convention in San Francisco found the clothing worker strong and militant causing considerable worry to our enemies in that convention.

At the 1916 convention, in Baltimore, the cause of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers found a powerful echo in open charges of strikebreaking made on the floor of the convention, in the sight of the delegates and visitors and in the hearing of the entire labor movement, against John Ferguson, president of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, because of his strikebreaking conspiracy against us in that city.

At the 1917 convention, in Buffalo, our organization was more than once the storm center of discussion both in committee rooms and at the plenary sessions of the convention.

The labor movement is beginning to realize that we cannot be exterminated by persecution, and also that it, the labor movement generally, is the loser by our being officially outside of its ranks.

Our Press

When we met in second convention, May, 1916, in Rochester, our press consisted of two weekly publications. Fortschritt in Yiddish and Lavoro in Italian. It has since grown to five. Our message is now carried to our membership in five different languages. You all know their great educational value. We feel that we may justly be proud of them. While bringing to our members regularly the news of our organization we are striving to make our journals as much as possible general working class educators. We believe that we have fully succeeded.

Our papers in the order of their appearance, are as follows:

Fortschritt, Yiddish Weekly, began publication April 2, 1915.

Lavoro, Italian Weekly, began publication September 11, 1915.

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Advance, English Weekly, began publication March 9, 1917.

Industrial Democracy, Polish bi-weekly, began publication March 9, 1917.

Industrial Democracy, Bohemian bi-weekly, began publication October 1, 1917.

We hope to still further increase the number of our publications so that we may eventually reach our members in all languages spoken by them.

In this connection we desire to call your attention to the necessity of making subscription for our official journals obligatory. It will serve the double purpose of bringing our papers regularly to the members' homes and of providing a sound foundation for the papers. The publication of five papers, which number we hope to increase, is a tremendous financial burden to the organization. It cannot be met by voluntary subscription. Subscription must be obligatory. The subscription should be included in the regular dues by adding one cent a week to the per capita tax. This system has been adopted by a number of our local organizations but it should be made general.

Educational Work

We have never failed to emphasize the great importance of general educational work among our membership. The press cannot cover the entire field. It must be supplemented by lectures and other means of education. For a time it had been impossible for us to undertake such general educational work. The problems of the moment were too many, too pressing, and in most cases of an emergency nature. During the last lecture season we did finally make a beginning. We met with most encouraging success in Baltimore. All lectures were attended by large audiences. Frequently many people were turned back because of lack of space. Among the lecturers were prominent educators from Johns Hopkins University. Our members benefitted greatly by last season's lectures.

Our Chicago organization, too, had a very successful lecture season with very prominent lecturers.

We laid out elaborate plans in New York, where the Board of Education co-operated with us by placing school facilities at our disposal, and we were also assisted by very prominent and capable lecturers. The experiment in New York did not meet with the desired success. But that simply means that the methods must be further studied for the purpose of revising them so as to insure success. It is our intention to make the educational work a permanent feature of our organization. We realize that we will for some time be confronted with obstacles in this new field but we are determined to overcome them.

Higher Per Capita

At several of our sessions we faced the financial problem which was becoming more serious and compelling as our work was progressing. We

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have been constantly called upon for increasingly greater assistance in organization work, strike support, etc. It soon became clear to us that a per capita of fifteen cents a month could not yield sufficient revenue to meet the growing obligations of our organization. We repeatedly postponed action to increase the per capita in the hope that we might be spared that uninviting task. But every succeeding Board session found the necessity for a large revenue greater. We finally accepted the inevitable and presented the situation to the membership. We initiated a motion to raise the per capita tax from fifteen cents a month to twenty-five cents and it was carried by a referendum vote of the general membership. The new rate went into effect with the beginning of the year 1918.

At our February, 1918, session we decided to set aside twenty per cent, or five cents out of each twenty-five cents per capita, for a strike fund. We realize that that is a mere formality, for if the amount thus set aside should not be sufficient the balance of the treasury would be drawn upon if necessary, yet we decided to create the fund as the consciousness of the existence of such a fund will give the members a larger sense of security.

Relief Outside of Our Own Ranks

Our members have been frequently called upon to lend a helping hand to their fellow members who were struggling for a better and happier life. Thus they came to the assistance of the strikers in Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Montreal, Boston, Louisville. But they also contributed liberally to other noble and worthy causes. To mention most conspicuous cases: When the Cloakmakers' Union in New York was fighting for its life our members raised some twenty odd thousand dollars for it. About eighteen thousand dollars passed through the General Office, besides various amounts that were sent by our members through other channels.

Large contributions were also made by our members to the defense fund for Mooney and his colleagues, generally known as the San Francisco cases.

When the People's Relief Committee undertook its various enterprises for the collection of funds for the relief of the Jewish War Sufferers in Europe our members again contributed liberally. At the end of 1917 a campaign for a five million dollar fund was inaugurated. Our local organizations volunteered their co-operation and plans were laid out which if carried out completely, would have yielded an enormous amount of money as our members' share. Unfortunately, however, the fuelless Mondays interfered with these plans. Owing to the shortage in coal the Government proclaimed a number of Mondays as holidays for the purpose of suspending industrial activities on those days and saving fuel. That loss in working time made the successful execution of the plans impossible. But substantial amounts of money were raised by our members for the People's Relief Fund.

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In connection with this relief work we issued the following appeal:

To the District Councils, Joint Boards and Local Unions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America:

Greeting:

About two months ago some of our local organizations undertook to raise funds for the relief of the sufferers in the European war zone. The prospects for success were very bright. It looked as if our organization would add one more great attainment to its glorious record of successful accomplishments. Speedy and liberal relief for the suffering multitudes is so urgent that no speed may be too great and no amount of money, however large, may be too liberal.

But while our will was there our power was not. A new factor, entirely unforeseen and unexpected—the Government's order for the suspension of industrial activities for a number of days—served to temporarily check our work for the great cause. It made effective work impossible for the time being.

That order for the suspension of industrial activity has now been rescinded. Our members are again in a position to work full time. The duty to resume the fulfillment of our self imposed task now becomes still more imperative. The need for relief is surely no less now than it was a few months ago. A great deal of valuable time has been lost. We must see to it that effective work is done from now on.

The General Executive Board, at its session in Philadelphia last week, devoted much of its time to the consideration of this matter. After a thorough discussion the Board unanimously decided to issue an appeal to the membership to renew the activity for the relief of the war sufferers and to do all in their power to make it a success.

Our sister organization, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, had designated Washington's Birthday as War Relief Day. That day is one of a group of legal holidays for which the cloak manufacturers pay their employes, in accordance with an understanding between them and the Union. The Union proclaimed that Washington's Birthday should this time be celebrated by work instead of by rest. That meant two days' pay for that day's labor. The additional pay was set aside for the War Relief Fund. It yielded a large amount of money, which is a credit to the workers and a blessing to the war victims.

Our organization has no understanding with our employers in the matter of legal holidays and cannot carry out a plan based on such an understanding as our sister organization did. But the duty to come to the rescue of our suffering brothers and sisters rests on us nevertheless.

We must find our way of extending a helping hand to them. The General Executive Board appeals to you to make your best efforts in this noble task.

While originally the appeal was made to our Jewish members only, and for Jewish war sufferers only, the General Executive Board appeals to all of our members, regardless of race or nationality, and urges them one and all to co-operate. The contributions received from each national group of our membership will go to the corresponding nationality for its own war relief purposes. The funds raised by the Jewish members will go to the Jewish war sufferers; the funds raised by the Italians will go to the Italians, and so on.

The slogan of the relief campaign when it was first opened was A DAY'S WAGES. This should also be the slogan now. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America does not levy this as a compulsory assessment upon its membership. It is a call from our International Organization for voluntary contributions. Wherever a full day's wages is possible that should be the contribution.

While it is true that with the present high cost of living a day's wages means a great deal to a workingman, we must remember the greatness and the urgency of the cause for which this money is being solicited.

Many millions of people of our own blood, connected with us by the closest family ties, are suffering the tortures of a long, ruthless and unparalleled war. Our own country has been at war less than a year, is geographically at a safe distance from the enemy and economically prosperous, yet we have already felt very strongly the effect of the war. How great then must be the sufferings of those unfortunate who have been in war three and a half years, with their homes wrecked, their

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countries devastated and their lives ruined? Practically all of Europe is crying with pain and anguish.

No one can bring them help except we here, in this country. We are still fortunate enough to be the least affected of all nations engaged in this war. It is our duty to help those who are dying from lack of food, clothing and shelter. The call coming to us from the other side of the ocean has been heeded by large numbers of our fellow citizens in this country. It is now our turn to do our share. We have not shirked our duties in any field of activity to which we were called. Let us do our full duty now.

Most of us come from those very countries where this terrible conflagration is now raging. We have found a home of refuge in this country. Were it not for the mere accident of our having left the old world before the war began we would have been among the great suffering multitudes now crying to us for a crumb of bread. Let us be grateful for having reached these shores before the scourge now torturing Europe overtook us. Let us show that we are worthy of the advantages we enjoy in this country by responding to the cry of despair coming from our fellow human beings on the other side of the globe and giving them whatever help we can.

A day's wages is a large sum for a workman to deprive himself of. But sacrifices are always made in proportion to the needs. The Cause calling to us compels this sacrifice, which should be made willingly and cheerfully. Remember that after we have parted with our day's wages, given up in the happy consciousness of performing a sacred duty, we continue at our regular daily occupations, we continue taking care of our families and providing for their comfort and welfare. The giving up of a day's earnings for this noble cause is, after all, no greater financial hardship than the loss of wages because of a fuelless Monday, a strike or any other cause that may affect our earnings. The unfortunates for whom our contributions will mean the saving of untold numbers of human lives, possibly the saving of the entire generation from physical and moral ruin, have at present no occupations or means of livelihood. Nor will they have any until the lives of the peoples generally become normal again.

Following the example set by many of our own members our contributions may be made without any financial hardships on us. In a number of cases our members have arranged with their employers to work overtime in order in that way to earn the extra money needed for the contribution. In that way our contribution is labor and not a part of our regular earnings. The additional physical exertion for a few more hours in a given period is surely a sacrifice that every one of us can well afford to make. In fact, it ought to be considered a pleasure and a privilege to make that physical effort for the alleviation of the sufferings of millions of people. If such arrangements were possible in some cases they may be possible in many more.

A number of our members made their contributions before the industrial suspension order went into effect. Our appeal is directed to those who have not yet contributed or who have not contributed their full share.

In the name of our great and militant Organization, which is dear and beloved to all of us, we appeal to you. Respond to the call of the suffering millions freely and liberally; respond with that heartiness and enthusiasm which have always been characteristic of our membership. Take action immediately. Let there be no further delay. Starvation and Death don't wait. Relief must, therefore, also make haste. You may send your collections to the local relief committees, if any, in your respective cities, or directly to the undersigned. In all cases, however, you will please send complete reports to the undersigned.

Urging you again to live up to the true Amalgamated spirit in this case as you did in all others, we greet you in the hope of success.

Very fraternally yours,

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary.

Manifesto on the Situation as Created by the World War.

When we raised our banner in the clothing industry, at the end of 1914, the present world war had just begun. The general impression prevailing

at that time was that a war conducted on so colossal a scale must burn itself out within a short time. "Authorities" had predicted the end of the war within a few months. But the war has been fiercely raging nearly four years, and the end is not in sight yet. Contrary to all hopes the war has steadily grown extensively and intensively until it has staggered human imagination. Both hemispheres with half of the world's population are now in the war. The civilized world has developed such amazing powers as had been inconceivable before they were brought forth by the pressure of necessity. To sustain so much destruction of life and treasure, so much devastation, with the best blood withdrawn from economic and social life, for four long years, with the burdens growing ever heavier rather than lighter, requires a genius and a vitality that the human race had not been credited with before it was put to the test. The thought naturally suggests itself: If the vital forces of the people can withstand so much misery, suffering and desolation, how much joy, happiness and prosperity could the people give to themselves if they were free to apply those awakened forces to such purposes. This war disposes of the last shreds of dismal Malthusianism.

As stated, our hopes for a speedy end of the war failed to materialize. Not only is the war in Europe raging with growing fierceness, but since April, 1917, our own country, which had been hopefully looked to by the suffering world as the logical peacemaker, has been one of the most active belligerents. The entrance of our country into the European war, actively battling on the other side of the ocean, has more than any other single factor emphasized the internationalization of the world. Modern economic life has completely destroyed the provincialism of the previous generation. It is making of all nations and races one great human family, mutual and interdependent.

The world is radically different now from what it was four years ago. One need not be a great statesman or philosopher in order to realize that the world is being remade. That can be seen with the naked eye by every humble mortal. It has particularly been visualized by the emancipation of Russia from autocracy, the revolutionization of the British labor movement and the emerging of a new proletarian International from the smoldering ruins of the old one.

Briefly the situation is this:

The war came against the wishes of the labor movement of all the world, and we are now in its grip.

With the war came the long train of accompanying conditions which are against the interest of the people, but we are helpless in the face of them. They are here. The working classes have been unable to shape the situation in accordance with their desires and can't help taking it as it is.

But with all our grief at the war and the ruin it has wrought, we cannot shut our eyes to the constructive events that have happened as a result of

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the upheaval, the shaking up of the foundation of the old social order and the releasing of vast democratic forces, which will, without a doubt, destroy autocracy political as well as economic. With the seas of human blood and tears steadily swelling, with the groans of tortured mankind filling the air, with burning curses forcing themselves on our lips for those responsible for the terrible catastrophe; with all the misfortune and distress, we must pause to greet the rejuvenation of the world, the coming emancipation of mankind, for that is what the forces born out of the world's agonies will achieve. While we cannot at present halt the process of destruction we hail with joy the forces of construction issuing from it. So strong is our faith in the birth of the new democracy, the new freedom, the new social order, that we make bold to believe that when this war will be over the outraged peoples of the world will be so thoroughly aroused against their rulers and oppressors that militarism, wherever it will be allowed to continue after the war, might mean armed revolution. It may not at all be a wild exaggeration to imagine that when the war will be over, autocracy, or what may be left of it, will find itself between the devil of militarism that might rise against it as Russian militarism rose against Czarism, and the deep sea of non-militarism in which autocracy must suffer shipwreck upon the rocks of the people's opposition.

In a word, it is our firm belief that autocracy, in its all inclusive sense, is now digging its own grave. The trenches from which it conducts its operations lead directly to it.

In view of this situation, which in the above sense is magnificent with all of its hideousness and inspiring with all of its shocking cruelties, we thought it our duty to issue a pronunciamento for the guidance of our members. We have, therefore, issued the following manifesto, which we are sure has met with the full approval of our membership:

Manifesto on the Present World Crisis to the Membership of the A. C. W. of A.

The World War is now in its fourth year. Much as the great drama has touched every human heart in the civilized world from its very beginning, it has been brought closer home to the working class in this country during the past twelve months, particularly through three events which stand out boldest of all. They are, in their chronological order: The great Russian revolution, the entrance of the United States into the war, and what we may truly call the new birth of the British Labor Movement.

The Russian revolution was in every respect the greatest and most far reaching of all revolts and uprisings of the oppressed of the world against their oppressors recorded in human history. It was the greatest contribution to the democratic forces in all countries, and of greatest historical significance to the working classes of the world.

America's entrance into the war added one hundred million souls, and the

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vast resources of the country, to the nations allied against Prussian militarism.

The ringing message of the British Labor movement to their fellow workers everywhere proclaiming the struggle for a NEW SOCIAL ORDER, and calling upon the peoples of the world, those of the enemy nations included, TO DECLARE THEMSELVES, has thrilled the soul of every liberty loving man and woman battling for a free and democratic Industrial Commonwealth, without classes, without imperialism and without wars.

In the course of the past year, too, Prussian militarism has thrown off all restraint and challenged Civilization in the most amazing shamelessness and brutality, surpassing all of its past records of vandalism and ruthlessness in Belgium, Serbia and everywhere else. German militarism now stands as the brigand of the world, employing all the attainments of thousands of years of civilization in assassinating, crushing and plundering nations.

Brave Russia, with its limbs still aching and its wounds still bleeding from the slavery of centuries of which it had just freed herself, is heroically struggling against the Prussian military monster who is seeking to destroy her. Our hearts go out to heroic Russia; we are tempted to say holy Russia, martyred Russia. Russia's role in this frightful world tragedy gives the struggle against German militarism new meaning, new substance.

In the past year, too, President Wilson has infused a new spirit in the peace discussions among the nations, proclaiming democratic terms, aiming at a general, democratic and lasting people's peace. President Wilson's recent addresses to the Congress of the United States have given force and vitality to the people's demand for a peace on the basis of no annexations, no punitive indemnities and self-determination of the nations.

President Wilson has thrown the weight of his high authority in the scale against the establishment of militarism in this country.

Militarism is militarism with all the horrors that it implies, wherever and whenever it may exist.

Prussian militarism is the greatest horror of the world only because it has attained the highest degree of development. Any other militarism developed as fully and as completely would be a like menace to the nations of the world. It is the fervent hope of all mankind that the termination of this war will end war forever. The imposition of a permanent militarism upon the people can have no other meaning than preparation for another war. President Wilson has earned the gratitude of the American people by his firm stand against inflicting the scourge of militarism on us.

President Wilson has also voiced the sentiments of the American people, particularly of the working class, by his inspiring message of cheer and hope to the Soviet Congress of the Russian nation in Moscow.

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The hearts of all liberty loving people of the world are with Russia. They have been yearning for an opportunity to send to Russia a word of sympathy and encouragement in her great crisis. President Wilson's heartfelt message has gratified that burning desire. It has shown isolated Russia that American democracy is ready to extend to her a helping hand and bring her closer to the democracies of the world so that she may draw strength from a cordial sisterhood of free peoples.

With President Wilson we hold that we are not at war with the Teutonic peoples. They are suffering under their militarism more than do other peoples, for they always have it with them in times of peace as well as in times of war. Unfortunately, for themselves as well as for the rest of the world, they have not as yet the strength to free themselves from it. We want their co-operation, as soon as we can get it, in overthrowing all militarism and all autocracy.

We joyfully take this occasion to reaffirm our attitude as repeatedly expressed in our press to the effect that we stand by President Wilson in his efforts for a democratic and durable peace, as shown by his recent addresses to the Congress of the United States, by his message to Russia and by his steadfast opposition to militarism.

The Labor Movement of the world cannot progress fully and attain its highest goal unless its chain encircling the globe is complete and has all links intact. Just as defeat for any nation, as distinguished from its rulers and oppressors, will be an injury to mankind, and an imperialistic peace will lay the foundation for more wars, so will the enmity of the working class of one country for that of another because of the crimes of their masters, destroy that spirit of solidarity which is indispensable in the international struggle for the NEW SOCIAL ORDER. The modern labor movement, like modern civilized life generally, is interdependent and international.

History is moving with bewildering speed. The working class of the world is today the biggest factor in this task of rapid history making. The world is being recast and remoulded. Radical and revolutionary changes in our accepted modes of life have themselves become a normal condition. The interests of the human race call upon the working class to step forward, assume power and save civilization from disaster. In Russia and in England the workers have made giant strides in the direction of carrying out the mission history has assigned to them. In Russia the working class did it in the only way possible in that stricken country. In England, where the working class was fortunate enough to live under more civilized conditions, civilized methods are possible.

We congratulate the British Labor Movement upon its epoch making declarations, which have the approval and support of the labor movements in the several countries represented in the Inter-Allied Labor Conference in London.

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We speak for the great masses of the organized workers in our industry, each and everyone of whom, we know, hails with joy the ennobling utterances of our British fellow workers.

We extend most fraternal greetings to the Mission sent to this country by the working classes of the Allied countries in Europe and bid them a hearty welcome.

Long live true social democracy!

Long live the new working class International!

the General Executive Board of the

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

SIDNEY HILLMAN

General President.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,

General Secretary.

CONCLUSION

Lengthy though this report is it does not tell the full story of our activities. Our organization is so young and our tasks are increasing so rapidly that the recording of our work must be done with the greatest of haste. As we said on a former occasion: We are too busy making history to be able to write it. This report was written so close to the convention that a more complete record and a fuller discussion of the many problems we dealt with and of those we are confronted with could not be attempted. In this concluding part we shall present to you only a few brief memoranda.

Uniform Financial System for the Local Unions.

Since the last convention we have made great improvements in the financial methods of our local organizations. You who are familiar with the system, or lack of system, prevailing under the former regime, where records were mostly conspicuous by their absence, and seldom served any useful purpose by their presence, will appreciate the great value of the uniform and modern financial system we have devised for our local organizations. We thought it worth while going to the big expense of printing uniform ledgers, day books, cash books, vouchers and other paraphernalia. We have urged all our local unions to adopt them. While we have not made the use of our system compulsory and not all of our local organizations have adopted them as yet, the number of those who have is steadily growing. The smaller local union is thus in a position to enjoy the benefit of a modern and up-to-date system of financial accounting. We feel that it will not take long before the system introduced by us will be installed throughout our organization.

Our official auditor, Mr. Victor Benedict, has audited the books of a number of our local organizations in different parts of the country, including also Montreal, Canada. In all cases the locals have found those audits and

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the improvements in bookkeeping made by the auditor of great benefit. One of the greatest advantages is the fact that those audits made under our direction tend to strengthen the confidence of the membership in the organization.

We have also laid out plans for the gathering of all such statistics as may be of interest to our organization. We are making efforts to educate our local officers to the necessity of such data. We are sure that in time it will become a very useful source of information. We hope to be able to show the results in our report to the next convention.

Bonding of Local Officers.

We have entered into an arrangement with a bonding company for the bonding of the local officers. According to this arrangement the office is bonded instead of the particular officer. This is a great advantage for the local unions, as it dispenses with all the red tape incidental to bonding and makes it unnecessary to repeat the procedure when a new officer is elected. The bond is continuous for the office regardless of who the officer is. The fee is small. It is most desirable that all of our subdivisions should avail themselves of this opportunity. The necessity of it need hardly be emphasized.

Our Organization Active on All Fields.

Our members have not confined their activities exclusively to the industrial field. There is hardly a branch of social activity along the lines of progress in its best sense as understood by the modern working class, in which our organizations have not participated. In the progressive labor world the Amalgamated has been recognized as a definite and powerful factor for the promotion of the great cause of labor. The Amalgamated has never failed to line up with other labor bodies in various undertakings of the progressive labor movement. Outside of our immediate field the most important contribution was quite naturally made by our organizations and members on the political field. When the socialist campaign comes we are second to none in our contributions of funds, labor, enthusiasm, candidates and even elected officials. We made a particularly great contribution last November in the State of New York. Of the Socialist officials and lawmakers elected, the following are members of our organization: Judge Jacob Panken, of Local 156, New York. Assemblyman Abraham I. Shiplacoff of Local 213, New York. Alderman Baruch C. Vladeck of Local 3, New York. Alderman Abraham Beckerman of Local 4, New York. Supervisor Jacob J. Levin of Local 14, Rochester, N. Y. Alderman George Stahley of Local 14, Rochester, N. Y.

We are proud of the fact that the labor movement activity of our members is broad and general, and are also proud of their doing their full share in all cases. With this magnificent spirit, vast fund of energy and consciousness

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of self reliance, all of which are growing and increasing as our members are doing their work, who can doubt that we will attain our great goal!

Recent Wage Increases

While this report was being written our membership in different parts of the country has secured new and additional wage increases, some of which have already been recorded here and some have not. To mention but a few: ten and fifteen per cent to the employees of Hart, Schaffner & Marx in Chicago; ten per cent to the employees of Strouse & Brothers in Baltimore; two dollars weekly increase to all the Children's Clothing workers in New York on May first; two dollars to all clothing cutters in New York the first week in May; also increases to the Shirtmakers in New York and Philadelphia.

In connection with the recent wage increases we are glad to note a new policy that has lately been inaugurated by some of our local organizations. In New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and probably also in other places, the members voted to contribute the amount of the first week's wage increase to a special reserve and defense fund which the organization may fall back upon in case of an emergency. The wisdom of such action is so obvious that we heartily congratulate those organizations who have taken it and recommend it to those who have not.

Great Victory for Children's Clothing Workers.

Just before leaving New York for the convention, May 7th, we were happy to record a victory in the strike against the firm of Samuel Glass, Brooklyn, after a struggle of more than three months. For the first time the working conditions in the plant of that factory will be under the jurisdiction of the Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades.

May Day Celebration.

We cannot close without a word about our May Day celebrations.

The first of May is a legal holiday of our organization. Each year we have asked our members to celebrate it in a fitting manner, and they never failed to do so. This year, that day had a special significance.

It was the first May Day with our country as an active participant in the world war; the first May Day with free Russia as an established fact, all the unfortunate conditions in that country notwithstanding; finally, the first May Day with the inspiring messages of the British Labor Party and the Inter-Allied Labor Conference as the property of the working classes of the world. Such a May Day it was our duty to celebrate in a manner that should give true expression to its spirit. Our members rose to the occasion. Never before did this country see such a May Day celebration. As was expected, New York led. The New York Joint Board boldly hired Madison Square Garden, the largest meeting hall in the country, for its May Day demonstration. Its members did not go to work that day. They responded to

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the call of their organization to celebrate the International Labor Day. Over ten thousand of them paid a relatively high admission fee and filled the vast amphitheatre. In addition to addresses and resolutions expressing the sentiments of the occasion, our members had the joy of hearing lyric and musical artists of the highest order, members of the Metropolitan Opera Company, who rendered classic music and revolutionary hymns. Our demonstration aroused universal interest. For an organization of one industry to fill Madison Square Garden by a voluntary sale of tickets was sufficient to tax the imagination of the most optimistic. That was not only a May Day demonstration in the accepted meaning of the term; it was at the same time a revelation of the wonderful powers of our organization. How much good may these powers yet bring for our own members and for the working class generally! The Madison Square meeting also netted a few thousand dollars for the relief of the War Sufferers.

The same spirit was manifested at the May Day meetings of our organization in other parts of the country.

Thanks To Our Friends

We close with an expression of sincerest thanks to all labor papers, organizations and individuals who have faithfully stood by us in all of our trying struggles. While we cannot enumerate them here we shall ever remember them all. Gratefulness for the good done to us is one of the strongest characteristics of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

To you, delegates, and through you to our great membership, we express our heartfelt gratitude for the trust and confidence reposed in us. It is an honor and a privilege to serve a movement so virile and so imbued with the spirit of the revolutionary mission of the working class of the world.

We have fought and we have won. Our success and victories have brought to us greater tasks and heavier responsibilities, and we have undertaken them all with absolute confidence in our ultimate triumph.

World events are moving fast. When the war will end the change from war life to peace life might come with a jerk that will shake out from their moorings those who will be caught unawares. The enemies of labor will take advantage of the transition in order to reduce labor to the level of the dark days of old. Woe to those who will find themselves unprepared. The situation now fills the world with the call to labor to prepare itself fully and effectively for the events that are yet to come. Those who will heed this call will be saved.

In obedience to our own spirit as a progressive and militant organization; in obedience to this special call to the proletariat of the world, and in obedience to the general mission of the working class, let us reaffirm, renew and strengthen our determination for a one hundred per cent enlightened organization of the Clothing Workers of America.

On to Victory!

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At the conclusion of his report, the reading of which took nearly four hours, the Secretary received an ovation, everybody rising, cheering and applauding for several minutes.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG, rising in response to the demonstration, said: When artists are applauded they usually play or sing their part over again. Do you want me to read the report over again? (Laughter.) I want to add this to the report. The program of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference and the New Social Order of the British Labor Party were inserted here for the benefit of the delegates, so that they may be able to read them and familiarize themselves with them. Unfortunately, these documents, which should have been made most popular amongst the working men in this country, are least known among them, while non-working men know them better than the working men. We have inserted them here so that you delegates really should take the trouble and time to read them. You have heard a great deal about them, but have never read them. I also want to say that the financial report will be read at the next session, and that the General Executive Board will, no doubt, have some recommendations to make as a part of its report, also at subsequent sessions.

President HILLMAN: I received a telegram yesterday from Professor Ripley that on account of our strikes in Philadelphia he could not come here. Professor Ripley, as I explained before, is Chairman of the Board of Labor Standards. He has authority to decide in every controversy between us and the employers in the making of uniforms. For the last few days we had a strike and a lock-out in the city of Philadelphia. He had to proceed to Philadelphia and New York. He wired me today: "Afraid my chance to address convention lost, as I must go to New England. Sincerely, Charles Ripley." I am sorry that we will not have the opportunity to listen to him.

Report of Committee on Miscellaneous.

Chairman William Drubin reported for the Committee on the following resolutions:

RESOLUTION NO. 3, BY LOCAL 51, ON CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

Whereas, the co-operative movement helps the working people to free themselves from the exploitation of the capitalist class;

Whereas, such a movement affords the workers an opportunity to become accustomed to manage industry for themselves;

Resolved, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers go on record as favoring the co-operative movement among their members.

LOCAL 51, A. C. W. OF A.,
P. DeLuca,
Ulisse De Dominicis.

Adopted:

WM. DRUBIN, Chairman.

F. J. BARTOZ, Secretary.

The committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the report of the committee. The recommendation is to concur with the resolution.

Delegate LEVIN. Brother Chairman and Delegates—Before you vote on this resolution consider whether it will benefit the working class as a whole. The co-operative movement will not relieve in any way the working class. I would like those who introduced the resolution to answer this question: Where the necessities of life are lower, is the working class better off? I don't see the importance of applying the energy of this organization in such a direction where the working class as a whole will not benefit by it. Therefore, I am opposed to this resolution.

President HILLMAN: I want to make clear that this resolution simply encourages that movement amongst our locals, if they desire to take it up.

The resolution was adopted with one dissenting vote.

RESOLUTION NO. 7, BY LOCAL 63, NEW YORK, ON HIGH COST OF LIVING.

Owing to the excessive and uncontrolled cost of living, which as the Government statistics show, has risen much higher than the wages of the workers, be it resolved, that this convention requests the co-operation of other friendly organizations for the purpose of curtailing any further increase in the necessities of life.

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Be It Further Resolved, To urge our members to start co-operative stores, in order to destroy profiteering of the middleman.

Be It Also Further Resolved, That the local unions be instructed to demand, in view of the incessant rising of the cost of living, a raise of wages for the workers to meet the necessary demands of life.

As to the second clause of this resolution, the Miscellaneous Committee recommends that this be done locally, not in the name of the international organization. In other words, it means non-concurrence.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the resolution read. The recommendation is "non-concurrence." Are you ready for the question?

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 49, BY LOCAL 175, NEW YORK, ON PLACE FOR HOLDING THE NEXT CONVENTION.

Whereas, it is fitting that labor conventions be held in such places where the population is greatly in sympathy with organized labor; and

Whereas, the workers of Brownsville have built a labor lyceum, which is not only the pride of the community, but also one of the finest buildings of its kind in the world; and

Whereas, the A. C. W. of A. have had a great share in the creation and maintenance of the institution;

Be It, Therefore, Resolved, That the next convention of the A. C. W. of A. be held in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

SIMON HAAS,
JACOB ZUCKERMAN,
JOSEPH BLOOM,
Resolution Committee.

WILLIAM DRUBIN, Chairman.

F. J. BARTOZ, Secretary.

Committee recommends non-concurrence.

President HILLMAN: We advise the delegates to propose this when the time comes to make nominations. We have an order of business. The nomination of a place for the next convention is on that order. The convention cannot act on the resolution at this time.

Brother Rosenblum will read a communication from the Rand School to the convention.

Letter from the Rand School.

Comrades and Friends: On behalf of the Rand School of Social Science, and by instruction of its Board of Directors, I send you hearty congratulations on the great work your union has done within the few years of its existence, and wish you the utmost success in the tasks that are still before you.

We know that the Amalgamated offers a splendid example of militant and constructive trade unionism because its officers and members show themselves able to combine efficient, orderly and disciplined action in the daily routine of organization work with a clearness of vision and understanding of theoretical principles which is all too rare in the labor movement of this country. The service you are rendering is not rendered to the men and women of the clothing industry alone, but to the whole working class.

An important element in your success is the fact that you have always realized the importance of education as an essential part of the trade union work—that you have not been content to get members into the organization, but are always striving to make them understand its purposes and its needs.

If the Rand School can be of service to you in promoting the work of general education among the masses of your members, we shall count it a privilege to have you make use of us and of our equipment and experience.

We should like to call your attention to the efforts the Rand School is making in the direction of a more specialized and thorough instruction and training of wage workers for the purpose of equipping them for service on the industrial as well as the political field as organizers, propagandists, secretaries, and in all other

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capacities. We shall be pleased if representatives of your organization will confer with us and see if the work can be furthered by regular conference and co-operation between your body and ours.

With repeated congratulations and good wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

ALGERNON LEE,
Educational Director.

President HILLMAN: If there is no objection, we may refer this to the Committee on Education to bring in a recommendation to this convention.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: There is a letter here from the Kropotkin Publication Society. This is an organization that has made it its purpose to publish in Yiddish, Socialist and revolutionary classics from different languages. They addressed a communication to this convention.

(Secretary Schlossberg read the following English translation from the Yiddish:)

"New York, May 14, 1918.

"To the Third Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
"Baltimore, Md.

"Fellow Workers: It is now six years since the Kropotkin Literature Society has been circulating Yiddish Socialist education among the Jewish laboring masses. We issue two large books a year—two Socialist classic works translated into Yiddish. Last year we published two large parts of the greatest work of Karl Marx, 'Capital,' and are now in the process of publishing the third and last part. The society is publishing those books, not for the purpose of making profits. Most of the work is being done without compensation, as is amply proven by the fact that we have published eight large volumes, though we had no funds.

"We ask you, a great Jewish labor organization, to recognize our work and to find ways and means to enable us to serve more directly the educational needs of your great body.

"We greet your efforts and wish you success.

"For the Executive Committee.

"DR. I. J. A. MARYSON, Treasurer."

Brother Rosenblum read the following communications:

Rochester, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

On behalf of the Italian Local of Rochester, N. Y., I wish most ardently that the convention will find ways and means to deal with the industrial oppression in this city. May our freedom rise from the ruins of the present slavery. We send our fraternal wishes to all the delegates.

FOR THE ITALIAN LOCAL,
G. Artoni, Organizer.

Baltimore, Md., May 16, 1918.

Congratulations and best wishes. May the work of the convention result in your building a still better and stronger organization.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR LYCEUM OF BALTIMORE.

Boston, Mass., May 15, 1918.

Brothers, accept our congratulations. Your record of achievements is the pride of the Jewish labor movement. We are proud to have your locals affiliated with us. Best wishes on the road to success.

UNITED HEBREW TRADES OF BOSTON,
M. Hamlin, Secretary.

New York, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

We, the chairmen of L. Barash's district, greet the delegates to this convention. We rejoice in the great achievements of our organization. We hope that in time the

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entire labor movement will be under a radical leadership like the Amalgamated. Only then can we hope for the freedom of the wage workers. We wish you success and hope you will do your best to bring the Amalgamated to the highest point of success, such as short hours and higher wages. Unity in the ranks of our members should make the Amalgamated a model organization—an example for the entire labor movement—higher, higher, higher! Long live the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America!

LEON BARASH, I. WEITZ, H. MUNICH, N. WOLF, H. BERNSTEIN,
A. SASELER, N. ROSEN, N. YACOLUNSKY, S. RUDOLF, S. GOLDSTEIN,
A. PERLASF, H. BLUM, J. NEEDLE, M. HUDES, M. LESS.

New York, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

Mr. Rugoff, care Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
Garden Theatre, Baltimore, Md.:

Take my place. Greeting convention heartily in behalf of "Forward." Present my regrets. Sickness. "Forward" admires splendid organization and wonderful growth of Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Pledge support, as heretofore, with ardor and devotion.

ABRAHAM CAHAN.

New York, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

Greetings and best wishes to the officers and delegates. May the near future see the men's clothing workers united in one organization within the fold of the American Federation of Labor.

BENJ. SCHLESINGER, President,
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

New York, N. Y., May 15, 1918.

Congratulations. Best wishes to your convention. May your fighting spirit and your great cause bring greater happiness for your members. The Fancy Leather Goods Workers will never forget the great aid and assistance rendered to our union in the time of need by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Report of the Resolutions Committee.

Delegate PAUL ARNONE reported for the resolutions committee as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 6, BY LOCAL 63, ON WAGE RATE SETTLEMENTS.

Whereas, the percentage system in making settlements is a wrong one for the low paid workers, be it resolved, that this convention goes on record as favoring that when settlements are made with employers the percentage rate of wage increase be abolished and the increase shall be on equal basis to all workers.

The committee recommend the adoption of this resolution as read.

President HILLMAN: The committee recommends concurrence with the resolution. What is your pleasure.

Delegate ZORN: What does it mean?

President HILLMAN: It means that if it is a \$2 increase for the shop as a whole, it should not be a \$1.50 increase for the \$15 man and \$2.50 for the \$35 man. That is the sense of this resolution. As the percentage increases worked out until now, the workers who received more money got a larger amount as their increase. The resolution reads that is the sense of this convention—and it is up to the general officers and the local officers to co-operate in that direction—that whenever increases are arranged for they should be given in the same amounts to all the people. (Applause.)

Delegate ZORN: I believe that the experience in this matter indicates that this question can only be solved by having a minimum standard, otherwise the percentages will be lost just the same, for the reason that the high wage man generally can take care of himself and the low wage man is always at the mercy of his employer. I heard of a resolution with reference to a minimum wage. We come from Massachusetts. There is a minimum wage law in that State for the women.

President HILLMAN: May I suggest to the delegate, that that has nothing to do with the resolution.

Delegate ZORN: I know, but if we adopt the resolution, let us adopt it only if

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it can be carried out. In my own personal experience it did not work. Perhaps in the future it will work better, but the minimum wage—

President HILLMAN: The minimum wage has not been reported on as yet. The delegate will speak on that when that resolution comes up.

Delegate KROLL, of Local 61: Might I give the brother some information on that proposition? We received a percentage increase now in the cutting and trimming trade. Our Local 61 has got that percentage increase and we have figured what the average wage was, and every man in that cutting and trimming room received the same amount. Our last increase was \$3. Everybody in the shop got the same increase. And to my way of thinking, it is the best system that we could possibly devise, because after all when there is a flat percentage increase some men get \$4.50 and others get 80 cents. I think, as a labor organization this is the most vicious system we could inaugurate, because we are building capitalists in our own ranks. I think that resolution should be adopted, and we should make every effort to put it into effect. (Applause.)

Delegate YELLOWWITZ: I would like to ask the Chair, first of all, whether this resolution applies to piece work or to week work.

President HILLMAN: Piece work and week work.

Delegate YELLOWWITZ: Well, this resolution may seem to be very good and justified. I believe it will be impossible to carry it through, for the simple reason that our work is sectionalized. You may find two people working side by side at the same section, one earning, let us say, \$20 a week, the next one earning \$35, making the same kind of work. Now, how can you go to work and divide an increase on an equal basis? This man may leave the shop today and a faster man will come up tomorrow. How are you going to do it? You will make it so that the slower man will have to get a higher price than the faster man will get. As far as the week work system is concerned, it is a very good thing. It can be accomplished. But as far as the piece work system is concerned, it will make it impossible to accomplish that. I believe that with regard to the piece system this should be left to the local unions or to the executive board, so that the lower part should not be discriminated against as far as an equal division is concerned of increases, which will make it impossible for one man working at the same part right next to the other man, to earn \$10 and \$15 a week more.

Delegate VASTANO: From the experience that I have had in the shop, I am able to say that every time that there is an increase we are put in the position of bargaining, as much as we can, for the piece workers. I say that when an increase comes up, and we place an increase on the basis of 10 per cent, as our brother outlined to you, we have very much difficulty in settling a price and satisfying every one. On the other hand, in some cases we are put in the position of accepting a certain amount on the garment, and then we are confronted with the proposition of bargaining with the contractors. I believe the remedy for this evil would be that each and every one in the industry, regardless of his output, should get the same amount of increase. If there is an increase of \$1, let each and every one get an increase of \$1, regardless of whether they are working piece work or week work.

Delegate JACOBSON: Previous question, Mr. Chairman.

Delegate LEVINE, of Rochester: A point of information: I would like to ask the Chair, since he has had the experience on mediation boards, whether this will not be used by the manufacturer as a means of lowering the percentage, as heretofore the higher paid man received a larger amount than \$2 or \$3, and the consequence will be—

President HILLMAN: Is this a point of information or a speech? Which is it? I will also take the opportunity to make a speech in answering your point of information.

Delegate BECKERMAN: A point of information: Will this establishing equal increases mean no larger increases for the higher-priced man?

President HILLMAN: The sense of this resolution is that whatever increase we may be able to receive, and that depends on the strength of the organization, should be equalized so that the lower-priced man should not be at a disadvantage, which he always has been. I wish you also to understand that this does not become part of our constitution. It is an instruction from the convention to the officers to use their efforts in that direction. It does not become part of the constitution.

Delegate ARNONE: Brother Chairman and Delegates—The committee found that most of the trouble happens wherever there is piece work. I remember a case

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'way back in 1912. The firm offered 7 per cent increase. Now imagine—the people who made \$10 got 70 cents, and those who made \$20 a week got \$1.40. Now, if a settlement is made for \$1 for everybody in the factory that is all well and good. We do away with the percentage increases in such a way, so that the man receiving the low wages receives the same increase as the man receiving the higher wages.

(President Hillman put the resolution to a vote and it was carried.)

RESOLUTION NO. 36, BY LOCAL 215, ON A SCALE OF WAGES.

Whereas, we, the basters and tailors of Local 215, affiliated with the New York Joint Board of the A. C. W. of A., have made every effort to uphold the standard of wages, and

Whereas, it is nevertheless beyond our power to maintain the proper standard and

Whereas, a minimum scale of wages will relieve the serious condition of underpaid labor, be it therefore

Resolved, That the Third Convention of the A. C. W. of A. is hereby requested to establish a minimum scale of wages.

LOCAL 215.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Louis Singer,
Abe Gaisgen,
Sam Liberman,
Bennel Wenograd.

The committee recommends to refer the same to the General Executive Board for investigation and consideration.

President HILLMAN: The motion is that this matter be referred to the incoming G. E. B. for investigation and consideration of the matter. You all heard the motion. Are you ready for the question?

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 20, BY LOCAL 63, NEW YORK, ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DAILY LABOR PAPER IN ITALIAN.

Whereas, our fellow workers of Italian origin have now reached a stage of industrial organization that has made them a strong and compelling factor in the labor movement of this country; and

Whereas, in order to better carry on their propaganda among the two million working men and working women who speak the Italian language and are still unorganized, and, therefore, a great menace to the welfare and future of the toiling masses, they are now about to start a daily paper which shall be the organ and mouthpiece of the hopes and aspirations of the working class and shall fight for its ultimate emancipation from wage slavery;

Be It, Therefore, Resolved, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in convention assembled, hereby endorses this initiative of our Italian workers and pledges its moral and material support to the establishment of such a newspaper, and calls upon all labor organizations to do likewise.

P. ARNONE,
F. BELLANCA,
G. VASTANO,
D. DI NARDO.

Italian Delegation of New York.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the recommendation of the Resolution Committee. Are you ready for the question?

This resolution was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 50, ON POLITICAL ACTION, BY LOCAL 63, NEW YORK.

Whereas, it is a proven fact that political power when in the hands of the working class is a strong weapon in the struggle against capitalism, and

Whereas, Socialist victories at the polls have given new courage and inspiration to the working class for Socialism, be it

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Resolved, That this convention urge its local unions throughout the country to work, support and vote for the candidates of the Socialist party in the coming State and Congressional elections.

LOCAL 63, A. C. W. OF A.

Paul Arnone,
B. Romano,
G. Vastano,
A. Bellanca,
D. Di Nardo.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and moves its adoption. This resolution was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 46, ON MOONEY AND BILLINGS, BY LOCALS 142 AND 161.

Whereas, there are two labor leaders in San Francisco in jail, Thomas Mooney, sentenced to die, and Warren K. Billings, sentenced to life imprisonment, for crimes they never committed, and

Whereas, it will be one of the greatest blows to organized labor in America if both these sentences should be carried out, and

Whereas, such an act of injustice has already been committed by hanging four labor leaders in Chicago many years ago, therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention ask for a new trial for Mooney and Billings, so that they may have a chance to prove their innocence.

H. TAYLOR, LOCAL 142.

B. INDYKE, LOCAL 161.

Committee recommends its adoption, and that telegrams be sent to President Wilson, the Governor of California, Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

President HILLMAN: You heard the recommendation of the Committee and the motion for its adoption. Are you ready for the question?

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—The remarks I want to make now are not so much for the purpose of informing those who are here—I know that you are all familiar with the Mooney case—but for the purpose of having this go on our record, so that if any one should have occasion to run across it in the future, let him know our true feelings in the matter. The Mooney case is different from all other such cases in at least this one respect. There have been many cases that are usually called labor cases—charges against representatives of the labor movement, and attempts by the representatives of capitalism, either to imprison them for a long time or to bring them on the gallows. But this is the first time where the innocence of the people involved has been proven so conclusively, and the attempt of the conspirators to secure their conviction by all possible means, not stopping at perjury or anything else, has likewise been proven so conclusively that we have prominent men in this country, not connected with the labor movement, raising their voices in behalf of these people. And we have this peculiar situation: The President of the United States intercedes in behalf of Mooney, sends a telegram to the California Governor, urging a new trial for him, and lends his support—the full support of his great prestige—to a committee that has made a special investigation upon his order, and that committee's report shows that there was a foul conspiracy carried out against Mooney and his colleagues. And we have, on the other hand, that disgraceful spectacle of fourteen official representatives of organized labor in that very city publicly and officially giving their support to Prosecuting Attorney Fickert in a campaign for his recall. It was with the support of these traitors to organized labor that Fickert won out in the recall election at the time that Mooney and the others are struggling for their lives. We have the shameful demonstration of the helplessness of the labor movement in this country, that when the President of the United States raises his voice and he says that "Mooney is innocent, and I lend the power of my prestige to ask for him a new trial so that he may go free because of his innocence," official representatives of the labor movement call upon the workingmen in that very city to stand by the man who was battling to bring them on the gallows and they won out. It is not only a case where we have to stand by men and women of our own class—to stand by them and defend them against any attempt that might be made upon their liberties or their lives, but it is a case where we have to make the demonstration as great, as strong, as powerful, as impressive as possible, so that those traitors may be held up to the condemnation of the working

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class and that the liberation of Mooney should not be only the liberation of that one human being and the others who are with him in jail in San Francisco, but that it should at the same time also be a vindication of the intelligence of the working class, repudiating the traitors, and holding them up to the condemnation and ridicule of the working class of today and of the working class that is to come. And let this demonstration also be one of the great factors which will, in the very near future, achieve the emancipation of the American labor movement from all the traitors, from all the enemies within who are now holding the labor movement under their heel. (Great applause.)

President HILLMAN: Are there any further remarks? You heard the recommendation of the committee.

This recommendation was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 15, ON NEEDLE TRADES DEPARTMENT, BY LOCAL 63.

Be it resolved that this convention orders the incoming General Executive Board to initiate a movement to form a needle trades department in the clothing industry; and that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Journeymen Tailors' Union, the Cap Makers' Union and the Furriers' International Union be invited to co-operate.

It is the experience of every organizer when he goes for organization work in cities where there is no organization, that lack of co-operation, on the part of the above-mentioned International Unions, makes it much more difficult to bring the tailors into the union; therefore, if a needle trade department would be established not only would we have a 100 per cent organization, but we would get better results, and by doing so we would establish one big industrial union in the garment industry in the United States and Canada.

PAUL ARNONE,
B. ROMANO,
F. BELLANCA,
G. VASTANO,
D. DI NARDO.

The committee recommends that this matter be referred to the incoming G. E. B. (Applause.)

Delegate RIGER: Brother Chairman and Delegates—I believe that a resolution of such great importance should be accepted by the convention without referring it to the General Executive Board. Even if this resolution is never to be put in practice, let the outside world know that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America believes in industrial unionism, and is ready to practice it.

Delegate RABINOWITZ: If this resolution is adopted here, will that mean it is adopted in principle and sent to the General Executive Board for action?

President HILLMAN: The resolution, as it reads, mentions the names of the organizations which are connected with the American Federation of Labor. The recommendation is that this whole matter be referred to the General Executive Board. I wish to say for the benefit of the delegates that we have time and again gone on record in favor of a needle trades organization. Not only that, we have made an attempt in that direction which, unfortunately, failed.

The committee recommends that this matter be referred to the incoming General Executive Board. Any further remarks?

Delegate RABINOWITZ: I move to amend that we adopt the resolution in principle and refer it to the General Executive Board for action.

This was seconded.

Delegate BECKERMAN: Brother Chairman and Brothers—I believe that the amendment is more satisfactory than the actual recommendation of the committee. Of course, it takes more than one party to strike a bargain. What I mean to say is that this convention should go on record as favoring a needle trade organization. I believe that that in itself will create somewhat of a sentiment and the sentiment may develop into something concrete. The fact is, that the only thing that interferes with a proposition of this kind is something that is entirely artificial, and that is the fact that those organizations are affiliated with the A. F. of L. But I believe it is advisable for this convention to go on record favoring this. At least let us start something. Let us initiate this. For this reason I support the amendment that we

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go on record favoring the idea and leave it to the G. E. B. if they see any possible way of carrying the thing through. (Applause.)

Delegate GOODMAN, of Local No. 2: I am in favor of it.

Delegate ARNONE: I want to inform you that the Resolutions Committee favors the proposition in principle, and the reason why we refer it to the General Executive Board is that we believed that some time in the near future the other organizations may also take up this matter. This is the opinion of the committee. And I don't see the necessity of the amendment at all. The moment you endorse the resolution you endorse the principle of one industrial union in the needle industry. That is the way I understand it.

President HILLMAN: We have already endorsed the needle trades' organization time and again. The resolution itself would not carry the meaning that we reaffirm it at this convention. The amendment reaffirms and instructs the G. E. B. to act accordingly.

The amendment was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 55, ON INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY, BY LOCAL 3, NEW YORK.

Whereas, new machinery is being introduced in our industry more rapidly now than ever before, and

Whereas, the introduction of this new machinery is increasing the unemployment among our members, thereby causing severe suffering to them and also to our organization, therefore be it

Resolved, That this Third Biennial Convention goes on record in favor of reducing the hours of labor in proportion with the introduction of such new machinery. If the introduction of this new machinery will only apply to one particular branch of the trade the hours of labor for that particular branch of the trade should be reduced proportionately, thereby safeguarding our members from lack of work.

LOCAL 3, A. C. W. OF A.

Alex Cohen,
S. Weinstein,
M. Goldstein,
C. Revayel,
L. Necrenburg.

(This was received with great applause.)

Delegate GOODMAN: Brother President, may I make a correction. We have introduced a resolution calling for a forty-four-hour week, which was brought in from Local 2, and the committee has not reported on that.

President HILLMAN: You may get it later.

Delegate REVAYEL: Do I understand that the committee recommends that the hours should be reduced to 44 hours for the machinery workers as well?

Chairman of Committee: Yes.

Delegate REVAYEL: Brother President and Delegates: I am in full accord that the reduction of hours is a desirable thing, but the question of machinery is a different proposition entirely. As you all know, there is a pressing machine by which one man does the work of four. There is a cutting machine whereby three or four cutters are replaced by one. There is also a basting machine that takes away work from four men. Now, if this would be a question of only the reduction of four hours I don't think that this would solve the problem. Therefore I appeal to the delegates that this question of machinery be taken separately. (Applause.)

Delegate FRIEDMAN: I am asked by the delegates of the cutters to explain to this convention why the cutters did not put in resolutions for the 44 hour week.

President HILLMAN: That is not the subject for discussion at this time. (Laughter.) Are you for or against this resolution?

Delegate FRIEDMAN: We are in favor of this resolution.

Delegate RABINOWITZ, of Local 144: I am in favor of the resolution as read that the 44 hour week be accepted. If it is a question of machinery, I fortunately or unfortunately happen to be a machine presser myself, and I know from experience with the pressers that although we have a 48 hour week, we have never worked 48 hours so far. We always work less than that. I believe that this organization should see to it that the people in the trade make a living. I believe that this resolution should be adopted without making any distinction whether it is pressers, cutters or others.

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Delegate BECKERMAN: I cannot understand the logic of any delegate who tries to separate the reduction of hours and says that the introduction of machinery is a different question. Now I quite agree with any delegate that if some machine were introduced that makes it possible to do the work four times as fast, that if you could possibly do it, reduce the hours to one-quarter and establish the 12 hour week and keep up with it (laughter and applause). But unfortunately it is not quite as easy to get it as it is to say it on the floor. And that is the only reason why I disagree with the delegates who believe that machinery is a different proposition. In fact we have not as yet got the 44 hour week. And I believe it was made very plain by the committee that before you can get the 44 hours you have got to work up an education for it. You have got to prepare the minds of the members and of the public and then prepare the minds of the manufacturers. I believe if this convention goes on record for the 44 hour week we are making splendid progress. Let us try to pass resolutions where there is a possibility of putting them into effect, and not merely pass resolutions for the pleasure of passing resolutions. I say that the 44 hour week is a goal for which we ought to work, and I think that when we reach the convention two years from now we will have the 44 hour week in our trade. (Applause.)

Delegate NEWMAN of Local No. 40: I would like to address the convention in Yiddish.

President HILLMAN: I am sorry, but it against the rules, you will have to speak in English.

(Delegate Newman expressed himself in favor of considering this machinery proposition separately.)

President HILLMAN: Even if you have not convinced me on that question, you have convinced me that you can express yourself in English.

Delegate ISOWITZ: We took into consideration the fact that if we shorten the hours that would mean more employment for other people. The less hours we work the more work there will be for the people. Our organization is in favor of machinery. Give us all the machinery that is possible and we are going to shorten our hours. (Applause.)

Delegate WISE: Mr. Chairman and Brothers—A brother who works on the machine says he is fortunately or unfortunately a presser, and he has not felt that the machine has done us any harm.

President HILLMAN: Let me explain to you what he said. He said that since he has been working on the machine he never worked forty-eight hours in a week; that he is working thirty hours. But the price is fixed so that he makes in thirty hours what he would have otherwise made in 48 hours.

Delegate WISE: I am coming to that. I understand that. He said that he never works 48 hours and is making a nice living by the machine in 30, and he did not feel any harm from the machine. But I say it is very unfortunate for the people who are kept out of a job by the machine, even if he works only 30 hours. You have three pressers put out of work, as the machine does the work of four men. We have many people who are starving on account of the machine. And I say we ought to accept that resolution separately and see what we can do with that particular branch of the machinery. We have machines that are throwing out of work three-quarters of the pressers. For that reason, I say, we ought to accept that resolution separately.

Delegate DE LUCA: I believe that the question of the machine is not put in a proper light by the resolution. Reducing the hours where machines are taking the places of the men, and especially on the pressing machines, I think should be considered as a separate question. I am in favor of the resolution as brought in.

Delegate WEINSTEIN: We have here two resolutions in one. One is with reference to the 44 hour week and the other is the machinery question. The machinery is a separate question. The 44 hour week is a good thing. We will have more work for the workingmen. In the uniform shops we have five pressers making 2,000 coats a day, which is enough for 10 or 15 or 20 pressers. That is a separate question. I move to amend that this question should be put separately, the 44 hours separate and the machinery separate.

President HILLMAN: If there is no objection, we will simply take out that particular resolution which has been given in by the pressers of Local 3. We will act on all the other resolutions in connection with the 44 hour week. I will send this resolution back to the committee on resolutions to bring in a separate report on that.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Resolutions on the 44 Hour Week.

The following are the resolutions submitted by the various delegations on the 44 hour week:

RESOLUTION NO. 35, BY LOCAL 2, NEW YORK.

Whereas, this new machinery and new speeding up methods of production increase unemployment, be it

Resolved, that this convention goes on record to start a campaign for the establishment of a forty-four hour working week.

BASTERS' AND TAILORS' BRANCH, LOCAL 2.

Joe Goodman, Chairman,
Harry Schypps, Secretary.

RESOLUTION NO. 1, BY LOCAL 51, BALTIMORE, MD.

Whereas, the 44-hour week has already been established in one part of the country by our organization, and whereas new development in machinery and new system of production shorten the season in the industry and speed up the wage workers in the shop; be it

Resolved, that this convention goes on record to begin a general agitation and legislate a 44-hour week for the clothing workers in the United States and Canada.

**PH. DE LUCA,
U. DE DOMINICIS.**

RESOLUTION NO. 18, BY THE JOINT BOARD OF THE CHILDREN'S CLOTHING TRADES, NEW YORK.

Whereas, the conditions in the children's clothing trades have reached a point where, in order to safeguard the health of the workers, it is most essential to shorten the working hours; and

Whereas, the system of the so-called "section-work" has developed to such an extent that the worker is compelled to keep pace with a breakneck speed; and

Whereas, the worker must bend all the energy within him to keep up this impossible pace thus undermining his health; and

Whereas, a statistical investigation plainly proves that a large number of our members are afflicted with tuberculosis, the dread disease which is caused by this inhuman overwork; be it, therefore,

Resolved, that a shorter workday be established and that 44 hours constitute a working week.

JOINT BOARD OF THE CHILDREN'S CLOTHING TRADES, NEW YORK.

RESOLUTION NO. 4, BY LOCALS 16, 186 AND 262, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, the introduction of new machinery in the clothing industry is being made very rapidly, and

Whereas, through the introduction of this machinery an artificial unemployment of our members and the workers in the industry is being created, be it

Resolved, that this convention goes on record to work for the establishment of a 44-hour week and instruct the General Executive Board to bring same into life by presenting this demand to all the clothing centers in the industry.

**DELEGATES OF LOCALS 16, 186 AND 262, VEST MAKERS'
UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK.**

RESOLUTION NO. 5, BY LOCAL 63, NEW YORK.

Be it resolved that this convention goes on record in favor of establishing 44 hours a week work in the clothing industry, and that a general agitation be started at once throughout the country.

DELEGATES OF LOCAL 63, NEW YORK CITY.

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In place of all resolutions bearing on the 44-hour week the committee recommends the following:

"Be it resolved that this convention goes on record for establishing the 44-hour week and that the General Executive Board start an agitation throughout the country."

Delegate MARCOVITZ: I favor the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee not so much for the reason that we want to reduce the hours to 44 a week in order to have more people employed, not so much because we want to shorten the hours of labor in order to have more time to go around idle, but I claim that under the section system today, with the new machinery, the worker must speed up in order to keep up with his fellow workers alongside of him working at a high speed. That must affect the health of the workers. At the convention in Rochester we adopted the 48-hour week. We were not convinced then as we are today that we could put it into effect. Today we are more confident. Every one of us is confident that at the next convention we will be able to report that the 44-hour week is an established fact. I hope that the General Executive Board will do all that is possible to bring about the 44-hour week in our industry.

Delegate LEVINE of Rochester: It seems to me that we should adopt the recommendation of the committee, and, as I understand the delegate from Local No. 3—

President HILLMAN: Pardon me, that resolution has been withdrawn. The machinery question will be handled separately, in order to prevent confusion. As I understand it, Local No. 3 brought in a separate request to the convention. Now let us judge it on its merits and not connect it with any other proposition. We are only discussing the 44-hour week question now.

All resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

Delegate GOODMAN: I recommend that the 44-hour week apply to our officers also (laughter and applause).

President HILLMAN: A day or a week?

Delegate GOODMAN: The question is whether they work by machine.

President HILLMAN: That the delegates of the convention will have an opportunity to find out before they get through.

I wish to say to you delegates that this resolution now passed has more significance than resolutions as we passed them at our previous conventions. When I announced the vote saying that ayes seemed to have it and so ordered, I felt that this convention has more to say whether the 44-hour week will be enforced than any element outside. I want to bring that home to you so that you may realize the great possibility. I want to bring that home to you so that you may realize the great responsibility. I want to bring to you the same warning that Delegate Beckerman brought. We have passed the stage where we are simply passing resolutions of what we would like to have. The resolutions we are passing at our conventions today are what we must and can have. I would like the delegates in their further deliberations not to pass resolutions that will convey the impression that we never intended to have them put into effect. I do hope that when we convene at our next convention, your officers, whether ourselves or the other officers elected, will be in a position to report to you the same as the board reported to you today, "you have given us a command to bring the 48-hour week and it is now an accomplished fact." I hope that we will be able to say likewise two years from now, "The 44-hour week as ordered by the convention in the city of Baltimore has been enforced." (Applause.)

RESOLUTION NO. 56, ON THE USE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AT CONVENTION, BY LOCAL 3, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, our organization is composed of members of various nationalities, and Whereas, delegates attending our convention are not always able to express their thoughts otherwise than in their own tongue, and

Whereas, this hinders many active and experienced men from participating in the deliberations of the convention and giving us the benefit of their experience, therefore be it

Resolved, that the delegates should have the right to express their opinions in their tongue and same should be interpreted to the delegates of the convention.

LOCAL 3, A. C. W. OF A.

Alex Cohen, S. Weinstein, M. Goldin, L. Revayel, L. Neerenberg.

Committee recommends non-concurrence.

Recommendation accepted.

(After a few announcements were made the meeting was adjourned at 6:55 p. m.)

Sixth Session

Thursday, May 16, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m. Chairman Hillman presiding. Secretary Schlossberg read the following communications to the convention.

Boston, Mass., May 16, 1918.

Congratulations. Tailors strengthening American labor movement through efforts of Amalgamated. Long may it live.

GEORGE ROEWER, JR.

New York, N. Y., May 16, 1918.

We, the employees of Plumack's Shop, 7 Chatham Square, New York City, greet you the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and hope for a unanimous vote in favor of the forty-four-hour week.

L. OAKLANDER, Chairman Plumack's Shop.

Boston, Mass., May 15, 1918.

The members of Local 25, A. C. W. of A., of Boston, send fraternal greetings and hope convention will result in much good to all members.

H. W. EISBERG, Secretary.

Worcester, Mass., May 16, 1918.

Heartiest congratulations and best wishes for success from Local 174, Worcester. Individual and collective thanks to L. Marcovitz for his splendid work for Worcester Pants Makers.

SAMUEL GOULD, Business Agent.

REPORT OF ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

By Delegate Alex Cohen

RESOLUTION NO. 60, ON ORGANIZERS FOR PANTS INDUSTRY, BY NEW YORK PANTSMAKERS' DELEGATION.

Whereas, the pants trade at the present time is scattered in various parts of the country, and

Whereas, this branch of our industry is in certain respects different from other branches of the clothing industry, and

Whereas, we are striving to maintain the present standards and conditions prevailing in the City of New York, and

Whereas, new pants factories are constantly springing up in various country towns where the working conditions are most miserable, and

Whereas, the workers in those places are at the mercy of the clothing manufacturers who exploit those poor slaves, men and women, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that the incoming General Executive Board stands instructed by the Third Biennial Convention, assembled in the City of Baltimore, to appoint not less than two special organizers for the purpose of organizing the pants industry all over the country.

PANTSMAKERS' DELEGATION OF GREATER NEW YORK.

A. Miller, H. Goldoft, D. Nirenberg, D. Weiss, N. Sussnick, L. Shapiro, J. Yelowitz, D. Isaacs, H. Rubin, B. Weiss, H. Novodvor, J. Newman, Lorenzo De Maria, Thomas Frisa, M. Mascalò.

The committee has considered the resolution and we recommend this favorably to the General Executive Board. (Applause.)

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President HILLMAN: The recommendation of the committee is reference to the General Executive Board to put it into effect if possible.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 64, ON CUTTERS' ORGANIZERS, BY CUTTERS' DELEGATION.

Whereas, there are many cutters throughout the various clothing centers in the country, such as Chicago, Rochester, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston and several other cities, who are still unorganized, and whose wages are so low that there is danger that they may undermine the conditions of our members, be it

Resolved, that the General Executive Board is hereby authorized and instructed to put on sufficient cutters' organizers to remedy this evil.

A. Beckerman, Local 4; J. P. Friedman, Local 4; Meyer Senter, Local 4; H. Jacobson, Local 4; Abe Silverman, Local 9; Louis Feinberg, Local 9; Jack Kroll, Local 61; S. Geier, Local 61; Frank Petrick, Local 61; A. Wells, Local 116; A. Feldman, Local 15.

The committee recommends reference to the G. E. B. with the understanding that the Board should not confine itself to cutters. The best men available should be appointed.

President HILLMAN: The recommendation of the committee is that this matter be referred to the incoming G. E. B. for action. You have all heard the motion. Are you ready for the question?

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO 67, ON ORGANIZATION OF PALM BEACH WORKERS, BY LOCAL 157, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

We, the Palm Beach Workers, of Local 157, affiliated with the New York Joint Board, request the Third Biennial Convention to organize the palm beach workers throughout the country. Our desire to be organized was constantly spurned by the "Garment Workers." Our dreams were realized only when the Amalgamated was born. It was the New York Joint Board who organized us, won for us humane conditions, established an eight-hour day instead of ten and eleven hours a day, but our conditions are not secure if the rest of the workers in our industry remain unorganized. With machinery daily introduced in our trade, which makes the work less skillful and tends to bring in those elements which undermine the conditions of the organized shops and threaten our very existence, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that we ask the delegates to the Third Biennial Convention to give the matter of the Palm Beach Workers earnest and proper consideration.

MORRIS GENUD,

EMMA SCHAPIRO, Local 157.

The committee recommends reference to the G. E. B.

Delegate SHAPIRO: I would like to speak in Yiddish.

President HILLMAN: No, sister, I am sorry we can not do that; it is against the rules of the organization.

Is there any objection to the recommendation of the committee?

There was none and the resolution was unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 63, ON POLISH ORGANIZER, BY LOCAL 69, BALTIMORE.

Whereas, a great number of Polish workers in the clothing industry are unorganized, and

Whereas, organized Polish clothing workers in the Amalgamated wish to hear from time to time about our organization, therefore be it

Resolved, that the General Executive Board put in the field a Polish General Organizer with instructions to visit every Polish center in the clothing industry of the United States and Canada.

F. J. BARTOSZ, Delegate Local 69.

The committee recommends concurrence.

President HILLMAN: The committee recommends concurrence with the resolution. The resolution was unanimously carried.

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RESOLUTION NO. 62, ON BOHEMIAN ORGANIZER, BY LOCAL 230, BALTIMORE.

Whereas, a great number of Bohemian workers are unorganized, and

Whereas, organized Bohemian workers in the Amalgamated wish to hear from time to time about our organization, therefore be it

Resolved, that the General Executive Board put in the field a Bohemian organizer with instructions to visit every Bohemian center in the clothing industry of the United States and Canada.

JOHN DRASAL, Local 230.

The committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

President HILLMAN: Delegates, you see the committee is very liberal. After we get through I believe we will need about one hundred and fifty more organizers.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 61, ON ORGANIZATION OF THE CLOTHING WORKERS OF CHICAGO, BY CHICAGO JOINT BOARD.

Whereas, the Chicago Clothing Workers, notwithstanding the memorable strikes of 1915 and 1916, are only partly organized, and

Whereas, the clothing manufacturers of Chicago, the worst enemies of organized labor in our industry, through their association are still able to retain their autocratic power over the lives of tens of thousands of our fellow workers, which constitutes a stumbling block for the advancement of our organization not only in Chicago but elsewhere, and

Whereas, the Chicago Joint Board, conscious of its responsibility and duty, has determined to put an end to such a state of affairs, and is now conducting an intensive campaign for organization, and

Whereas, because it is a known fact that the manufacturers of Chicago are not going to yield easily, therefore be it

Resolved, that the Third Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A. hereby instructs the general officers to do all in their power to assist the Chicago Joint Board until the City of Chicago, the second largest clothing center in the United States and Canada, is completely organized.

CHICAGO JOINT BOARD, A. C. W. OF A.

Hyman Isovitz,
Samuel Geier.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 2, ON ORGANIZATION WORK IN ROCHESTER, BY LOCAL 14.

Whereas, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was confronted with a serious problem, endangering the grand achievements which it has won for its members in all the clothing centers of America, because of the lack of organization in the great clothing center of Rochester, N. Y., and

Whereas, the clothing manufacturers throughout the country have used Rochester, while unorganized, as a means to force lower standards of life on our brothers elsewhere, and

Whereas, the clothing workers of Rochester are beginning to realize this fact, are awakening to organization activity and are determined to build up a powerful organization which will bring the twelve thousand clothing workers into the ranks of OUR GREAT AMALGAMATED, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America instructs the General Executive Board to give all possible assistance to the organization work in Rochester in order to free the men and women employed in the Rochester clothing industry from physical and moral enslavement due to the accursed "Benevolent System" which the Rochester clothing manufacturers are imposing upon their workers.

JACOB J. LEVINE, Member Local 14.

The committee wishes to recommend the following in place of the resolution just read.

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RESOLUTION NO. 28.

Whereas, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America through its past efforts has proven to the Clothing Workers of America what it is willing to do in order to improve working conditions;

Whereas, its powers will be limited in proportion to the cities that remain unorganized, and

Whereas, the fact that clothing workers in the City of Rochester are unorganized means not only suffering for them but is also a constant menace to the grand achievements through hard and bitter struggles by the tens of thousands of our members throughout the country, therefore be it

Resolved, that the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America decides to urgently call upon the clothing workers of Rochester to respond to the call of our organization with all the manhood and womanhood that is left in them from the accursed "Welfare System" that Rochester manufacturers have inflicted upon the twelve thousand men and women of that city.

Be It Further Resolved, that the G. E. B. stands instructed to look after the needs of the Rochester clothing workers and is authorized to take any and all steps that they will deem necessary for the purpose of bringing the clothing industry of the City of Rochester under the banner of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and

Be It Further Resolved, that the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, assembled on May 13, 1918, in Baltimore, Md., pledges its full moral and financial support to the men and women employed in the clothing industry of Rochester, N. Y., in the struggle for a better and nobler life that can only be accomplished through organization.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the committee's report. The committee reports a substitute resolution.

Delegate LEVINE of Rochester: Brother Chairman and fellow delegates: I have no objection to the substitute. What I would like to call the attention of the delegates to is that the resolution does not consider that this is a question concerning not only Rochester clothing workers. If this resolution is adopted I would like to call your attention to the fact that it concerns every organized clothing center in the United States and Canada. The clothing workers of Rochester are the lowest paid, I believe, although they are making the finest clothing, and the manufacturers are beginning to use Rochester to undermine conditions elsewhere. There is also the possibility, if Rochester should remain unorganized, that in the near future Baltimore will be affected. To do justice to the General Officers, I wish to state that in the past four years the general office has done everything in every way possible to organize Rochester. But the very fact that they did not succeed in establishing a powerful organization in Rochester proves that what has been done was not enough. Perhaps some may say it is the fault of the Rochester tailors. I am not going to discuss as to who is to be blamed. The causes should have been considered. But at the present day Rochester clothing workers are awakening to these facts and are determined to build up an organization. The propaganda work which has been going on in the last four years has not been wasted. With the aid of our present organizer the most conservative and reactionary people are awakening today and coming into the organization. I hope and trust that the General Executive Board will do all in its power to maintain the tradition of carrying out this resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION NO. 9, ON ABOLITION OF TENEMENT HOUSE WORK. BY LOCAL 63, NEW YORK.

Resolved, that this convention instructs the Joint Boards and District Councils that in the future, when settlements are made with manufacturers, they should insist that tenement house work should be completely abolished.

The committee recommends concurrence with this resolution. (Applause.)

Delegate ARNONE: I wish to state that in the question of tenement house work, the Amalgamated is about two thousand miles behind. I say that this convention once and for all should make it their business to make the manufacturers understand that tenement house work belongs to the Middle Ages. In a city like New York or a city like Philadelphia, while many tailors may be walking the streets there is plenty of work for the tenement houses. Now, I say if our organization would put

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a stop to it we would establish a condition where the unemployed tailors in the city could get work. I say that from now on when any settlement is to be made the manufacturers should be made to know that there is no more tenement house work to be done. I appeared in Albany before a special committee of the legislature. The politicians there told me that "We know why you don't want the tenement house work, it is because you want the men to get all the work." They don't realize that we are looking after the sanitary control of the garment industry.

The Amalgamated has done a lot for the Italian workers. If the Amalgamated will put a stop to the tenement house work it will remove the worst sort of exploitation. (Applause.)

Delegate EISEN: Brother Chairman and Delegates—I am not against this resolution, but I would like the delegates not to be under a wrong impression that the Amalgamated had not done anything to abolish the tenement house work.

President HILLMAN: Delegate, you are speaking to representatives of the Amalgamated. They know exactly what is going on.

Delegate EISEN: I feel, though, that this is an unjust indictment against the Joint Boards and District Councils. I feel that in Baltimore the District Council has succeeded in abolishing at least 75 percent of this tenement house work.

Brother COHEN: Brother President, I wish to say that the impression made by Brother Arnone in order to be emphatic and to impress upon you the importance of this resolution was not the right one. Brother Arnone, having been long with the organization, knows that it was due to conditions prevailing in the City of New York that tenement house work was not abolished. It was not in any way due to the unwillingness on the part of any man in the Joint Board or the Joint Board as a whole. If I remember correctly, Brother Arnone was the head of a committee to work for the abolition of tenement house work and that might have been the reason it was not abolished. (Interrupted by laughter and applause.) But as far as the resolution is concerned, there is no doubt that we want the resolution adopted. We all wish to see tenement house work abolished.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 48, ON WASHABLE SAILOR SUIT MAKERS, BY LOCAL 169.

Whereas, a great part of the Washable Sailor Suit Trade is unorganized, and

Whereas, many attempts were made to unionize these shops, and

Whereas, thus far all attempts were unsuccessful, be it therefore

Resolved, that this convention endorse a general strike in the Boys' Washable Sailor Suit Trade in New York City and give it moral and financial support.

LOCAL 169, A. C. W. OF A.

Inasmuch as Local 169 is a part of the Children's Clothing Joint Board of New York, we recommend that this resolution be referred to the Children's Clothing Joint Board of New York to act in co-operation with the general office.

President HILLMAN: You heard the recommendation of the committee. The recommendation is that it be referred to the Children's Clothing Joint Board and they should receive the co-operation of the incoming G. E. B.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 22, ON ORGANIZING THE OVERALL WORKERS, BY BOSTON DELEGATION.

Whereas, the overall manufacturing industry in the United States and Canada is practically unorganized, and

Whereas, the working conditions and wages in this large industry are far below the normal standards, and

Whereas, the overall workers are desirous of organizing under the banner of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that the General Executive Board be and is hereby instructed and authorized to appoint general organizers for the overall workers of the entire country at the earliest possible opportunity.

(Signed): L. Marcovitz, S. Zorn, L. Lebovitz, J. Blume, F. Lerman, N. Biller, J. Palaimo, J. Pennini, T. Morelli, H. E. Sher, D. Gilman.

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We have discussed this resolution in connection with Resolution No. 19 and I shall read to you now Resolution No. 19.

RESOLUTION NO. 19, ON ORGANIZATION OF OVERALL WORKERS, BY LOCAL 17, NEW YORK.

The following resolution was passed at a special meeting held on April 9, 1918, at 56 Orchard Street, New York City:

Whereas, it is essential for the A. C. W. of A. that every branch of the men's garment industry should be organized, and

Whereas, there are thousands of unorganized men and women employed in the overall making industry in the United States toiling under miserable conditions, and

Whereas, the unorganized overall workers being underpaid and working long hours are detrimental to the interests of the overall workers organized under the banner of the A. C. W. of A., therefore be it

Resolved, by the Third Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A., convened at Baltimore, Md., that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to inaugurate an organization campaign among the unorganized overall workers of the country, and be it further

Resolved, that the New York schedule of prices is to be consulted when making price lists on overalls.

(Seal)

MORRIS DUBINSKY, President.
ELKIN BERON, Secretary.
AB. KRONICK, Delegate.

The Committee recommended concurrence to cover also Resolution 22.

RESOLUTION NO. 65, ON RUSSIAN ORGANIZER, BY LOCAL 20.

Whereas, there are between two and three thousand Russian workers in the ranks of the Children's Clothing Trades, and many thousands more throughout the country in our industry, and

Whereas, these members are greatly handicapped in their union activities by the fact that even our constitution in the membership books is not printed in their own language, be it

Resolved, that the General Office publish a weekly journal in the Russian language and also print due books in the Russian language, and be it further

Resolved, that in order to hold the interest of the Russian workers in our organization a Russian organizer be appointed for that purpose.

JULIUS POWERS, Local 30.

We recommend that the constitution be printed in the Russian language and that if possible a Russian organizer be appointed. The matter of publishing a paper we recommend to refer to the General Executive Board.

President HILLMAN: You heard the committee's recommendation. I wish to state to those delegates who are directly interested in this not to be under the impression that these resolutions will automatically send in organizers. It is a very hard task to find proper and suitable organizers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 38, ON ORGANIZER FOR CLOTHING CLERKS' UNION, BY LOCAL 158.

Whereas, the members of the Wholesale Clothing Clerks' Union know what lack of organization meant for them in the past, and

Whereas, the members of our Union are now ready and willing to revolt against conditions that are intolerable for enlightened human beings,

We now call upon this convention to assist us in building up a strong union to combat the evils of our trade, so that in the future we will be in a position to not only help ourselves, but also help any part of our organization that may ask for our support in the struggle against their exploiters.

(Signed) HARRY W. GREENBERG, Organizer.

The committee recommend this to the General Executive Board for consideration.

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President HILLMAN: The recommendation is that this matter be referred to the General Executive Board.

...

Delegate GREENBERG: Brother Chairman and delegates: This question has arisen several times before the General Executive Board. The resolution brought before the delegates at this session was that we have no paid official or organizer to conduct a campaign in the clothing industry, which involves from two to three thousand clerks. Out of those two or three thousand clerks we have about three hundred and fifty members in our organization. There are no paid officials to go out agitating in the various clothing houses to induce the men to join our organization. We, therefore, sent in this resolution so that the General Executive Board shall be able to put in an organizer, one of the members or a delegate from our organization, to organize the entire industry of the wholesale clothing clerks in New York. There is no other city that has clothing clerks organized as the New York clerks have attempted. About ten years ago we attempted the same thing, but met with a failure. Today we are proud to say that we have been successfully conducting a very wonderful campaign in the trade. Only last week, according to yesterday's issue of the "Call," I have noticed a strike has been called in New York for an increase in wages and a forty-eight hour week, which strike was won within forty-eight hours' time. It is important that the Wholesale Clothing Clerks' Union keep up their good work and that the officials of the organization see to it that a delegate be elected and paid by the general office, if not fully, partly.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 68, ON ONE LOCAL IN EVERY CITY, BY LOCAL 69 BALTIMORE.

Whereas, we must admit that industrial organization only is effective in our shops, also that we are teaching for many years that the Amalgamated is organized industrially, but in Baltimore alone we have sixteen locals, and each local confines itself to its own trade and often blocks the way of the others; also every local has its own autonomy to decide or reject anything proposed by the central organization, therefore be it

Resolved, that the General Executive Board be instructed to start an agitation for one industrial local in every city, but members may be allowed to form nationality branches to hold meetings in their own language.

F. J. BARTOSZ, Delegate 69.

The committee recommends non-concurrence.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the report of the committee. The committee reports non-concurrence.

The report was unanimously carried.

Delegate ARNONE: I ask for the privilege of introducing a new resolution.

Delegate ISOWITZ: I object in view of the fact that we passed a rule—

President HILLMAN: Please, I will explain the rule. The rule is that a delegate may introduce a resolution if he secures the unanimous consent of the convention.

Delegate ISOWITZ: Well, I object.

President HILLMAN: The resolution cannot be introduced.

Delegate SENTER: I think that the resolution should be heard first and then objected to.

President HILLMAN: Well, the delegate objects before hearing what the resolution is. (Laughter.)

Delegate BECKERMAN: I would like information. I would like to know the reasons of the delegate, why he objects to the resolution before hearing it.

President HILLMAN: The delegate has a right to object without any reason. He has that privilege. (Laughter.)

At this point Delegate Isowitz withdrew his objection.

President HILLMAN: The objection has been withdrawn. Is there any other delegate in the house who wishes to object?

President HILLMAN: Permission has been granted for the introduction of the resolution. You will please give it to the assistant secretary.

Delegate COHEN: I want to explain to the delegates that I have a similar case.

President HILLMAN: Ask permission.

Delegate COHEN: This morning a delegate from New York arrived—

President HILLMAN: Delegate Cohen, you are now reporting as chairman of the Organization Committee, and this should not be brought up now.

Delegate COHEN: I ask the unanimous consent of the house for the introduction of a new resolution.

(There was no objection.)

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Assistant Secretary Potofsky hereupon read the following two new resolutions:

RESOLUTION NO. 106, ON ORGANIZATION OF CANVAS AND PAD MAKERS.
Referred to Committee on Resolution.

RESOLUTION NO. 107, BY DELEGATES FROM LOCALS 4, 8 AND 63, ON CHARTER FOR CLOTHING DRIVERS' UNION.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 107, by delegates from Locals 4, 8 and 63, on charter for Clothing Drivers' Union. Referred to same committee.

President HILLMAN: Delegate Eisen, on behalf of the Committee on Arrangements, wishes to make an announcement, which may be in connection with the postponement of our trip to Washington.

Delegate EISEN: Brother President and delegates: I wish to announce that at 11 o'clock machines will be here ready to take all delegates to Washington. We will start out from this hall at 11:30 and go to the Washington Monument, where a picture will be taken of all delegates. Then the delegates go back into the machines and proceed to tour Washington. They will stop at a lunchroom for lunch, then stop in a few different important places in Washington and then make a tour around the city and parks of Washington and proceed back to Baltimore to the Bohemian Hall, where an entertainment has been arranged for the delegates. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: We have very little time left for this session. I am asked to introduce a few representatives who were delegated to this convention for various purposes. I shall ask the speakers not to consume more than five minutes each, as I have to present three or four speakers before we adjourn this session.

The Jewish People's Relief Committee has delegated Mr. B. Zuckerman to address this convention on its behalf. I shall now introduce to you Mr. B. Zuckerman of the Jewish People's Relief Committee. (Applause.)

Address by Mr. B. Zuckerman.

(Translated from Yiddish.)

In the five minutes' time allotted me I shall be unable to tell you all I have to tell you on behalf of the Jewish People's Relief Committee.

In our last campaign the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America co-operated with the Jewish People's Relief Committee. Twenty-five thousand dollars was sent by the Amalgamated in New York for the War Relief Sufferers. It is true that a large part of the individual unions throughout the country participated in the local enterprises for the Jewish Relief in the various towns. It is also true that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America officially made all efforts last year to raise all the money they could for the war sufferers.

I don't want to dwell too long on the conditions of the Jews in the war countries. I am sure that most of you know it well, but I want you to remember, friends, that the work for the war sufferers is not only work that requires to be done during the war. I want you to know that one of our greatest problems will come after the war is ended. No one of us knows when the war will end. But as soon as the war will end a problem will arise for the Jews in all countries to reconstruct their ruined homes. There are various views as to how the community shall be reconstructed. In this respect the workers occupy a special position. The workers must be prepared and must be organized and, therefore, it is necessary that the Jewish unions—the organized Jewish workers—shall give more attention to the question of relief. I know you have very much to do. You are occupied with many problems concerning your own trade. But I want to call your attention, my friends, to the fact that the entire Jewish population of Poland, of Lithuania, of Galicia, of Roumania, may starve to death, so that after the war not a single Jewish soul may remain alive—if that should happen it may be that much will be missing from the spirit of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. What other organization can better take it upon itself than you to see that after the war everything should be done that the Jews in those countries may work out their own salvation and free themselves from charity. I ask you, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who have shown such remarkable revolutionary courage, to take a more active part in helping the war sufferers. I can not submit a resolution, but it will be a very good thing if you should remember

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that the relief fund must be made a permanent income. You can not content yourself with occasional contributions. You must not. If you should, the work will be occasional. Occasional work brings nothing. The Amalgamated must take upon itself systematic work that each member should in one way or another make his contribution to the war sufferers. Maybe the plan of one day's wages may be proper. In other organizations it worked well, and I think that you will have to find a way as to how to handle this problem and give your General Executive Board instructions how to handle it. I hope that in the coming year the Amalgamated will show its spirit in all parts of the work, and will show its great soul in the work of the relief of the Jewish war sufferers and contribute its share to the fund of the People's Relief Committee. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: We were supposed to have with us a few days ago Professor Ripley, of the Board of Labor Standards. He did not come here and the reason for his not coming here was our uniform department. When I say our uniform department I take in the organization of the cloakmakers as well as our own. Our organization had a strike in the City of Philadelphia and one of the largest employers of labor, Wanamaker & Brown, locked out several hundred of our members. I shall therefore give the five minutes that I would have given to Professor Ripley to Brother Hollander and Brother Carp, of the uniform department of the City of Philadelphia. (Applause.)

Address of Louis Hollander.

Brother President and Delegates: I shall try to make it in a minute and a quarter. That will be sufficient. The President called upon me to make a report or say a few words about the uniform situation in Philadelphia. I have been there now for only a few months. The Cloakmakers' Union in Philadelphia works in conjunction with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. There is no difference between the Cloakmakers' Union and the Amalgamated in Philadelphia. We knew that the employers were preparing themselves to give us trouble. We came down here last Wednesday to see President Hillman and Secretary Schlossberg to talk over the situation. After we received the advice of Brothers Hillman and Schlossberg we went back to Philadelphia. Then the Wanamaker and Brown lockout came. Through the influence of Brother Hillman we had in Philadelphia immediately, on the next day, Dr. Stone of Washington. We also received a telegram from Professor Ripley, the chief administrator, to be in New York. We were yesterday in New York to settle the Wanamaker & Brown lockout. Professor Ripley, by the way, explained that he would like to be at this convention but he had to go to Boston. I am glad to say that the Wanamaker & Brown lockout was settled by Professor Ripley.

We came back from New York yesterday and met with the strikers. They accepted the report and went back to work this morning.

Factories are being opened every day, and we will be in a position to control the uniform situation in Philadelphia I believe as well as in New York. I have been in Philadelphia only a few months, but my colleague, Brother Carp, of the Cloakmakers, has more to say, because he is a Philadelphia man. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: Brother Carp will use up whatever there is left of the five minutes. (Applause.)

Address of Brother Carp.

Brother Chairman, Sisters and Brother Delegates: If I had known that I would be here at this convention and had had time to prepare a report for the last six months' work of the uniform department in Philadelphia, I assure you you would be greatly interested. As you know the city of Philadelphia is the city of Brotherly Love, the cradle of liberty. But besides that Philadelphia also has some manufacturers who are making uniforms, and they know more about the jungle than about a union. We are now trying to unionize their factories. There are now quite a few manufacturers in Philadelphia who will tell you how it feels to force a fight on us. One manufacturer told us the other day: "If any manufacturer wants to have a fight with you, send his name to me and I will give him a good piece of advice." (Laughter and applause.)

President HILLMAN: We have yet a few minutes until the cars arrive and I shall call upon Comrade Trachtenberg from the Rand School. (Applause.)

Address of Alexander Trachtenberg.

Comrades and friends: I come here in behalf of the Rand School of Social Science,

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as you know, a Socialist and working class educational institution, devoted entirely to the education of the masses of the workers in order to prepare for more advanced and more cultured leaders and workers in the labor and Socialist movement. Two years ago I was in this very same hall sitting for two weeks and attending the American Federation of Labor Convention. I was here but an hour yesterday when I saw this convention of the Amalgamated presenting an entirely different spectacle. You had within that hour adopted resolutions endorsing the Socialist movement. Let us hope that the time is not far distant when we shall secure the endorsement of such a resolution by the American Federation of Labor. (Applause.) We hope because there are such organizations as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America who are the outstanding post in the social and revolutionary movement in this country. We, in the Rand School, look forward to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and similar organization, who are interested in the educational work, to further that revolutionary spirit. The old Marxians used to say that we must have millions in order to have revolution. In Russia it was not a question of numbers. It was a question of the degree of the revolutionary class consciousness that made the revolution possible. And it is the class consciousness of the working class in this country that will help make a revolution in America, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are on the road. They are the ones that are going to teach a lesson to the workers in the other industries, to inspire them with revolutionary spirit for revolutionizing industry. And so, although you are just one particle of the great labor movement in this country, because you are revolutionary, because you are class conscious, you represent everything there is in the labor movement as far as having a mission to perform in this world is concerned. Therefore, comrades, I wish in the name of the Rand School, a Socialist and revolutionary institution, to greet you and hope you will offer your co-operation, as you are already doing, because hundreds of your members are going to the school in New York, attending the classes, and I hope your organization as a whole will co-operate with the Rand School and offer whatever assistance you can, more or less financially, to promote the educational work among the labor and the Socialist movements of this country. I thank you. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: We have called upon the uniform department from the City of Philadelphia. I understand we have here also the manager of the City of Philadelphia, Brother Aldo Cursi.

Address of Aldo Cursi.

Mr. President and Delegates: Three or four fellows came around to me and suggested that I speak. I think that we could save the time. You have had speeches from Monday up to now, and it is a little bit too much. I will be very brief anyhow. Brothers Carp and Hollander have told you already of the good work that has been done in Philadelphia in the uniform department. I will tell you of the good work that you have done yesterday and today. When I go back to Philadelphia tonight I will tell the District Council of two good resolutions that you have passed, one about the 44-hour week and another one about raising the percentage equally among the workers. I did not like yesterday to speak on that question because I am not a delegate, but I surely was proud of that decision, because, unfortunately, I have seen at many times settlements made by which the better paid worker is better considered than the poorly paid worker, although the latter is the man that should be mostly considered. I am proud of that decision and we shall see to it that whenever any settlements are made we begin to build from the bottom up. The man who makes \$15, \$18 and \$20 a week must get \$5 quicker than the man who gets \$30 or \$35 per week.

Another question that gave us encouragement was the presence of Brother Carp at this meeting today. Because he represents the Cloakmakers' Union, and because these two organizations can do wonderful work, and because they will have a convention in a few days in the city of Boston. I think the resolution, that was brought on the floor that we must have only one union in the garment industry, will be carried in the city of Boston and before the next convention takes place we will have one convention of all the unions in the needle trades. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: The Committee on Resolutions will meet tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock sharp at Room 1330, Southern Hotel. I will ask the committees to be on time so that they do not interfere with our work.

Delegate POWERS of New York: I have received a resolution from my local union this morning and I ask for unanimous consent of the convention for its introduction. (No objection.)

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RESOLUTION NO. 108, THANKING GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, BY LOCAL 30,
NEW YORK CITY.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President HILLMAN: I see in the hall one of our old former members, one who was elected on the Board by the convention in Nashville, Tennessee, Brother Jacob Elstein from Syracuse. I will ask him to speak to the convention for a few minutes.

Address of Jacob Elstein.

Mr. President and Delegates: I am here this morning in behalf of a city which was one of the first to join you in the rebellion against the autocratic United Garment Workers of America, but it has been very much neglected by this organization. Up to the present time the organization has done very little to get that city into the ranks of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. I am here to say a few words to you on behalf of the city Syracuse. Syracuse, as some of you know, was at one time one of the strongholds of this United Garment Workers. We were 100 per cent. organized under the United Garment Workers at that time. Not because the workers loved the Garment Workers, but simply because the manufacturers were using the label, and so the workers were compelled to belong to the U. G. W. in order to keep their jobs. But the workers of Syracuse have done their utmost to do away with the label, because they knew that the label was detrimental to their interests and they wanted to get away from the United Garment Workers for the same reason. Now we have only about 10 per cent. of the union labels instead of 100 per cent. and we have the best opportunity to organize the city of Syracuse if we should try to. I can assure you that if this organization sent a man there for, at the most, two months, we could have 100 per cent. in the trade of Syracuse organized under the banner of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. What we need there is an organizer. The trade now is mostly in the hands of the Italian people, and they are all willing to become members of the Amalgamated, if we should try to bring them into the ranks.

I have been asked to come down here today and ask that you try and do whatever you possibly can in order to bring the city of Syracuse into the ranks of the Amalgamated.

It is true, there are only between 1,000 and 1,200 people employed in the trade, but nevertheless we want to see every city in the United States in the Amalgamated.

In conclusion, I want to thank you one and all for the privilege you have given me, and I hope you will do your best for Syracuse. Let us organize them in the Amalgamated. I thank you. (Applause.)

(The session adjourned at 11:20 a.m.)

Seventh Session

Friday Morning, May 17, 1918

The Convention was called to order at 9:45 a. m., President Hillman presiding. Secretary Schlossberg read the following communications to the convention:
President HILLMAN: Are any of the committees ready to report?

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

By Harry Cohen, Chairman

RESOLUTION NO. 39, ON A JEWISH HOMELAND IN PALESTINE, BY LOCAL 173, BOSTON.

Resolution adopted at a special meeting of the Pants Makers' Union of Boston, Local 173, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, on Wednesday, March 20, 1918.

Whereas, the Jewish people, the most oppressed and persecuted of peoples, have suffered the brunt of the world war more intensely than any other people, and

Whereas, the object of this war, as proclaimed by the democratic countries, is to liberate the small and oppressed peoples and to restore to them their independence, be it

Resolved, that we welcome with gratitude the declaration of the English Government and Interallied Socialist Conference of their readiness to help in the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Be it further

Resolved, that we co-operate in every way possible to the end that the Jewish homeland be established in accordance with the principles of the International Socialism.

Wherefore, we feel confident that the workers of the world will favor our aims no less than the Interallied Socialists and we hope that the Socialist Internationale will defend the right of the Jews to their home in Palestine.

Our delegates to the National Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are instructed to present this Resolution and to spare no efforts to see it adopted by the convention.

NATHAN BILLER, President;
D. GOLDSTEIN.

The committee recommends concurrence with this resolution to the extent that it is comprised within the program of the British Labor and the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, as submitted to us in the report of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and which reads as follows:

The Jews and Palestine.

The Conference demands for the Jews in all countries the same elementary rights of freedom of religion, education, residence and trade and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. It further expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the hard and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a Free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the committee report on Resolution No. 39, recommending to concur with it to the extent that it is comprised within the Inter-Allied labor program and embodied in the report of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Are you ready for the question?

(The recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.)

(Applause.)

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RESOLUTION NO. 12, ON PRINTING OF THE CONSTITUTION, BY LOCAL 63.

Be It Resolved, that this convention orders the General Secretary, that within 90 days of the convention the constitution with its amendments be printed in the regular due books in all languages, and same be sold to the members at cost price.

PAUL ARNONE,
F. BELLANCA,
B. ROMANO,
J. VASTANO,
DI NARDO.

(The committee recommends concurrence.)

President HILLMAN: You heard the report of the committee and the motion for the adoption of the report. Are you ready for the question?

Delegate ZUBOWITZ: I believe that the constitution should be distributed without cost. If we cannot afford to print it for free distribution, to the members, we should not print it at all.

Delegate ZORN: I think that the constitution should be printed in booklet form and if any member wishes the constitution, I think the few pennies that he would have to pay will be an easy matter.

Delegate ALEXANDER: Move to amend that the constitution be printed in separate books.

President HILLMAN: The resolution as it now reads is that the constitution be made part of the due book. That is the resolution. The amendment is that it shall be in a separate book. Has the amendment been seconded?

(The amendment was seconded.)

Delegate HELLER: I move that the constitution be put in a separate book form because otherwise the book will be too big.

Delegate ARNONE: Brother President and Fellow Delegate.: When I drew up that resolution I made it in such a way that the General Office should print the constitution in a separate book form, and I don't see why so many people offer objections. The reason why the constitution should be in a separate book form is that those people who are interested in it should pay for it, and I don't believe we should always have that continuous bother of changing books because a new constitution is going to be issued.

Delegate ISOWITZ: I am in favor of the motion that the constitution be published in the due books. If the constitution is placed in the due book the members will read it. If the constitution is printed separately the members will not read it.

Delegate LEVINE: Does the amendment state that the duebook be printed in the same book with the Constitution?

President HILLMAN: No, a separate book.

Delegate LEVINE: The motion is that the report of the committee be adopted, namely, that the constitution should be incorporated in the due book. The amendment is for a separate book to be printed. It seems to me that both the motion and the amendment are unwise. If you should print the constitution at present in a separate form you will deprive many members of it, who will not buy the constitution, and if the constitution, as the motion states, should be inserted in the due book, then those who have already the book will have to wait three or four years before they exchange it. Therefore I move a substitute motion that the constitution be printed in a separate form and also that in the future it be inserted in the due book.

President HILLMAN: I can't understand your motion at all. Do you want the constitution to be printed twice?

Delegate LEVINE: In the future it should be inserted in the due book.

President HILLMAN: This substitute is meaningless and cannot be entertained on that account. I think we have had ample discussion. A vote has been called for.

Delegate ZORN: A point of information. If the motion is carried that the constitution be inserted in the due books, will the due books that are out at present have to be recalled?

President HILLMAN: It will be up to the office to make the arrangements. The convention is legislating for the organization. The office will have to adjust itself

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according to your rulings. The motion is that the constitution be printed in the due books. The amendment is that it be printed in a separate booklet.

(The amendment was defeated. The motion was carried that the constitution be incorporated in the due books.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPEALS AND GRIEVANCES.

By Delegate Blugerman.

I just want to report that there have been no appeals and no grievances to report on so far.

President HILLMAN: We have agreed that no further resolutions will be taken up, so your labors are at end, I am afraid.

We have with us one who is well known to the New York delegates, the counsel to our New York Joint Board. I now take great pleasure in introducing to you our good friend, Morris Rothenberg.

Address of Morris Rothenberg.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: It is very kind of your chairman to interrupt your deliberations and accord me the privilege of addressing this convention, especially now when the time for greetings and felicitations has passed and you are in the midst of the serious business of the organization.

I am very glad of this opportunity to greet you as one who through association with my former partner, Judge Panken, stood very close to the cradle of the Amalgamated when it was born and has since been in touch with its activities.

In those anxious days, preceding and following the Nashville Convention, I watched with fascination the efforts of a great body of workmen rebelling against what they considered a denial of their elementary rights and outworn and objectionable methods. It was a mighty battle that they undertook, a battle waged against great odds and entrenched power. I am sure that those who led the fight and launched the new undertaking little dreamt that in the short space of three years most of the difficulties which then confronted them in the structure of the new organization would be overcome and that it would grow to the effectiveness and the size it has reached today.

Much undoubtedly has been said of the strength and the proportions which the organization has reached, of the improvements that it has accomplished for its members in the conditions of their labor, of increased wages, of reduced hours of toil. But what impresses me still more is the fact that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has made of itself a strong moral force.

The position of the Amalgamated is unique. Although outside of the great labor organization of America, although surrounded by opposition it is yet able to withstand every attack that is made upon its existence and has compelled many who harbored ill wishes against it to come to its support at the moment when the test came. Mere size in numbers or funds cannot account for this. Such results are only obtained by moral forces back of them.

Where does this moral force come from? How is it that other organizations, which have lived much longer and possess greater numbers and larger funds, do not surpass it in this regard? It comes from a healthy, wholesome and clean inner life. It comes from the fact that the beginnings were laid on solid foundations. It comes from the fact that the leadership of the organization is respected, and such a leadership, in turn, reflects the clean and healthy and honest character of the rank and file of its membership.

I am sure that the Amalgamated will not be content with merely improving the material condition of its members, but that it will continue to make even greater efforts in extending the moral and spiritual influence of the organization, and at this particular moment and in the days that are to come there will be great opportunities for doing this.

The past three and a half years have been the most tragic in the history of the world. There have been more lives exterminated, more blood has been shed, there has been more suffering and sorrow during this short period than in centuries preceding it. It cannot be, it must not be that all of this suffering and sorrow shall be in vain. It cannot be otherwise than that the world is now passing through the agonies of the birth of a new freedom. But that freedom will only come with the

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defeat of that hideous monster which is attempting to spread its tentacles over the entire world; that freedom will only come when, after the destruction of that monster, the new order of things in the world shall be shaped—not by individuals holding the destiny of peoples in their hands—by the peoples themselves.

Organized labor, representing the toilers and the producers of the world, must make sure that on the day of readjustment its influence shall be felt, its voice shall be heard. That will only be possible provided the working people of the allied countries that now fighting the ugly form of militarism and autocracy will do their full share in the successful carrying on of the mighty struggle. By giving their full hearted support to the efforts to defeat the aims of this common enemy of civilization that is attempting to dominate the world, labor will make certain that its voice shall be heard in the making of the new peace of the world. If organized labor be indifferent or half-hearted in its support, it may by that lose the greatest opportunity that will come to it to make itself a mighty factor, a compelling force in shaping the New Freedom.

Organized labor will only have accomplished its high mission when, acting for the common people, the real builders of the world, it will use its great influence to order a new life in which those who toil shall get the fruit of their labor, in which militarism shall become a thing of the dead and buried past, in which every individual shall have an equal right to life and to the pursuit of happiness, in which every nation, large or small, shall have the full right of self expression, the right to lead its life in its own way, unhampered and untrammelled by the dictates of other nations and to contribute what they are capable of to the sum of human happiness. Then, indeed, we shall have a world in which there will be industrial, political and spiritual freedom.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LAW.

By Abraham Miller.

RESOLUTION NO. 13, ON METHODS OF AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION, BY LOCAL 63.

Be It Resolved, that this convention amend the constitution of our organization as follows:

No amendment or resolution passed by the convention shall become a part of the by-laws of our organization unless adopted by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast by the members taking part in said referendum.

The committee recommended non-concurrence.

President HILLMAN: You heard the resolution and the committee's report. The resolution advocates that nothing should become the law of our organization unless it is carried by two-thirds majority referendum vote. The committee reports non-concurrence and moves the adoption of the report.

Delegate COHEN: I think this resolution should be adopted. I think it is very advisable that important questions of our organization should have a two-thirds majority before it becomes a law.

Delegate SENTER: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I do not understand why the chairman of the committee does not explain the recommendation. I believe that the two-thirds majority does not conflict with democracy, and this is one of the reasons that the committee has not concurred with this particular resolution. I might explain for the benefit of Brother Cohen and those who are inclined to feel that it is necessary to have a two-thirds majority for any action to become law in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, that this would hinder the work of the organization. I think also that in all democratic institutions it is accepted that a majority is sufficient for anything to become a law. It holds good in the election of officers in our organization. It holds good in every instance.

Delegate MILLER: I have nothing further to add to what Brother Senter has said. The constitution provides for a majority vote. The committee has discussed this resolution that a two-thirds majority is less democratic than a simple majority, and looking at it from that standpoint the committee stands by the present constitution which provides for a majority and not for two-thirds.

The report of the committee recommending non-concurrence was carried.

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RESOLUTION NO. 10, ON MINIMUM WAGE, BY LOCAL 63, NEW YORK CITY.

Be It Resolved, that the incoming G. E. B take up the question of establishing a minimum wage on piece and week work in every department of the industry; and be it also

Resolved, that the general organization adopt the week work system as a standard in our industry and that the local unions start educational campaigns along that line in order to further destroy the exploitation in the industries.

The committee has considered this resolution very carefully. This resolution contains two different propositions. It contains the creation of a minimum scale of wages, and it also wants this convention to go on record in favor of one system of work all over the country. In view of the fact that we decided at the Rochester convention that it would be premature to bind our organizations all over the country on that proposition, and gave each local market full right to decide what system to choose, we wish to continue that policy. While a certain system may be very good for New York, it might work a hardship elsewhere. We, therefore, recommend that we stand by the decision of the Rochester convention, namely, to allow the respective markets to work out their own system. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: The committee recommends the non-concurrence with the resolution. You have all heard the motion. Are you ready for the question?

Delegate ZORN: How about the minimum wage?

President HILLMAN: It was my intention to state that we will vote separately on the two propositions.

Delegate GOLD: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—Locals 2 and 3 and 156 also brought in a resolution to that effect. I disagree with the committee when it says that we should leave it to each market for its own decision. We have a system of week work in New York. When we come to the manufacturer he tells us that in other cities the people are working piece work. The delegates of New York all know that the week work system is the best system to control the conditions and the hours of work. We know full well that it will be a hardship to bring it in the next week, or two weeks from now. But we want the convention to go on record that the G. E. B. should carry on an agitation throughout the country in that direction.

Delegate GOODMAN: Mr. President and Delegates—I don't know how the different towns have had experience with piece work, but we have had experience in the City of New York. We know that under the piece-work system, the manufacturers are trying their utmost to force down the prices. Piece-work is a very bad system. The work in our industry is divided into operations, so that it is absolutely impossible for the organization to take care of every operation. It is impossible for the organization to see to it that every operator should be satisfied with the settlements. If we have a week work price it is kept up by the men. We don't have to make new prices for every new style.

President HILLMAN: I will have to remind the delegates of our five minute rule.

Delegate BLUM: Brother President and Delegates—I favor the recommendation of the committee for this reason. I believe that piece-work and week work are better than week work only. Week work may be good in New York. I know that we have week work in Boston. I know that week work cannot pay. Where we had piece and week work, the men in the shop on piece-work made more wages, and they had more freedom than they had on week work. Now, under week work, we are being watched by the boss. Piece work brought us up to a higher level, a higher wage, because seeing that the piece worker is making more wages, the week worker naturally asked for more. We have seen that the week work system in Boston was not a success. As it is at the present time, every city has its way, the way they see better, and therefore I favor the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate BECKERMAN: If the resolution introduced had insisted that piece work be immediately abolished, and week work introduced throughout the country, no intelligent delegate could support it, because it could not be worked out in practice. But the resolution does not call for this at all. The resolution calls for an endorsement of the week work system in preference to the piece work system, and for an educational campaign along those lines. A resolution of this kind, in my opinion, should be supported by those who are working week work, and also by those who are working piece work. I know that in Chicago it is very hard at this time to do almost anything, especially to change the system of work. But that does not mean that we should not accept a certain principle as being beneficial to the membership of the organization. Piece work, in my opinion, creates intense competition among workers.

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creates jealousy, and cannot possibly create cohesion and solidarity among them. Week work does create solidarity. (Great applause.) I don't believe that because we happened to decide one way in Rochester two years ago, that we must decide the same way now, and must decide the same two years later. I think what we ought to do is to reject the recommendation of the committee. We should approve of the principle of week work and we should instruct the G. E. B. to start an educational campaign along these lines. (Great applause.)

Delegate ZORN: Mr. President and Delegates—Delegate Beckerman expressed my views. I was a member of Local 10, New York. About twenty-six years ago that Local Union established a week work system of three months' trial, and ever since that time I know that they have been working week work. I challenge any organization to prove it is more efficient than the Children's Clothing Trades of New York, because of the fact that they have been working so long at week work. I say that we can accomplish much more with the week work system than with the piece system. There could not be anything worse in the trade than to put men and women at piece work. As soon as the boss or the foreman sees a dollar more in their payroll he says, "You are making too much money." I hope all delegates will go on the record for week work.

Delegate FISHER of Local 39: Brother Chairman and Delegates—I don't believe that the piece work system is such a curse as I heard here on the floor of the convention from some of the delegates. We have a piece work system in Chicago. It is not such a terrible curse. We have a Price Committee that decides the price for piece work, and there is no limit how much money we should make. The piece work system, so far as we are concerned in Chicago, works out very satisfactorily. It gives us more freedom of action. Even the week workers are striving to work piece work, because no sooner do they leave their places for a few minutes than the foreman is after them. He is paying them for every minute they are on the job. He is paying the piece worker for every minute he is working. You cannot deny that the piece worker has more freedom of action than the week worker.

Delegate ALEXANDER: I believe that the piece work system creates jealousy and destroys solidarity. If one worker sees another making \$20.00 a day, and he makes only \$12.00, he would not eat any dinner and any breakfast and any supper, unless he makes \$20.000 too. One gentleman told me, "I know that when I go into the shop, I have to work ten hours a day, and afterwards, I am free, but when I work piece work, when I get home, I am so tired I have to lay in bed and send for a doctor." I am opposed to this recommendation of this committee.

Delegate VASTANO of Local 63: I am really surprised to hear from a committee of such a democratic organization as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, such an undemocratic recommendation. I am sure that the delegates here present are striving for the betterment of conditions. I cannot understand how in the world we should be able to better conditions by allowing the piece work evil to exist in our industry. I know that whenever there is any grievance in a shop, it is usually due to that driving system. And let me tell you that the driving system has not been an established fact, or an established factor of the piece work system. We find many of our shops, where people are actually driving one another, working piece work. As well as we have been able to reduce the hours, in order to curtail unemployment, we must also reduce the piece work system to week system, in order to curtail competition in our industry. (Great applause.)

Delegate ALEX COHEN: Brother Chairman and Delegates—I think this organization cannot afford to say that we are going to permit every center to work just as they please, or just as it suits them best. I do not mean to say by that that if we are going to decide at this convention in favor of week work, that we are going to carry it out immediately. I don't consider any piece work shop a permanent union shop. The man working under the piece work system has the psychology of a little merchant that is selling something. For week workers the hours are definite. For piece workers they are not. I don't know about Chicago. I know that in New York any shop that is working week work is a union shop. In shops where they are working piece work, they are perfectly sure that it is a non-union shop at best, even if the people pay their dues to the organization. And, therefore, I say that the resolution as recommended by the committee should be rejected. We should word it so that the General Executive Board stand instructed for the week work system wherever it is possible. Wherever it is not possible, naturally, we cannot do anything. I say that all the delegates should vote in favor of rejecting the recommendation of the committee, and they should word the resolution so that our organization goes on record that the week work system should prevail wherever possible. (Applause.)

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Delegate GOLDBERG of Local 39: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I believe all of us here agree with the principle of week work. But, as the chairman of the committee stated here, it is impossible at this time. It is claimed that all the business agents' time is taken up with making prices for piece work, and that he has no time for other work. Another question was that people are so selfish, and they try to beat one another, and they kill themselves working. I wish to state that in Chicago we had the same system in the beginning, but we brought our members to such a level, that we are working under piece work system, but at the same time, our people are working under week work. I mean to say that the greatest part of our members in the shops are dividing the work. If there are ten people in a section, we divide the work among ourselves. We don't try to beat the other fellows by \$30.00 a week or \$10.00. I wish to say that our Chicago delegates are perfectly satisfied with the piece work system.

Delegate WOLF: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—The recommendation of the committee is not being discussed here in the light that the committee made it. The committee did not say that we disapprove of the system of week work. The committee states that because there are different markets, and different conditions existing in those markets, we are not yet ready to accept and pass a resolution for a uniform system. So far as I know, and so far as all the delegates know, there are still markets in this country that are not yet organized to the extent that Baltimore or New York or any other city is organized. We have to get busy on the other markets.

Delegate ALEX COHEN: May I ask the brother if he will permit me a question?

President HILLMAN: I should rather ask Delegate Cohen to ask his question after we get through with the discussion.

Delegate COHEN: I want to ask a question if I am permitted.

President HILLMAN: Do you yield the floor?

Delegate WOLF: Not on my time. (Laughter.)

Delegate WOLF continued: If you pass a resolution by which we will go on record for a system of week work, it means that you will prevent the international organization from taking up work in other cities. That will surely be contrary to the general purpose of this convention. If you take Rochester or Cleveland. They are exclusively piece work markets. If you take Chicago, it is an exclusively piece work market. In principle, some of the committeemen, and most of us, agree that the week work system is a good system, but we are not ready to commit our organization by a resolution to one system of work. For that reason we don't want this convention to pass resolutions that are not practical at this time. I am not opposing the principle of the proposition. I am simply saying that this convention and the convention in Rochester and the convention in Webster Hall never passed a resolution unless the General Executive Board did something to promote the idea expressed in that resolution. Printing resolutions means nothing. I disagree with putting on record a resolution that it will be impossible to carry out. As far as week work is concerned, I understand that it is much better to work week work than piece work. I am for week work, and have agitated in City of New York for week work, but I don't want to have this convention go on record with a resolution that will not be carried out. I want every resolution, I want everything that this convention adopts to be carried out in life. (Applause.)

Delegate ALEX COHEN: A point of information. Do I understand correctly that this resolution calls for a simple educational campaign to the end of accomplishing week work?

President HILLMAN reads from the resolution as follows: "And also be it resolved that the general organization adopt the week work system as a standard in our industry, and that the local unions start educational campaigns along that line, in order to further destroy the exploitation in the industry."

Delegate MARIMPIETRI: Mr. President and Delegates—To begin with, I must say that in principle I am for week work as much as anyone in this convention. So many things have been said that I came to the conclusion that those brothers who spoke are not handling the piece work price system in the right way. In Chicago we have one man to handle the piece work price for all sections. There are as many as 175 sections. Nearly all these sections are handled entirely by one man, with assistance now and then. Somebody spoke about education for the members. If our members could be educated to the week work system, there is no better education that could be given to the membership. In Chicago this has been accomplished by dividing among them the number of garments to be made, and it has reduced immensely the speed with which they used to work in previous times. I have had week workers

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come to me, and say they want piece work. And there is a reason for it. In Chicago the piece workers are making more than the week workers. The week workers only received a 33 per cent. increase in the last three years, and yet, among the piece workers, they have had a much greater increase under the piece work system. Now, I say if we educate our people that in the speed they don't gain anything, we will be accomplishing much. It is only under the piece work system that the workers are making \$40.00 and \$45.00 a week, and you can never accomplish that under the week work system.

Previous question was called for.

This was carried.

President HILLMAN: The question of week work and piece work has been discussed at our Rochester convention. The resolution is re-introduced, probably by the same organizations, at this convention, and I am sure it will be re-introduced again at other conventions, until a proper settlement of the question will be found. At our Rochester convention, after a thorough discussion, we agreed that the decision for systems and methods of work should be left not to the national office, not to the officers of the organization, but to the local organization, to the local body responsible for conditions in the local market. There is always the tendency of one locality to force its views upon the others. As long as that concerns only matters of opinion there is no actual danger. But when this is attempted in order to commit the organization to a policy, then this becomes not only a danger but may actually lead to a catastrophe. The Boston market had its experience. The Boston market introduced, by arbitrary power, the week work system on a piece work market, and our whole organization went to smash. The national office paid the rent of the office for over a year. We had no more than seven or eight dues-paying members in the city of Boston for a year. Now, I am asking the delegates, would it be worth while, if only one small market would be effected that way? I know Delegate Beckerman says we don't want to enforce week work; we only recognize the principle. The strength of our organization has consisted in the past because we came with no policies to our members that we did not intend to enforce. If we will face the issue of an educational campaign in the city of Rochester for a week work system, and the people will go out on strike, then it is too late to go to those members and say, "Well, we did not mean it. It was merely an educational campaign." Our strength comes from the fact that the clothing workers know that when we come to them with something, we come with something that we really mean to stand by, not simply to raise false issues.

I have no hesitation in saying here that outside of the cutting branch there is no week work system in our industry. If you call it week work in small contracting shops, where I have seen men receiving \$51.00 a week for sewing in sleeves, and making work for \$110.00—if that is your work system, I don't want it. (Applause.) We have the worst kind of a speed-up system. Until our organization will introduce a standard wage system, until our organization will introduce a standard output system, we are not ready to lay down our policies for week work. We are making an attempt in a place to introduce a week work system that will put in standards, that will put in maximum outputs, that will put in a minimum standard of wages. We are always facing actual situations. Supposing we are called in in the city of Rochester, and we demand the week work system, and you must fight for it. I don't want to be a prophet, but I am afraid that you will make very little progress anywhere, if you will make this the cornerstone of your organization today. There can be no standard at all under the week work arrangement. It is a proposition where the contractor gets the best of it. He enriches himself on the week work system. I know in New York, in the uniform situation, the contractors always asked for week work, and not for piece work. Why? Because they could get a greater output for less money. I am not opposed to either week work or piece work, but I say that the organization is not ready—we have not worked out the system yet. The tasks before us are still great, and instead of permitting our organization to work it out, and sometime in the future we may find a solution, you will simply make a resolution that will make it impossible. It is because of that that I hope that the delegates will vote for the recommendation of the committee, which means that as far as the system of work is concerned, we permit the local organization to dictate the policy. As for the national organization, we are still trying to find out methods how to bring order of the chaos that exists in the industry. I think that we ought to let the convention appoint a committee to investigate, not simply to pass a resolution. Let there be five or ten men who will come to us at the next convention, and say, "We have investigated. We know it is possible." Not to simply have a delegate

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come from Brooklyn or from Boston, not knowing what is going on in the industry all over, and say by his vote what the future of the organization shall be on a policy that demands, first of all, the facts—the cold facts, and nothing but the facts. I do hope that the delegate will not bind us to an impossible situation. (Great Applause.)

The vote is on the motion. You all heard the motion. The motion is concurrence with the report of the committee, which leaves the situation, as far as the piece work and week work are concerned, as it is today. All in favor of the motion will signify by saying "Aye."

There was a division called for.

Upon a recount, the motion was carried by 59 for the motion and 55 against.

Delegate BECKERMAN: I move to have it put to roll call.

The motion to put it to roll call was carried.

The final roll call was 83 for, 73 against and 11 absent.

The recommendation of the committee to leave the conditions as regards piece work and week work as they have been in the past, was therefore carried by a vote of 83 for and 73 against.

Delegate BECKERMAN: I ask the unanimous consent of the convention for a special privilege to be granted to Brother Senter, as he has to leave the convention.

This was granted.

Delegate Senter was enthusiastically received.

Farewell Address of Meyer Senter.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: This event in my life, under the circumstances as they are today, is such as I never thought possible. I never thought that, while being in the naval service, I should also be able to be present at the convention of our organization, which I have, in my own humble way, helped to make what it is today. I want to thank you for the courtesy that you have extended me, and the pleasure that some day I might be able to be back with you and again participate in the work for the noble cause of the oppressed people of the world.

Since 1913 I have participated in every struggle of our organization. I have shared all of its joys. I know that through the struggles of the past five years we have accomplished much more than did other organizations in twenty or twenty-five years. But I also know that there are still greater struggles ahead of us. And it is up to you, fellow delegates, to stand by the ship, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Steer it in the most careful way. You are the captain of the ship Amalgamated. You are the ones whom 100,000 souls look to, to lead them, to bring them into a world brighter and happier than what it is today.

The enemies of the organization are many within the labor movement and without. The internal enemies of the organization we know as well as the external. We know that we have to contend with employers. We have to contend with profiteers. But there are enemies also who are within labor's own ranks. There are men who speak for the labor movement, in the name of the labor movement, who would like to send a dagger into the heart of our organization. And of these enemies beware. Be on the lookout all the time. Stay on the deck of this ship and protect her.

With the birth of the Amalgamated there was a new thought born in my mind, the thought that some day the working class will have a real and sound organization to look forward to. When that time will come I know that the Amalgamated will take the lead.

I believe that this is all I can say at the present time. I wish to extend my thanks to the Third Naval District of the United States for giving me permission to come here. I wish to extend my thanks also to Brother Friedman and Brother Schlossberg, who worked hard to afford me the pleasure of being present at this convention.

Let me close with these words, brothers: I hope and trust that in all your deliberations you will have in mind those who look up to you and that you will also have in mind the thought that has been in my mind that the Amalgamated should become the spokesman of the American labor movement.

The conclusion of the address was followed by long and prolonged applause.

President HILLMAN called on Secretary Schlossberg to make a few remarks.

Address of Secretary Schlossberg.

Mr. Chairman, Delegates, Brother Senter: Brother Senter is here today with us

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as a symbol of the world situation. He is, in addition to that, in a very intimate sense, a representative of some of our dearest ones, who now occupy the very position that he does. I feel that each one of us present here sees in Brother Senter a sort of connecting link between our organization collectively, the delegates individually, and those who are dear to us, whether they are members or our personal friends or relatives, who are now over there. If Brother Senter has the opportunity to take our message of love and greetings to our members and dear ones, it will be a source of consolation to us, as well as to them, when that message is delivered to them.

Brother Senter has been one of our most active members. When he said that he shared our joys, it was not a mere phrase—a mere form of speech. He was one of those, fortunately not small in number, who have carried the brunt of the burden of all the struggles of our organization. He takes with him the blessings, the most heartfelt blessings and thanks of all the officers and active members of this organization.

Brother Senter may have to face some critical moments. I hope that whenever any such moments come that Brother Senter will find new strength, new courage, in the thought that there are one hundred thousand people in whose hearts he occupies a big place. Brother Senter may always fall back upon this fact that his place in the organization remains open for him. There may be many thousands coming into our ranks to increase them, strengthen them and enlarge them. Brother Senter's place will remain open to be filled by him the moment he comes back. The work that he has done has been a definite contribution to the spirit of our organization.

I have been very deeply stirred by Brother Senter's remarks. They have come from the depths of his heart. I assure Brother Senter, and I think I can speak in the name of each and everyone of you, that they have found a response just so deep in the hearts of all present here.

Brother Senter, we have been fortunate enough to have you here with us. You are leaving the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in a very happy state. You see that the harmony established in our ranks was not a temporary affair. This convention—while we call it the third it is really the fourth in our history—has found us stronger, greater, with more problems, with a greater diversity of friendly opinions. This convention is just as harmonious as were all the previous conventions. You see that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has been organized along lines that make room for all honest differences of opinion within our own ranks, and has no room for any dishonest opinions, or maneuvers, or schemes, which led the previous organization to ruin. The fact that this fourth convention is held in that very spirit in which the organization was originally formed; this fact speaks more than anything else for the security and happy future of this organization.

May this message that the harmony of this convention gives to you always be with you and give you strength and power to go through all the ordeals that you may be called upon to go through, and come back to us, back into our ranks—you along with all those of whose presence and co-operation we are now deprived, and those of whose co-operation we may in the future be deprived.

I say, may you all come back to us and return to your old posts. And then, when the terrible nightmare that is now resting upon the human race will be lifted, and mankind will again be able to breathe free and the peoples of the world will take up the fight for industrial democracy, for social democracy, for full freedom, for real brotherhood of all the peoples of the world—may we meet in another convention and have the help of all of you in taking up the greater problems that will then confront us.

The fight will be bigger, more intense. But we hope that it will not be in the least bloody, that it will be a powerful fight of the enlightened nations of the world, of the enlightened working classes of the world, to bring the opportunity for the people everywhere to live their lives in their own way, and remove from their backs the parasites of all descriptions.

We shall then steer this great ship of which you have spoken; not only the ship of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, but the great fleet of an emancipated and enlightened labor movement, into the beautiful harbor of the Co-operative Commonwealth, where all will be happy, where there will be no occasion for such valedictory as we heard here today.

Secretary Schlossberg's address was greeted with deafening applause. President Hillman then bade farewell to Delegate Senter as follows:

Address of President Hillman.

I am sure, delegates, that Brother Schlossberg has expressed the feelings of every

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man and woman in this hall, and I may say, the feelings of every one who had the opportunity to come in contact with Brother Senter. All I wish to say on this occasion is that I have considered it a personal privilege to have worked and struggled with Brother Senter and a number of others like him.

The great and wonderful success that our organization has achieved is due to the Senters in our organization, the men and women who always stood by the organization in time of stress, who have given all there was in them to our movement to bring it where it is today. I assure Brother Senter, and through him all those who are leaving us in response to the call, that we here, those who will remain here, will consider it our duty to double our energy, to increase our effort, so that when Brother Senter and the others return they will find our organization even stronger than it is today.

Delegates, I say that we must realize the greater responsibility that now rest upon those of us who remain here. I want to greet Brother Senter before he leaves, and send through him a message of hope and cheer to all those who are away from us, and I hope that in the near future we shall meet again, a free people in a free world. (Tumultuous applause.)

All in the hall arose to their feet and wildly cheer Senter. President Hillman halted the work of the convention to permit Senter to shake hands with the delegates before leaving. Senter departed amidst the cheers and plaudits of the delegates, everybody rising in his honor.

President HILLMAN: Brother Miller has the floor for a personal explanation.

Delegate MILLER: Through an unhappy oversight on the part of the chair, I did not have a chance to express my opinion on the question that was just voted upon, that is, the question of the week work. Now, I just want to say a few words by the way of assuring the delegates, particularly the New York delegates, who know the position I have taken for the last three years on the question of week work, that when I voted for the recommendation in the committee, it was with the clear understanding that I was not voting against that which I have been fighting for the past three years, against the big majority of the members of the Pants Makers' Union. I have carried on a fight for week work when in our organization there were only a few that were with me. I don't want the delegates to be under the impression that I changed my opinion on that proposition. I only voted for it because I felt that it would be a calamity to the organization if this convention would bind itself to a proposition which is at the present moment impossible to force on the other markets. I thank you for the chance you have given me to explain. (Applause.)

The Law Committee then continued its report.

RESOLUTION NO. 31 ON RIGHT OF GENERAL OFFICERS TO SERVE AS DELEGATES, BY LOCAL 2, NEW YORK.

Whereas, the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convenes for the purpose of hearing the reports from General Officers of their work for the last two years, be it

Resolved, that the said General Officers shall not be entitled to act as delegates to the convention of our organization with the exception of General President and General Secretary.

BASTERS' AND TAILORS' BRANCH OF THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF TAILORS, LOCAL NO. 2, A. C. W. OF A.

Joe Goodman, Chairman.
Harry Schepps, Secretary.

The committee recommends non-concurrence.

Brother Rappaport of Local 2, whose local introduced this resolution, was the only one who voted for it.

Brother Rosenblum at this point took the chair.

Chairman ROSENBLUM: You have heard the resolution and the recommendation of the committee. What is your pleasure?

Delegate MILLER: This resolution practically deprives a member of the opportunity to be a delegate to this convention, for the only reason that he may be a paid official. This constitution provides that any member of any Local Union has at all times the right to be a delegate to this convention, and on this ground the committee does not concur in this resolution because it is unconstitutional.

Delegate GOODMAN of Local 2: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I understand that a convention is gathered for the purpose of amending constitutions. If a resolution

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has been introduced that committee has no right to come back and, because this is against the constitution, recommend non-concurrence. I think that if this is the only ground we should refer it back to the committee. We know that in the past conventions under the old administration members paid by the General Executive Board were controlling the convention, and they drove us out from the convention. You know the convention we had in Nashville. I happened to be a delegate. Every man who was paid by the General Executive Board had a certain number of people around him, and he was controlling them. They did not permit the ladies and the overall makers to go by themselves, and they had a man who was controlling them in order that the other delegates should not be able to speak to them and tell the truth about the organization. At the present time we know that everything is in order. But we must prepare; we must build up a constitution that will provide for the future. Why are we afraid to accept a radical constitution? I think this has to be in the constitution in order that the future should not be the same as we had in the past. Delegates, I beg you all to support the resolution, because this is a proper resolution. I thank you. (Applause.)

Delegate BECKERMAN: I would like to have the original resolution read again, because I did not hear certain parts of it.

Delegate MILLER, the chairman of the committee, thereupon read the resolution once more.

At this point, President Hillman resumed the chair.

President HILLMAN: That would then become part of our constitution, if adopted and approved by a referendum vote. The only thing I would like to get from the makers of the resolution is, do they mean paid by the international office or paid by any office?

Delegate GOODMAN: Paid by the national office only.

Delegate ALEX COHEN: Delegate Goodman has begged us to vote for the resolution. If he begged the delegates to do him a favor that is one thing, but I think when it comes to a question of logic I don't see why any man, a member of this organization, should not have the right to come among 300 men, even if all the General Executive Board are members of this convention. Among 250 men they surely have a right to express their opinions about matters concerning the welfare of the organization. Now, you have seen just this afternoon, I am fortunately, or unfortunately, a paid officer, paid by the General Executive Board at this time.

Delegate GOODMAN: For how many weeks?

Delegate COHEN: It is just three weeks, but I hope it will be more. (Laughter.) But that did not make me stand behind the President. I was rather in opposition to the President, and I feel that if a member is honest and sincere concerning the work of his organization he will at any time and all times preserve the right for himself, not for the sake of local this or local that, but for the sake of his own conscience, he will always preserve the right to express his opinion. I feel that it would sometimes even become not only an inconvenience, but it would become a menace to this organization if you exclude all men or women that are participating daily in the work of this organization, who have the opportunity to see things at first sight, who have the facts before them, who know the organization from all sides. If you would exclude these men and women from participating in the deliberations of this organization, I think you would commit the greatest folly. I hope that we are going to vote down this resolution and concur with the report of the committee as it is reported by the chairman. (Applause.)

Delegate BECKERMAN: Brother Chairman and Brothers: I think that this resolution is not entirely a resolution separate by itself to be discussed on its particular merits, but is more or less a part of a state of feeling that exists among certain delegates, and amongst a good many of the rank and file, towards a paid official in general—not necessarily a general paid official, but a paid official in general. I want to say that for the life of me, and I think I am quite as democratic as anybody here, and believe in the principle of democracy, I cannot see any reason for any motion of this kind at this particular time. I can quite agree with you that if the men who are in the pay of the general office are going to have the entire say as to their own conduct, I quite agree that it is absolutely undesirable. But I cannot see where we would benefit by forbidding three or four or five or six or ten delegates to have their say or their vote on this floor if the members of their locals think that they are fit to represent them. I don't see where it is aiding democracy by preventing people from sending as delegates the men who they think are most desirable to represent them at this convention. I can assure you that if locals decided that certain men are not

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fit to represent them, the locals will not elect them, and if the locals think they are fit to represent them they will elect them. And the locals should not be prevented from electing them. This is not democratic. This is not a motion for more democracy, but is a motion to eliminate some democracy that we have at the present time. (Applause.) I for one do not belong to any group of people who will try to pick on a paid official because he happens to be a paid official. I rather belong to that group that should seek to encourage anyone who will put in his full time of service for the organization rather than one who will put in some time at his disposal for the organization. We should not try to interfere with, but rather aid that particular kind of member in our organization. We should not seek to decrease democracy, but rather to hold on to all the democracy that we have, and try to attain more. This is not a good move. This is not a practical move. It is not a beneficial move, and it surely is not a democratic move. (Applause.)

Delegate GOLD: We have been told that the organization can be controlled by a group of men. Then I say it is a shame if any local should send men of that kind that can be controlled by the individual. I feel that the members sent by our organization are too intelligent to be controlled by an individual. I say it is silly. We are going to extremes. I think it would be a shame for the convention to adopt a resolution of that kind.

Delegate BLUGERMAN: Mr. Chairman, it has been mentioned here before by the New York delegate that if a local elects a man to the convention, then surely he would represent the interests of the members of that particular local. I beg just to remind him that in some cases the locals are led by economic reasons to elect organizers to conventions. Organizers—it is said if they are good to be organizers, they are good to be representatives to conventions. That may be right to some extent. But in some instances one may be a good organizer but not a good representative of the rank and file of a certain organization. Let me tell you, President and delegates, that I would rather permit an injustice against a few individuals who may not be in a position to be delegates to a convention than commit an injustice to thousands of members of this organization who may be deprived of real democratic representation if this resolution is not carried. I will tell you why. You say there are five, ten or fifteen delegates, maybe, who will be in the employ of the general office who may have a voice or vote in this convention. Now, let me tell you a secret. I am only the first time at this convention, and I have not been to many conventions, but I know that there are always a few who control the convention. It may not be the case here at this convention of the Amalgamated after a few years of its existence. But where is the guarantee that it will be so in the future? I will not take chances with all the democratic sentiments, and with all the democracy we are fond of hearing so much, unless you create a constitution which will provide us with a real democratic system.

President HILLMAN: Previous question was called for. The recommendation is that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate GREENBERG of New York: Brother Chairman and Delegates: I would suggest that the Chair should instruct every delegate who has discussions on various questions to let him know a minute before his time is up, so that he can conclude his statement in full.

President HILLMAN: The Chair shall be guided by that question. It is a very good suggestion. At four minutes I shall rap and the delegate will know that his time is coming to an end. (Laughter and applause.)

REPORT OF THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

By Delegate Crystal.

I wish to ask the delegates not to leave the city with a bad impression that the Baltimore organization did not do their bit for the delegates. At the opening of the convention I heard several remarks, and right along every day we heard remarks that the organization in Baltimore did not make proper arrangements. I want to say that the Baltimore organization did all it possibly could to have the delegates of the various cities live here in comfort for the week, but under the circumstances we could not do any better than we did. The Baltimore organization spared no time nor money to make this week of the convention as comfortable as possible for the delegates. I have here a book which the Baltimore organization—the Baltimore District Council—published. The book contains the history of the Amalgamated Clothing

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Workers in this city. We have the portraits of our international officers in here, also of some local officers and of members of the two largest shops in the city of Baltimore, that is Strouse Bros., and Sonneborn & Co. We have here articles by Brothers Schlossberg and Panken, and we have lots of other interesting things in this souvenir which the delegates will enjoy. If you don't enjoy anything else, I am sure you will enjoy this book when you read it. Each delegate will get a copy.

Tonight, at 8 o'clock, Cutters Local 15 will have a smoker in honor of the delegates at 1012 East Baltimore Street.

I was asked by Delegate Miss Jacobs to announce that the girl delegates who do not desire to go to the smoker will be taken by her to the theatre tonight. The lady delegates are asked to gather in the Emerson Hotel at a quarter of eight, in the ladies' waiting room. (Applause.) I also want to announce to the delegates that the Arrangements Committee has arranged to have photographs taken. The photographer is coming up here this afternoon. I believe he will be here about half-past four or five o'clock.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: I want to make an additional announcement for the Arrangements Committee. When you get these books, and if any one of you should make up his mind, or her mind, to read it, I want you to remember this: there is one article that has been attributed to me, for which I am not entitled to any credit. I don't know why the compositor was so liberal about it. There is an article entitled "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" That article I did not write. I inserted a few lines, but the article was taken from somebody else. My name is there by mistake. I want you to know that whatever credit the author is entitled to, the article does not belong to me.

Session adjourned at 12:35 p. m.

Eighth Session

Friday Afternoon, May 17, 1918.

Chairman called the convention to order at 2 o'clock.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

By Delegate Arnone.

RESOLUTION NO. 70, AS TO THE BUTTONHOLE MAKERS OF NEW YORK, BY LOCAL 244.

At a joint meeting of the Executive Boards of Locals 244 and 245, of New York and Brooklyn, held on April the 27th, 1918, the delegate of the above locals to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was instructed to submit the following resolutions to the A. C. W. of A. in convention assembled.

Whereas, the buttonhole makers have been suffering from an evil long ago remedied in other branches of the tailoring industry, namely, the sub-contracting system, a system which makes it difficult and well-nigh impossible for the buttonhole makers to reap even a fair portion of the fruits of their labor, and

Whereas, the buttonhole makers' unions of New York and Brooklyn have tried by every means possible to abolish this evil, which retards their progress, hinders their well being and prevents their members from earning a decent livelihood, and

Whereas, the above unions have repeatedly appealed for assistance to the Children's Clothing Joint Board and to the New York Joint Board organizations, which are morally bound to exercise their good offices to give aid and comfort to their affiliated unions, but the above Joint Boards have always turned a deaf ear to the distressing cry for help from the locals, and

Whereas, during the current year numerous clothing factories came into existence, all of them working harmoniously with the various unions, submitting to union control and negotiating directly with them, except in the case of the buttonhole operatives, who are compelled to accept the miserable pittance allowed them by the contractors and sub-contractors, so that numerous cases can be cited where the weekly wages of buttonhole makers are as low as \$12 a week, therefore be it

Resolved, that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Third Biennial Convention assembled, instruct all assembled delegates to submit to their respective locals the decisions of the convention, as follows:

1. The Buttonhole Makers' Locals 244 and 245 must be accorded the same recognition as that given to all other locals affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in their shops and factories under the jurisdiction of the A. C. W. of A.; those shops must employ as buttonhole operators only good standing members of Locals 244 and 245.

2. Wherever a contractor or manufacturer has work sufficient for at least one buttonhole operator this work must be done on the premises of said manufacturer or contractor, and should under no circumstances be allowed to be made outside.

3. In order to set the buttonhole makers on the same plane with all other workers in the clothing industry, which is manifestly their due right, the manufacturer or contractor must furnish said buttonhole makers with the necessary machines, tools, and other equipment, and

4. It should be recognized as the solemn duty of all unions affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to aid and support Locals 244 and 245 in their just and reasonable endeavors to obtain recognition as unions, to have manufacturers and contractors conduct negotiations directly with them, and, finally, to abolish the wasteful and pernicious sub-contracting system.

B. GOLDSHOOI, Local 244.

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The resolution was read seriatim to the convention.

President HILLMAN: The committee recommends concurrence and moves the adoption of the report as read.

The entire report was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 106, ON THE LIBERTY DEFENSE UNION, BY NEW YORK DELEGATES.

Whereas, there are hundreds of men and women sentenced to terms in prison because of their having exercised their constitutional right of free speech and free assemblage, and

Whereas, the prejudices aroused against them by a hostile press has made their defense more difficult, and

Whereas, the Liberty Defense Union has taken upon itself the protection of the constitutional rights of the men and women who are in need of such assistance, be it

Resolved, that this Third Biennial Convention goes on record as endorsing and approving the work of the Liberty Defense Union, and pledges its help, morally and financially.

Alex Cohen, Local 3; Frank Cancelleri, Local 176; Abraham Beckerman, Local 40.

RESOLUTION NO. 80, EXPRESSING THANKS TO MRS. BLUMBERG, BY NEW YORK CUTTERS' DELEGATION.

Whereas, during the struggle that took place in the city of Baltimore in the summer of 1916 our comrade, Mrs. Blumberg, has rendered most valuable services and exhibited great devotion to our organization, be it

Resolved, that this convention does hereby express its highest appreciation of the splendid exhibition of self-sacrifice shown by our esteemed comrade.

Meyer Senter, Local 4; Harry Jacobson, Local 4; J. P. Friedman, Local 4; L. Feinberg, Local 9; Abe Silverman, Local 9.

The committee recommends concurrence and moves its adoption.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the motion. Are you ready for the question?

The motion was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 78, ON AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS, BY DELEGATE ALEX COHEN, NEW YORK.

Whereas, this Republic was founded upon the principles of liberty and independence as a result of a victorious revolution against despotism, and

Whereas, it has been declared by the government of the United States that the present war is being waged in the defense of the same sacred principles, which include the right to propagate ideas and theories with regard to prevailing social and economic conditions, and

Whereas, the propagation of such ideas must inevitably produce antagonism between the advocates of the old and those of the new:

Whereas, as a result of such antagonism clashes occur, and advocates of the new order are sent to jail, be it

Resolved, that all such persons of the labor movement who are being sentenced to jail terms for such activity be considered political prisoners, and we ask that full amnesty be granted to them at the close of the war.

The committee recommends concurrence.

Unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 92, FOR SOCIALIST PARTY, BY DELEGATE S. LIPZIN, LOCAL 156, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, the Socialist Party works hand in hand with our organization, therefore be it

Resolved, that we endorse officially the Socialist Party.

The committee recommends its acceptance.

Delegate GOLD: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I think this resolution would be an injustice to those who are not in the Socialist Party. I don't see why you should

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force upon us the endorsement of a party that we are not affiliated with. I don't think you should do it.

Delegate COHEN: I rise to do justice to Brother Gold and help him as much as I can. It is true that the Socialist Party helped us in every way throughout the history of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. I don't know of any other friends as good as the Socialist Party in New York and elsewhere. I know the party's press and the party's speakers have always been on the job. All that is true. But I feel that as a labor organization we must make room for all elements that are in our industry. I feel that our organization is as it is because of the fact that there is enough opportunity for each and every one to give expression to his ideas and opinions. I don't see why the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America should go on record as endorsing officially the Socialist Party and arouse many difficulties, and many obstacles, and many disagreements among the members. I don't think this is a very helpful and healthy condition in an organization. And while I feel that our loyal unions at all times have been willing to stand by the Socialist Party and have helped the Socialist Party, I would not like to see the resolution passed that we endorse officially the Socialist Party.

Delegate ZORN: While a member of the party personally, I would not like to see this motion imposed upon an organization. I therefore hope that the recommendation of the committee will not prevail.

President HILLMAN: The Chair will recognize two more for and two more against, if there is no objection from the house. Otherwise I can see that we will have a whole afternoon discussion on this.

Delegate BLUGERMAN: Mr. Chairman, I believe that, as it has been said here on the floor by various speakers, that this union is different from other unions in this country. We must not do as other unions do, by saying we cannot officially declare ourselves in favor of a certain political party. We are an economic organization, but at the same time most of us believe in the political struggle of the working class. I therefore feel that this convention should go on record in declaring itself in sympathy with and in support of the Socialist Party of this country. (Great applause.) We say that this organization is socialistically inclined. Now, where do we say it, and how do we say it? Why should not we, by passing this resolution frankly and clearly state to the American labor movement that the A. C. W. of A. is class-conscious enough to go on record and declare itself in favor of the Socialist Party? I trust that the delegates here will realize the spirit and sentiment throughout the membership of our organization and will vote for this resolution one and all. (Applause.)

Delegate WOLF: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I don't think that we ought to take up too much time on the question of this resolution. While it may be all right for a delegate to bring up a resolution of this kind, I feel, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that we have been doing everything that any local union anywhere in the country could do when the campaign was on. It is not at all necessary to pass a resolution at this convention to say that we endorse the Socialist Party. We consider ourselves all the time a radical organization, and our local unions have done everything they could in times of campaign. At this time especially it is not at all necessary and it is not wise. I don't want to discuss it. While I am a member of the party, yet I don't believe that we ought to commit a labor organization at this time, an organization like ours. If a resolution of this kind is introduced, it means that we doubt that our members are supporting the party. I don't doubt at all that our members are supporting the party and I believe that it is not necessary to bring up a resolution of this kind. Our membership on the East Side of New York has practically elected the candidates of the Socialist Party, and it is not necessary for us at this time to go on record as endorsing the Socialist Party. It is not wise at this time, not because Brother Gold believes that he is not in accord with the party. I would agree with him if he had another party, but has not got it.

Delegate GOLD: I beg your pardon: (Laughter.)

Delegate WOLF: I beg to be excused. I would ask Delegate Lipzin to withdraw that resolution. We are working for the party anyway, and it is not necessary to lose any time. I wish that Delegate Lipzin would withdraw that resolution and let us work for the party as we did without the resolution. (Applause.)

Delegate LEVINE: A point of information. Is not that incorporated in the preamble of our organization?

President HILLMAN: That is just what Brother Wolf has mentioned. That it is superfluous, because we have practically accepted the philosophy of Socialism in the preamble of our organization. The motion is: "Whereas, the Socialist party works hand

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in hand with our organization, therefore be it Resolved, that we endorse, officially, the Socialist Party."

Delegate RABKIN of Montreal: I move to amend that this resolution be referred to the committee for further consideration.

This was seconded.

President HILLMAN: I wish to say to the delegates that this resolution is placing the organization in a position of embarrassment. It has been explained that the organization has in each case supported and worked hard for the Socialist Party, even those who are not members have co-operated in all the campaigns. I am now asking the delegates, is it fair to force everyone, however few the opposing members may be, to an absolutely official endorsement on behalf of the national organization? Why force your views on them? What is the motive behind it? Still, we could not possibly afford to vote down this resolution because that might be interpreted by some people—the opponents of Socialism—that the A. C. W. of A. is in opposition to the Socialist Party. This is why I feel that the amendment to refer it back to the committee to bring in a report that will express the views of the convention as a whole should be supported by the delegates. The vote is on the amendment.

Delegate WOLF: May I ask the privilege for the delegate who drew up the resolution to take the resolution back, so that he can modify it?

President HILLMAN: When a resolution has been already up for discussion on the floor it is the property of the convention. (Applause.)

Delegate WOLF: Mr. Chairman, if the maker of the resolution desires to modify it with the consent of the convention I don't see why you should object.

President HILLMAN: The delegate has a right to have this re-worked when it is handed in for reconsideration, if the convention decides to have this referred back to the committee.

The amendment to refer it back to the committee was unanimously carried.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

By Delegate Alex. Cohen, Chairman.

RESOLUTION NO. 97, ON A WOMAN ORGANIZER, BY LOCAL 120, LOUISVILLE.

Whereas, the city of Louisville, Ky., has about five hundred people employed in the clothing industry, and

Whereas, as a result of the last strike the organization has succeeded in organizing about 50 per cent. of the workers in the industry, and

Whereas, more than 60 per cent of the workers of the industry are women, therefore be it

Resolved, that a woman organizer be placed by the General Office in the city of Louisville, Ky., to assist Local 120 in organizing 100 per cent in that city.

I. J. STRIZOVER, Local 120.

The committee has decided to refer it to the General Executive Board for immediate action.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the report of the committee and the recommendation to refer it to the General Executive Board. Are you ready for the question?

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 95, ON ORGANIZER FOR NEW ENGLAND, BY DELEGATE ZORN.

Whereas, in view of the fact that the New England States have large factories making all kinds of clothing and ignoring union conditions of cities where unions are strong, be it

Resolved, that an organizer be placed in the New England States immediately by incoming General Executive Board.

FOR THE JOINT BOARD OF BOSTON,

Samuel Zorn.

The committee concurs in that resolution.

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President HILLMAN: The committee reports concurrence. You all heard the report of the committee; are you ready for the question?

The report of the committee was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 94, ON ORGANIZATION OF CUSTOM TAILORS, BY LOCALS 80 AND 162, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, the mail order and custom trade is not completely organized in New York and Chicago, and

Whereas, the cutters and custom pants makers are organized and the custom coat makers are not organized in the mail order houses in New York, be it

Resolved, that this convention go on record in favor of organizing the custom coat makers in all mail houses in New York and Chicago; be it further

Resolved, that organizers be put on immediately to start an organization campaign in New York and Chicago in order to organize the mail order trade and custom tailors.

LOCALS 162 AND 80, CUSTOM TAILORS' UNION,
Morris Rosenblatt, Secretary, Local 162.
Wm. Cohen, Secretary, Local 80.

The committee recommends that this be referred to the General Executive Board. The recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 93, ON ORGANIZING THE SHIRTMAKERS, BY LOCALS 248 AND 153, NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA.

Whereas, there are scattered throughout the United States and Canada some 60,000 unorganized shirt and boys' waist workers, and

Whereas, the two organized Shirt and Boys' Waist Local Unions of New York and Philadelphia are strongly affected by this unorganized labor, and

Whereas, the present time is the most favorable for the organization of the unorganized shirt and boys' waist workers, be it

Resolved, that a general organization campaign be started among the shirt and boys' waist workers in the United States and Canada; be it also

Resolved, that each local union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, represented at the convention, start activities among the shirt and boys' waist workers in its city; be it further

Resolved, that the members of the General Executive Board and the General Officers be instructed to do their utmost towards organizing the shirt and boys' waist workers.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 89, ON ORGANIZING THE CUTTERS OF BALTIMORE, BY LOCAL 15.

Whereas, the cutters of Baltimore City, affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, are having trying times in their efforts to bring the balance of the cutters and trimmers into our organization, and

Whereas, the manager of the Baltimore City District Council having the best part of his time taken up with the task of securing better conditions and higher wages for the members in order to meet the high cost of living for the workers, therefore be it

Resolved, that this convention go on record as instructing the President to place as many organizers as may be necessary in the city of Baltimore to have a 100 per cent Amalgamated organization in that city.

AARON FELDMAN,

President Cutters' and Trimmers' Local 15, Baltimore.

The committee recommends that this be referred to the General Executive Board. Unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 82, ON ORGANIZING THE CLOTHING WORKERS IN CHICAGO, BY LOCAL 61.

Whereas, the City of Chicago is a recognized clothing center of the United States, and

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Whereas, a great many of the clothing workers of Chicago are still unorganized to the detriment of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and

Whereas, the Chicago organization has made several heroic efforts to bring all the clothing workers under the banner of the Amalgamated, and

Whereas, the members of the Chicago organization were at all times ready, anxious and willing to dedicate their time, money and energy to organization purposes, and

Whereas, the Chicago organization has conducted and, to a great extent, financed two great strikes, the money coming out of the pockets of the Chicago members, who gave willingly and unselfishly, and

Whereas, Chicago has always responded to the call of other cities in time with financial support, and not infrequently with moral aid, and

Whereas, Chicago feels that the psychological moment has arrived to make another supreme effort to organize the workers, and

Whereas, it is absolutely essential to organize the city as a matter of self-preservation for the Chicago organization, and

Whereas, Chicago has to reckon with a clothing manufacturers' association which controls the destinies of the immense army of unorganized workers, be it therefore

Resolved, that we, the members of Local 61, A. C. W. of A., assembled at a regular and special meeting at 409 South Halstead Street, Chicago, recommend to the Third Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A. that every effort should be made to lend moral and financial aid to the Chicago organization to assist it in organizing the city.

LOCAL 61, CHICAGO,
F. Petrick,
S. Geler,
J. Kroll.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.
Unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 14, ON DISTRICT FORM OF ORGANIZATION, BY LOCAL 63, NEW YORK CITY.

Be It Resolved, that this convention orders the incoming General Executive Board to establish a district form organization for the cities and towns where the organization has not full control, and that a responsible man from the General Office should be in charge of all the work pertaining to organizing said districts. District organization should be mapped out as follows:

Western New York District should include: Utica, Syracuse, Buffalo, Rochester.

Middle Western District: Cleveland, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Salem, Akron, Columbus, Youngstown.

Northwestern District: St. Louis, St. Paul, Milwaukee.

Canadian District, No. 1: Montreal, Winnipeg.

Canadian District No. 2: Hamilton and Toronto.

The committee recommends that this be referred to the General Executive Board for consideration.

President HILLMAN: The motion is that the resolution be referred to the incoming General Executive Board.

There was no objection.

Unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 41, ON ORGANIZER FOR CLEVELAND, BY LOCAL 112, CLEVELAND.

Whereas, an organization campaign has been started in Cleveland two years ago to build up a strong union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in that city, and

Whereas, to accomplish this difficult task in Cleveland, where we have to contend with powerful manufacturers, who have bitterly and steadily fought and opposed every move of the workers to organize, and

Whereas, some of these manufacturers have so-called union shops controlled by the United Garment Workers of America, whose members are forced to work for

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low wages and under miserable conditions so that they can sell the label and claim that they have organized shops, and

Whereas, in order to change this state of affairs and to bring about an organization which would strive to increase the wages of the clothing workers, shorten working hours and generally improve working conditions it is absolutely necessary to begin a general organizing campaign among the workers of this city which, if conducted in proper spirit and with proper assistance from the General Office, would undoubtedly be successful in establishing a strong union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the City of Cleveland.

Whereas, about 75 per cent of the workers in our industry are Bohemians, who can best be reached by men of their own nationality, therefore be it

Resolved, that we, the members of the United Tailors of Cleveland, Ohio, Local 112, request that the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union of America grant their request and send to Cleveland one Bohemian and one Italian organizer and give us such other assistance as would be necessary to effectively conduct the organization work in Cleveland. Respectfully submitted,

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.

Abraham Victor,
Harry Vidre,
Louis Fisch,
Charles Galkstein,
H. Charkoffsky.

We recommend reference to the General Executive Board for immediate consideration

There was no objection.

Unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 66, ON ORGANIZING THE CLOTHING WORKERS IN COUNTRY TOWNS, BY BALTIMORE DELEGATION.

Whereas, it has been the tendency of some clothing manufacturers of this city and other cities to establish tailoring shops in country towns in their effort to escape the influence of the Amalgamated, therefore be it

Resolved, that this convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board and its officers to exert all efforts to organize the workers in such shops.

H. Elsen, Local 114.
H. H. Crystal, Local 36.
F. J. Bartoz, Local 69.
A. Feldman, Local 15.
Sam Bassin, Local 241.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 106, ON ORGANIZATION OF CANVAS AND PADMAKERS, BY DELEGATE BRAND, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, the canvas and padmakers in the City of New York are organized 100 per cent and enjoy union conditions, and

Whereas, in the cities throughout the United States the canvas and padmakers are not organized, and

Whereas, they are an important factor in the trade, therefore be it

Resolved, that we start a campaign to organize the canvas and padmakers all over the United States and Canada.

PHIL. BRAND, Local 156.

The committee recommends concurrence.

Unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 45, ON ORGANIZATION WORK IN CANADA, BY CANADIAN DELEGATION.

Resolutions accepted by the Joint Board and endorsed by the locals of Montreal. Taking into consideration the conditions of the tailoring trade of Montreal, also the

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abnormal condition of the tailoring industry in the Dominion of Canada at large, and the urgency to have the entire trade organized by efficient leaders, the General Office should always be in touch and in close relation with all the Canadian locals, therefore be it

Resolved, 1. That two general organizers be assigned for a three-month organization campaign to organize all the tailors in the trade, and one of the two should be Brother Madanick.

2. That Brother Madanick should also be appointed as general organizer of the Dominion of Canada and should concentrate his activities in the Dominion of Canada.

3. That the entire Dominion should be represented in the General Executive Board by a member nominated by the representatives of the Canadian locals of the convention.

4. And we also express our desire that the convention should instruct the incoming General Executive Board that the latter should have the first sitting in Montreal.

JOINT BOARD OF THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Frank White, Local 209.
Albert Wells, Local 116.
E. Rabkin, Local 277.

We recommend reference to the General Executive Board.
Unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 16, ON ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN, BY LOCAL 63, NEW YORK.

In view of the fact that in the last convention of the A. C. W. of A., held in the city of Rochester, N. Y., a resolution was passed by the convention to establish a department with power to do organization work among the women wage workers in our industry;

In view of the fact that the women have been politically emancipated in many states of the Union, yet we find that there is a feeling among the members of our organization not to give necessary importance to bringing women workers into our organization, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that we, delegates of Local 63, hereby declare that such a position held by our members is reactionary and not progressive

This convention orders to establish: first: a women's department in charge of a competent woman organizer with full power and the co-operation of the General Office; Second: said department shall use every educational means pertaining to organization work among women; Third: that permanent women organizers be placed on the organization staff throughout the country.

We recommend that this be referred to the G. E. B. for immediate consideration.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the recommendation of the committee.
Unanimously adopted.

President HILLMAN: Does that complete the report?

Delegate COHEN: Brother Chairman, this completes the report of the Organization Committee.

President HILLMAN: Then they stand honorably discharged.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF RESOLUTIONS.

By Harry Cohen, Chairman.

RESOLUTION NO. 107, ON A CHARTER FOR THE DRIVERS' UNION, BY N. Y. DELEGATES.

Whereas, the Clothing Drivers' Union is an essential factor in the tailoring industry, and

Whereas, they give more strength to the Union by their being united with the New York Joint Board, and

Whereas, the New York Joint Board has officially recognized the Clothing Drivers' Union and permitted its delegate to represent that organization in the Joint Board, therefore be it

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Resolved, that this convention goes on record to give them full recognition and grant them a charter that will entitle them to all privileges of a local of the A. C. W. of A.

Paul Arnone, Local 63.
Harry Cohen, Children's Clothing
Trade Joint Board.
Meyer Senter, Local 4.

The committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the recommendation of the committee. The committee recommends that the Clothing Drivers' Union should be granted a charter from this organization. I believe, though, that it would have been more proper, in view of the fact that this is an entirely new part of the industry, to refer it to the G. E. B. I personally would like to have more information.

Delegate BECKERMAN: I move to amend that this be referred to the G. E. B. for action.

The amendment was carried.

REPORT OF THE LAW COMMITTEE.

By Delegate Abraham Miller, Chairman.

Delegate MILLER: I want to announce that Resolution No. 29, which I shall now read, was withdrawn by the delegation of Local 2.

Whereas, an official of our organization employs the name of the organization in conducting the business of same,

Be It Resolved, that no official shall have the right to use the title of the organization in connection with any personal or private interest.

BASTERS AND TAILORS OF THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF TAILORS, LOCAL 2, A. C. W. OF A.

J. Goodman, Chairman.
Harry Schepps, Secretary.

We have three different resolutions, introduced by different local unions, but they are the same.

RESOLUTION NO. 30, ON MEMBERSHIP IN THE G. E. B., BY LOCAL 2, N. Y. CITY.

Whereas, the General Executive Board of our International is the highest authority in transacting the business of our organization, and

Whereas, the General Executive Board has the right to appoint organizers and pass judgment upon their work, be it

Resolved, that we recommend to the convention that the General Executive Board which consists of eleven members shall have no more than two paid officials, that is, the General President and the General Secretary.

BASTERS AND TAILORS OF THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF TAILORS, LOCAL 2, A. C. W. OF A.

J. Goodman, Chairman.
Harry Schepps, Secretary.

The committee recommends non-concurrence with this resolution, with Brother Rappaport in the minority, who is for the resolution.

The other two resolutions, before mentioned, are as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 90, BY DISTRICT COUNCIL NO. 3, BALTIMORE.

Whereas, the Baltimore Local Unions feel that the General Executive Board is responsible, while the convention is not in session, for the running of the organization, be it

Resolved, that the incoming General Executive Board should consist of members of this organization not paid by the General Office.

BALTIMORE DELEGATION.

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RESOLUTION NO. 54, BY LOCAL 3, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, it was the practice of this organization to have general organizers serve on the executive board, and

Whereas, some general organizers as members of the General Executive Board had to hear reports and pass judgement on their own activities, and

Whereas, we feel that this is not a democratic and healthy state of affairs in an organization, therefore be it

Resolved, that the General Executive Board should consist of members not serving as General Organizers for our organization. In case of any of the General Executive Board members joining the staff of organizers of our General Organization a substitute should be provided at the convention to take his place.

LOCAL 3, A. C. W. OF A.

Alex Cohen,
S. Weinstein,
M. Gollin,
L. Revayel,
L. Nerenberg.

President HILLMAN: This and the other two resolutions propose a change in the constitution which will prohibit our organization from nominating, voting for, or electing to the G. E. B. brothers who are general organizers for the National Office.

The committee recommends non-concurrence. That is the report of the majority. The minority dissents. The minority recommends the concurrence. What is your pleasure? The vote will take place on the minority report. Are you ready for the question?

Delegate RIGER: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: Similar resolutions were introduced at the Rochester convention, and defeated. I believe that the minority report should be defeated at this convention, too, for the simple reason that it will bar active men in the movement, who are best fitted for the Organization, from being a member of the Board. I believe that the delegates will vote against the minority report, and for the majority report.

Delegate RABINOWITZ: I am heartily in favor of the minority report—that no paid official should be in the G. E. B., not only from the democratic standpoint, but from the business standpoint. I am in favor of that for the simple reason that if the G. E. B. will not be of paid officials, and if the organizers are going to be responsible to the G. E. B. they will have much more efficiency, they will have much more responsibility. I don't doubt the honesty of the G. E. B., but they are in a very peculiar position. When organizers come together, both the G. E. B. and organizers give a report of what they have done. They are in a position where their work is criticized. They cannot criticize an organizer if he is a G. E. B. member. Let us take, for instance, the stenographer. If the stenographer is going to be a G. E. B. member, he will not have so much responsibility as if he would not be a G. E. B. member. It is the same with everyone, and I appeal to all delegates to vote for it.

Delegate BECKERMAN: I want to say that naturally I have great sympathy, great feeling in this case, with the minority report, for the reason there is no question about it, but it seems more democratic, it seems more just, and it seems more logical that a body of men, organizers, should be responsible to those not only who are not paid officials, but particularly to those who are absolutely uninfluenced. From a democratic viewpoint, that is perfectly proper and perfectly right. But the unfortunate thing in this case is that as a practical measure it is an absolute blunder, this report of the minority. After all, in what position are our people who are not paid officials, and are confined to the workshops, to judge of what work is required in Montreal, or for Toronto, of what work is being done here, and being done there? I am not one of those who want to put a premium on brains. I am not one of those who want to confine a man's activities to one particular thing, and prevent him from using his brains wherever they can be used. I am very sorry to say that, as fine an organization as we are, we are not yet overburdened with a very extraordinary number of very intelligent people. We have our proportion. We have a larger proportion in comparison to other organizations. But we have not yet developed sufficient talent to meet the needs of a revolutionary class conscious labor organization. It happens that a good many men who are suitable for organization work are also suitable for executive work. It happens that a man who puts in all his time in the organization, is in a position to know more about the organization, and is therefore more competent to be

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an executive. That is a fact. As far as being responsible is concerned, if I were an organizer, and I wanted to get away with it, I would not want to be responsible to Hillman or to the G. E. B., but I would want to be responsible to a number of men coming from the workshops who would know nothing at all about my work. You will have less responsibility, and less safeguards when you have men, however sincere, who know little about the situation, little about the general activity of the organization, to pass upon the work of men who are doing the work of the organization. I have the greatest sympathy with the minority report, but I realize that, in the conflict between theory and practice, we have got to drop this particular theory for the general welfare of the organization. (Applause.)

Delegate GOODMAN: If I am not mistaken, Brother Beckerman used to say before that the men who are working in the shops, these men not only understand, but they feel their oppression, and therefore they alone can be the representatives of themselves. I want to ask Brother Beckerman where do we get our organizers from, if not from the shops? Do you mean to say that if a man is working in the shop today, and is getting paid as an operator, or presser, or tailor, he knows less than the general organizer? Where do you get the general organizer from, if not from among men who are developed in the shop? I say that we always must have control over men who are working for the organization, who are working for the welfare of the working class. Even some of our present organizers, if they would be in the G. E. B., would still remain general organizers. In order that the people should have faith in our organization, that we should not develop the same thing as we had before, we must protect ourselves. We cannot afford to rebuild our organization again and again. We have built up an organization with the spirit that everybody is satisfied. We must keep up with the spirit, and protect our organization.

Delegate FRIEDMAN: A remark was made here a little while ago to the effect that we want the organizers on the same level as the stenographers. Well, you might as well include janitors and everything else. The organizers come from the shops, says Brother Goodman. Certainly, they don't come from anywhere else. But, according to his viewpoint, and the resolution of the minority, as soon as a man leaves the shop, and becomes a general organizer, his loyalty, his spirit, and all that was good in him while he was in the shop, immediately flies out. I think it would be a pretty poor organization if this were true. This resolution was brought in because of certain disagreeable things we had in the former organization. I say this is no good reason. The Chinese 5,000 years ago tried electricity, and made a failure of it. It does not say that we have got to abandon it. Because it was not successful somewhere else, there is no reason why we should put handicaps on this organization. Furthermore, so long as you have the membership vote upon everybody, so long as there is a referendum vote taken, you have absolute democracy. If the delegates would be elected at this convention, you would say it is not democratic. But the President, the Secretary, and every official, is elected by referendum. I say you should not punish a man because he is willing to be a general organizer. Not everybody in our organization—and I know the national organization has tried to get organizers—is willing to be an organizer. Because a man is willing to accept an organizership, you immediately put him in the criminal class. Don't put a stigma on him. I believe that if the minority report is adopted it will dampen the spirit of our organization, and will positively put a handicap on a man or a woman when accepting the responsible position of organizer.

Delegate ALEX COHEN: I feel that in this case we may easily run to the extreme of the ridiculous. I want first to overcome a few difficulties brought out by my good friend, Delegate Beckerman. Delegate Beckerman is very much interested to know, when the G. E. B. convenes and there is a group not acquainted with what has been done here and there, how they will act? First of all, Brother Hillman, as the President of the organization, is supposed to know what is being done here and there and everywhere, and I hope he does know, and we know that he does know all that. Brother Schlossberg is quite acquainted with the work of the organization. If there is something of much importance, a telegram for 25c will inform a certain organizer to appear and report on the situation in Canada, or Montreal, or in New York. (Applause.) It is true that we need good men. But I said two years ago, and I do repeat it here, that we don't deprive the organization of the services of good men by the fact that we don't want them to be G. E. B. members. I think that all organizers try to serve us in the capacity of organizers, in the best capacity that they are capable of, but, when it comes to the administrative part of the organization, it is not more than fair and just that men of the various parts of the country should come there and

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listen, just as you, delegates, are listening today to what has been done for two years. The delegates come here and discuss vital problems of the organization. We discuss them because we are sensible men. We listen to questions, to reason, and then we give our opinions. I think it should be done the same way at the G. E. B. meeting. You know what respect the G. E. B. enjoys, together with the President and the Secretary. Discussing the resolution we have not in mind any one of the personnel that constitutes the G. E. B. today. But I think it is a more democratic form, as well as a more practical form, of organization to have men to come there to listen to reports. Why, the Board of Directors, which is the administrative body in the City of New York, consists of 7 or 8 or 11 men, who do not know exactly what is being done in every shop, but they have men who are informing them, and they pass judgement accordingly. So I feel, even if I have to put myself out of a job, that the minority report, as it has been reported to you, should be accepted by this convention. (Applause.)

Delegate GEIER: It is true that people who are doing important work for the Amalgamated should have some overseers—somebody who should pass judgement as to whether their work is right or wrong, as to whether they are fit for the job. But it happens that these organizers—and I speak from years of experience—are men and women who have been raised in the workshop, who have had their experience, either from the board or from the machine, and have made good in their field. These people are appointed as organizers for the only reason that they have the ability, the experience, to deal with a situation that may arise anywhere. The fact that the members have a right to vote for or against these men is sufficient democratic safeguard. I am satisfied that there is no member of the G. E. B. who is not able, and who has not in the past shown that he knew his duties. Therefore, I think that the general organizer is, if anything, more preferable for a general executive board member, for no other reason than he is experienced. The men and women who have been in the shops for years, who have been very active locally, no doubt, still have not the same knowledge of the country as the people who travel from city to city, and see the conditions, and understand the differences between one city and another. What is going on in the City of New York is not going on in the City of Chicago, and the same with Baltimore. So I say that the minority report should be voted down, to preserve the efficiency of the A. C. W. of A. (Applause.)

Delegate ARNONE: I wish to state the other side of the case. They are telling us how they are going to run the organization if this motion is adopted. I am really surprised that my good Comrade Goodman has forgotten the elementary teaching of a radical union, and the Amalgamated is supposed to be a radical organization. I know this much, anything that is done by the convention has to be passed upon by a referendum. Experience has shown us for the last four years that everything that has been done by the convention has been O.K'd by the members, and no local union has as yet recommended a referendum to recall any man who has been put on the General Executive Board. I say if you have anything to say, here is the place, today. Don't beat around the bush. I want to be shown. And if you think anyone of the Board members is trying to put something over on the membership, I want to know it. I don't understand what is the matter with some of our radical comrades and members of the organization. You know full well that this is 1918, and the members are running the organization today. The people at the head of the organization, who bear the responsibility, are not the kind of men that you have had in the Bible House. I, for one, defy everybody to show that any officer does not deliver the goods. I wish that our members, when they go back to their locals, especially the Jewish members, should take this notion out of their heads, that if a man leaves the shop and becomes a paid officer of the organization, they must jump on him. Therefore, this resolution should be voted down. I hope and trust that two years later, when we meet again, the same G. E. B. will be here, and will continue delivering the goods the way they have in the past. (Applause.)

VOICE: Previous question.

President HILLMAN: The Chair will not entertain a motion for previous question until the question is thoroughly discussed. This question is of great importance, and should be discussed fully.

Delegate HARRY COHEN: I am very much surprised to see a resolution that organizers should not be on the G. E. B. If a resolution calls for a change in the constitution I think it is not more than right to show that what we have now is a failure. What do we see? We see that our organization as it has been organized for

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the last four years has been a wonderful success. We came here with a record that we are not ashamed of. The press is talking about us. Everybody is envying us, and the only thanks you are going to give to the people who are on the G. E. B. is to tell them, "You performed your duty, and now, when you have done your best to make this organization a success, you will please stay home; we don't want you any more." (Applause.) I think that a resolution of that kind would discriminate against active members of this organization. I will cite to you an instance. My friend, Brother Alex Cohen, spoke in favor of the resolution. I, for one, think that it would be a crime to enforce such a resolution so that my friend, Brother Alex Cohen, should not be on the G. E. B. (Laughter and applause.) Consider it, and you will see that there is no reason for it. But it is the old, old hobby of picking and picking and picking on paid officials, where there is no reason. With all due respect to our President and Secretary, I think it is no more than right that we give them a G. E. B., who should know what is going on in the industry. We want members of the G. E. B. to deliver the goods, and do the work. (Applause.)

Delegate EISEN: Governments where the cabinets are not responsible for the government, are called autocratic, and we are ready to shed our blood to make a democratic government out of an autocratic government. Yet in our own organization, we are ready to have the executive officers, or, rather, the cabinet members, also the legislators. In other words, they are to be responsible to themselves. Are we going to do it? I think not. Brother Harry Cohen said that the past experience has shown us that our general Executive Board has done splendid work. It is true. I admit it. I admit that the G. E. B. of the Amalgamated has done splendid work. Yet, I don't forget that, four years ago, when an organization campaign was carried on by the very same G. E. B. against our enemies, the United Garment Workers, the issue of the day was that the organizers were not responsible to anybody but themselves. (Applause.) I think that if we wait until the G. E. B. will be of such a nature that will ruin the organization, it will then be too late to make amendments to the constitution. It will then be necessary to form a new Amalgamated, if we wait too long. Now, while we are young, now, while we have a very good hand to make laws, to suit our own selves, to make laws to suit the general membership, now is the time to frame a constitution so that the organization may remain as democratic and as successful as it has been in the past. (Applause.)

Delegate REVAYLE: For the second time I have the opportunity to speak in behalf of the G. E. B. I have all respect for every one of you, officers. There is not the slightest thing to be said against you. You have performed your duty. You did all you possibly could for the Amalgamated. But, when you speak about democracy, I want to understand what democracy means? It is that each and every one judges. We have no objection against all those organizers, but I claim that they should be governed by the Executive Board, as well as the local officers by the Joint Board or the District Council. It is true that at this time our officers are of the best. But, looking at the past, and we ought to look at the past, or we will never go ahead, we must profit by the mistakes made then. For that very reason, we ought to provide laws to protect ourselves that, not this executive board, but executive boards of the future, may not do the same thing that was done four years ago. We cannot afford to rebuild our organization every few years. It took us years and years, more than 25 years, to build up an organization. For this very reason, we brought in the resolution. It is democratic. And I therefore ask you, delegates, to vote for the minority report. (Applause.)

Secretary Schlossberg here took the chair.

DELEGATE KROLL: I have listened very attentively to what has been said, but there is only one thing that I found, and that is the fact that they don't want organizers to report to themselves. If we look the situation straight in the face, the question arises, "Do the organizers report to themselves?" As the minority report has it, it wants none but unpaid officers to be on the executive board, but your General Secretary and your President. If you have no paid officers on the Board but your two highest officers, I say that you are doing nothing but placing in the hands of your two highest officers absolute control. There is no question about it. A man working in the shop, where he must work if he is not a paid officer, does not know and cannot know the conditions throughout the country. Instead of spreading it over eleven members, you are simply placing the responsibility in the hands of two. I would say that your organizers, who are G. E. B. members, have been organizers first, and they have been elected by your general membership to the G. E. B. after-

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wards. Take the thing in that light, and it is simply a natural development. There is one feature in this we don't want to overlook, and that is the lack of material in your organization. If you pass this minority report, you are simply going to lose what capable brains we have.

Delegate WOLF: I am sorry that I will not be able to say all in five minutes, and I know that the Chairman is very democratic—that when the four minutes will be up, he will rap. You have heard Delegate Revayle, who is the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Joint Board of New York, speak here in such an enthusiastic way, and speak only in the name of democracy. I would like to know whether there is a way to explain that word democracy. I am puzzled all the time when we speak of democracy. We have actual democracy, he says, Alex Cohen says, in the Board of Directors of the New York Joint Board. I would like to know how many decisions the Board of Directors of the New York Joint Board made contrary to the report of its officers, who are paid officers. Not one, to my knowledge. They always discuss and agree. You speak of taking the organizer and discriminating against him. I have had the opportunity to speak about organizers. At every General Executive Board meeting we have been searching for them throughout the country. Money was no object. Get them! We need them, but we cannot find them! Who is the organizer? The best man that we possibly can get in the organization. If he is the best man in the organization that is willing to go out and organize the clothing workers, why is he not fit to be a G. E. B. member? Because you happen to pay him a salary? If a man is not fit to an office, he is not fit, whether paid or not paid. That is my understanding of an officer. If Delegate Eisen thinks that the G. E. B. members who are paid by General Office are not democratic, but are autocratic, he thinks so because he may dislike some individual on the Board, or someone else may dislike that individual. I say that there are many who don't agree with the doings of an official, but that does not mean any more than this—that the man who disagrees has a right to disagree, but that does not mean that he is at all right and correct. This proposition was not originated for the purpose of saving the life of the organization. It originated out of personal feelings and interpretations of work being done by certain individuals. I happen to be fortunate enough not to be a General Organizer but Manager of the Joint Board, and I am more free to discuss it. I say that instead of bringing in a resolution that organizers, because they are paid, should not be on the G. E. B., you get busy and recommend organizers to the G. E. B. to organize the industry throughout the country. You will by that be doing the organization more good than by taking the good man, the man willing to do work, and putting him aside, because he is a paid official of the organization and a G. E. B. member. Today it seems that there is something in it that it is not honorable. I assure you that I will not hold an office in any organization that is not considered honorable. I happened to be in Boston a year or two ago. The Boston delegates know what we found there. I was with them for four or five weeks. I lived with them. It was the most critical time. Did the Boston members find anything wrong because I was a direct representative of the General Office and also a General Executive Board member?

VOICE: No!

President HILLMAN: The time is up. (Great Applause)

VOICE: I move that we extend him five minutes more. (Applause)

President HILLMAN: Is there any objection?

There was no objection, and the motion was carried.

Delegate WOLF: I am not here to agitate for it because I am a G. E. B. member. I am not interested in it from that point of view. Having had actual experience in the G. E. B., I know that there are people on the Board today, and there may be people on the Board after this convention adjourns, who will have to be forced to become paid officials of the General Office, not because we want it, but because we cannot get enough outside to do the work that is necessary. We have officials with us today who are representing the New York Joint Board, and Brother Hillman and Brother Schlossberg pleaded with them—"Accept the position as an organizer; we need you, we must have you." They were not willing at all to do it, and they have not done it. They did not plead with them because they liked them. They pleaded with them because they knew that they needed them and they must have them. What would become of a good man who is on the Board if we were to accept the proposition before us not to be a G. E. B. member because he is a paid official?

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I would not accept the best paid organizers for the G. E. B. I would rather remain in the G. E. B. and not be an organizer than remain an organizer and not be on the Board. You have inherited, I think, the spirit of some of your employers. You don't like your paid officials. That is mighty wrong. The idea and the principle are wrong. If you speak for democracy, don't take my right of democracy away because you pay me wages. After all, I have as much right to be honored with an office in the general organization as any one else, whether paid or not. Vote against it, not because I say so, but because the proposition is not for the best interests of the organization. (Great applause).

Delegate WISE: What I want to know is this: In case paid officials will not be on the General Executive Board, will that stop the organizers from doing their work? I think not. If they are great, they will make their work still greater. But the thing is this: Some of us are afraid that we will not be able to have able men in the General Executive Board. Is not Miller a fit man to be in the General Executive Board by being a paid official in the local? Is not Gold an able man? Are not certain men of Chicago fit to be on the Board? Are not certain men of Rochester fit to be there? That does not stop the work of the general organizers, and I don't see why they are afraid of it. Brother Wolf asked whether the Board of Directors does not approve of his report. They do. In case they will disagree, they will show why they disagree. You always must bring in a report. Delegate Beckerman, the Alderman, told us the proposition is all right in principle but not in practice. A lot of Republicans in your district are telling you, they are Socialists in principle, but they want you to vote for the Republican Party. I don't see any crime in the resolution. I don't see where it will take away the right of any organizers to do great work in the organization. (Applause).

Board Member ROSENBLUM: It is rather an unpleasant task for me to get into this proposition, for the reason that I am one that is affected, but I am taking the privilege for the very reason that I don't expect to be affected. I am expecting to work for Uncle Sam by the time anything like this may go into effect, and for that reason I think I can speak without personal motives. I want to say first that this principle of no organizer being on the General Executive Board is hailed as a radical measure. I claim it is nothing of the sort. The reason it is claimed as a radical measure is because the progressive element in the old U. G. W., in their attempt to rid the organization of the corrupt leaders, advocated this measure as a means of getting rid of them. Because of your experience in the United Garment Workers, this thing has been introduced into the Amalgamated. It is one of the things we inherited from them, and, unfortunately, we are suffering from it. Your G. E. B. is not corrupt and this measure is not necessary now. The General Executive Board theoretically is supposed to be composed of the most able in our organization—mark you, theoretically, I say. They may not be, but they are supposed to be. By the very rule here, you will deprive your most able in the organization, doing national service for the organization, from being in the proper place where they can do greater service. It is all right to come here and say, "Organizers should not report to themselves because they are not responsible." The organizers are responsible. Let any G. E. B. member go into a locality and let that locality find fault with him. You will hear it quick enough in the country. Protests will come in. He is responsible first to your International Officers, your President and Secretary; second to the general membership, and that is true with every G. E. B. member or general organizer. Brother Wolf stated it well. The officers have their way, even under the present G. E. B. In a national situation a G. E. B. elected under the proposed law would be dummies. They could not know what is going on throughout the country, if they wished. They would have to accept everything the President and the Secretary said. By your action you would make your President and Secretary absolute autocrats in your organization. Under the present conditions, your Executive Board is composed of men of influence, people who have some element of control in the organization, whose opinion they must respect. The other way your Executive Board would be men without influence whom your officers could choose to ignore without fearing consequences.

I say your Executive Board should be composed of men who are able to control, who understand the interests of the organization in the true sense of the word. That is what you put them there for. You put them there to be men of influence. If they have no influence, your organization will have no leadership, and you need leadership in your organization. It is all right to talk of democracy, but leadership does not necessarily spell the death of democracy. In democratic organizations, you must have leaders, as well as any other organization, if you are to get results

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and be successful. Vote down this resolution, because you want the best that is in your organization on the Executive Board. And I say it not for personal reasons. I don't expect to serve as organizer for the reason stated. (Applause)

Delegate POLAK: The only argument that was given for the majority report was that there will be discrimination against the organizers. I say that the purpose of this resolution is not to discriminate against the organizers, but not to give too much power into one hand. I think we all agree that there should not be too much power in one hand. You all remember we criticize the United Garment Workers. Not only did we criticize the persons who took the positions as organizers with the Garment Workers, we also criticized the constitution, which served the officers and we, therefore, changed the constitution. I don't see where the organization will be at a disadvantage by changing this point of the constitution.

Delegate CRYSTAL: The Baltimore organization has also introduced a resolution like the one of Local 2. I know that the Baltimore organization has absolutely no fault to find with the present General Executive Board. There is no question of personalities as far as the members of the General Executive Board are concerned. If anyone says that this resolution was brought in on account of dislike of some men on the G. E. B., he insults the organization that submitted the resolution. I feel that this resolution is absolutely pure. There are absolutely no personalities involved in it. I feel when a General Organizer accepts his job, he should not be promised a place on the General Executive Board. Brother Cohen made a correct statement. He feels that, even though he would be deprived from membership in the G. E. B., this resolution ought to be accepted. And I think we ought to accept it. No General Organizers should be placed on the General Executive Board. You are just simply monopolizing; you are just simply putting a gate down in the front of the working class; just stating to the rank and file that you cannot go a step further. "We, the organizers, must be the General Executive Board members, and you cannot be, because you are not capable and cannot even get the opportunity to learn." (Great applause)

Delegate LEDERMAN: I do favor the Minority Report, and I will give you a few of my reasons. Delegate Beckerman says that a man that is in the shop is not as capable to represent us in the General Executive Board as a man that is a General Organizer. I don't agree with him. I think that a man who works at the machine, a man who gives away his days and nights for the organization and for the people in the shops, can represent the people on the General Executive Board just as good as any organizer who represents them right now. This is my opinion, Brother President. Brother Wolf tells us that there is a question of honor. Why not give a little bit of honor to the people who work in the shops, and give up their days and nights, and are willing to represent the organization. (Applause)

Delegate GOLDSTEIN of Philadelphia: The reason that the Amalgamated made a success is that it gave the people exactly the right principles, exactly the right thing that did the people good. That is why they succeeded in getting the people with them. That is why they succeeded in forming this organization, of which we are all proud. As far as the General Board is concerned, I say that even if you have a Board of the rank and file, not of general organizers, you are not sure whether the people who will be elected on the General Executive Board will not act in the manner which you are opposing now.

Delegate DIAMOND: I say that the General Executive Board, the officers that you have right now, are the best that can be gotten. If you would not have these, I don't think that we would have succeeded as much as we have. Some of the delegates are afraid that there will come a time when the General Executive Board with the officers will control everything. We will have to come to an Amalgamated convention as we did in Nashville. I am not afraid of that, although I was a delegate to the Nashville convention. I can see the spirit in the Amalgamated, and I am not afraid that this will ever come. I believe that every individual here has a right to run for the G. E. B. All of us have a right to run for anything. We are all members of the Amalgamated. Let every one have a right to run and let the referendum vote decide. Why are you afraid? Why do you have to come with this to a convention at all? I believe that every one of us has a right to be a candidate and you should not be afraid of it.

Board Member LEVIN: During the entire discussion on the resolution before us, we heard a great deal about democracy. I am just as much an advocate of

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democracy as anybody else, but I don't like to deprive any individual of the same democracy which we desire for the body as a whole. The moment you begin to frame laws depriving individuals of the benefits of democracy, you undermine the very principle of democracy. The advocates of the resolution urge it because four years ago in Nashville we found it necessary to revolt. Are we facing the same conditions now as we faced in Nashville? In Nashville a group of individuals came there to legislate and denied duly elected delegates the right to represent the clothing workers. That was the actual situation in Nashville. In Nashville this convention would have elected the General Executive Board and the membership at large would not have anything to say. Are we under the same conditions now? No. This convention nominates members for the General Executive Board, while the members at large vote on them by referendum. By taking away the right of individuals, because they are paid officers, you are committing a grave injustice. In the first place, let us see who are the General Officers? Who are the General Organizers? Who are the paid officials? As it has been stated here, the best people from the shops are chosen to represent them. Then it is the judgement of the people when they make their selections. And good people have ambition, honor, and pride. When you offend their pride they will refuse to serve. We want no member of the Amalgamated to be deprived of his rights, because his rights are your rights. (Applause)

Delegate BLUGERMAN: Mr. Chairman, I wish to speak for the minority. Some of the delegates are afraid that if the minority resolution is passed there will be nobody on the General Executive Board. It seems to me that they are under the impression that besides a half dozen or a dozen organizers, or two dozen organizers, there will not be enough intelligent men in the different cities to be on the General Executive Board. They forget that in every town we have business agents, managers of various boards, secretaries, presidents, executive board members, members who are active and study the conditions in the factory and outside of the factory in their town and outside of their town; and it seems to me that some of the members forget there will always be a few more members suitable and eligible for the G. E. B. outside of those few of the General Executive Board who may be elected as General Organizers. And then, why go to the extreme? Don't you really think that you will find enough men in New York and Chicago and other places besides those few organizers who will be on the General Executive Board and not play the role of dummies? Don't you think that the Amalgamated—among the one hundred thousand men and women organized, will find half a dozen men who will act on the General Executive Board not as dummies? And, mind you, I am not prejudiced against paid officials. I am a paid official myself, that is, local, and I would not regret becoming a paid official of the General Office.

Delegate WOLF: That is a good hint. (Laughter)

Delegate BLUGERMAN (continuing): So I say I have no prejudice against a paid official, but at the same time I think that if I should be a General Organizer, or we should have another two dozen or three dozen of us, we still would have plenty of level headed men to be on the General Board and judge what the organizers are doing. In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, do you think the organizers who will be outside of the G. E. B. will cease serving the Amalgamated? As general organizers they will be able always to be in touch with the General Executive Board. They will always be able to be present at the General Executive Board sessions and enlighten it whenever necessary. (Applause)

Delegate MILLER: I believe that this resolution is the result of one thing. It is the result of the absolute failure to realize the cause of the existence of the Amalgamated. I want to ask the delegates, why is it that in every other respect we consider ourselves radicals, but when it comes to this proposition we only tackle it superficially, and we don't want to go down radically and try to find out the real cause. I say that it is not true that the cause of the establishment of the Amalgamated was the fact that this man or that man was not honest or was something else. I say that the cause of the existence of the Amalgamated today was that the United Garment Workers represented everything that was dark, everything that was reactionary in the American Labor movement, and the Amalgamated is representing something which is absolutely the reverse of what the United Garment Workers was. This is the cause of the existence of the Amalgamated. I say that, no matter how many laws we will make, they will not result in anything. I believe that the people who have introduced the resolution may be under the impression

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that if we had not the support of the gallery in Nashville that the Amalgamated would not have been in existence. I deny this. I say, whether we would have been seated or not, the Amalgamated would have been here today, because of the fact that the United Garment Workers was proceeding from the premise that the tailors could not be organized. And even if we would have been seated in Nashville, the Amalgamated would have been here even if not under this name, because we represent in the American Labor movement something that was told to you for four consecutive days here. You have been listening to speeches, and every one of the speakers emphasized this very fact, that we are something new in the American Labor movement. And if we are new in the American Labor movement, I don't believe we should create walls, Chinese walls, around ourselves out of fear of our own existence. I say that this resolution is the result of a misconception. It is the result of the fact that we don't know the causes of our organization today. Brother Goodman is afraid that we will have to rebuild the Amalgamated. If I were of the same opinion I would perhaps vote for the minority, but because I believe in the strength, because I believe in the historic mission that the Amalgamated has to perform, I am not afraid of a general organizer, who is doing the work for the Amalgamated, on the General Executive Board. (Applause)

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: I hope you all realize that what we are discussing now is only the right of a general organizer to be a candidate for the G. E. B. This does not mean that the G. E. B. must consist of organizers to the exclusion of non-organizers. It only means that the organizer has the same right to a nomination as the member who is not an organizer. A number of delegates in opposition to the majority report—that is, those opposing the right of the General Organizer to run for the G. E. B. membership—, emphasized the fact that we are all perfectly satisfied and highly pleased with the work of the General Executive Board until now, but we don't know what they might do later. I heard a story of a man who suddenly turned upon his child and shouted at him to shut up! "Why, I am not saying anything," protested the child in amazement. "But you might," said the enraged father. (Laughter)

You are perfectly pleased with what the General Executive Board has done for the organization in the course of three and a half years, and you agree that they have proven their efficiency to your full satisfaction. After three and a half years you turn on them and say, "We don't want you because you might prove wrong."

Our experience with the United Garment Workers is being referred to. We had to fight the administration because the General Executive Board was composed of General Organizers. My friends, you don't know what you are fighting, if you think that that was what you fought. The General Executive Board of the former organization was against the interests of the members, not because it was composed of General Organizers, but because it was not elected by anybody, was not responsible to anybody, and the rank and file could not exercise any control over it. The same was true as regards the President and the Secretary. Yet you propose to leave the President and the Secretary on the General Executive Board, while the President and the Secretary are the ones that have real power, and the General Executive Board members come to meetings only once in three months, and sometimes only once in six months. Their power is very limited. You are putting the lock on the wrong door. We have now a system of election which makes a repetition of the former experience impossible. The General Executive Board is elected by the membership. Any member, who after his election proves to be unfit to serve on the General Executive Board, may be withdrawn by a motion initiated by the membership, or charges may be preferred by them and properly tried. If found guilty he is excluded from the General Executive Board and somebody else is elected in his place. You have that system, the very thing that you asked for three years ago, and did not get, which was the cause of the split in 1914.

Remember also this, that there is no rule that any organization may adopt that will protect it from crooks, so long as the proper spirit is not there. If the members have not sufficient intelligence and the proper spirit to watch the interests of their organization, to keep their eyes open upon the activity of their officers, you may adopt all the rules you wish, and none of them will be of any avail, because the officers will do just as they please, whichever way they may be elected, or whatever section of the organization they may come from. Do you know that as a matter of fact we have no constitution today? Did it ever occur to you? Do

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you know that the constitution that we have has not been printed because it is no constitution? Yet all of us agree that we have made wonderful progress. All of us agree that we have made a great success, and some of those who favor the minority report said that we have in these 3 1-2 years achieved more than other organizations have in 25 years.

My friends, it is not the constitution that will win strikes for you, or win shorter hours for you, or keep the organization together; it is the spirit of the organization that keeps the organization alive, that keeps the membership wide-awake and keeps the organizers and the General Officers and all representatives of the organization conscious of the fact that everything they do is watched and is being subjected to the scrutiny of the membership, whether it is done in a formal and legal manner, or informal and illegal manner. It is this that keeps our organization intact and keeps it strong. If you want to provide yourself with a rule now for the future, how can you tell just what might be required a year from now? It may be that this very rule, if you will accept it now, will be the very thing that will play into the hands of crooks? You don't know what conspiracy might be formed and in what way this rule might be played.

It has already been pointed out that the power really remains with the general officers, and if you restrict the membership of the G. E. B. to non-organizers, to people who are not in a position to follow up the work, the detailed work of the organization, day in and day out, you will simply leave it to the General Officers, if they choose to make use of the opportunity to turn the G. E. B. into a blind tool. They will be a group of people who will have to take the word of the General Officers and say "Yes" or "No" according to the wishes of those officers.

Let me remind you of one little thing that I think ought to serve as a warning for all labor organizations. In France, I am told, the words "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" are inscribed over the portals of every prison. Ask the inmates of those prisons what liberty, equality and fraternity they enjoy. The inscription is beautiful, but it has no meaning at all for the people inside, except as a mockery. We have had demands at the Rochester convention, we have had demands at this convention, and we will continue having demands at later conventions, for women organizers, for a larger representation of women and a better, more responsible and more effective organization of women. We have been working hard, trying to find proper persons fit to serve as organizers for women. We have one representative of the women on the General Executive Board. That representative is also acting in the capacity of General Organizer. I mention this one member because she happens to be the only woman member of the General Executive Board, and at present the only woman organizer. But I ask you to forget the individual. Think of the situation. We have been trying hard to get more organizers for the women. You know that the women are backward in organization. You know that we have still a great deal to do in order to educate the women to a position where they will be able to take care of their interests, where they will be able to furnish organizers. If this resolution is passed, it would mean that any woman in a position to be elected on the G. E. B. would not be eligible for general organizer-ship. You would deprive the women in our industry, you deprive the organization, of an opportunity of having someone to serve as a woman organizer.

Let me point out one more thing: It has been said here that we have inherited the prejudice against officers from the former organization. It was perfectly natural for such prejudice to exist there: the average officer was against the interests of the membership. That prejudice we carried along with us. It is about time for us to be freed from it.

You wish to deprive a General Organizer of the opportunity to serve on the General Executive Board, because an organizer, if made a member of the General Executive Board, would have a right to pass upon his own work. You do, however, leave the gate open for local officers to serve on the General Executive Board. You give so little consideration to this matter that you don't realize that the work of the General Executive Board does not consist mainly in controlling the work of the general organizers. That is a very small part of the activity of the General Executive Board. The General Officers, between Board meetings, are exercising such control, day in and day out. When the General Executive Board meets, it has very little to do with the work of the general organizers. The General Executive Board concerns itself mainly with the work of the local organizations. That constitutes the bulk of our work. We take up Chicago; we take up New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Montreal and Toronto at our Board meetings. You want to give an opportunity to the local officers, by allowing them to serve on the G. E. B.,

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to pass upon their own work at the General Executive Board meetings, the local officers who compose the bulk of the organization staff, and you want to deprive the general organizers of the opportunity to serve, though their share of the work calls only for a small fraction of the attention of the General Executive Board. You are doing the very opposite of what you intend to do. You take the work from the hands of the general organizers for one reason and you give it into the hands of local organizers who will exercise it and must, with the best intention, exercise it just in the very way that you don't want the General Organizers to exercise it.

Looking at the question from every angle, I say brothers and sisters—we have equal suffrage in this organization—we have made our experiment; our experiment has worked; all of you have testified to the efficiency of the General Executive Board, to the effectiveness of its work; there is no immediate reason, nothing that we can see that will improve the efficiency of the organization by depriving the general organizers of an opportunity to run for G. E. B. membership. Don't make changes now that are not called for. We make changes as we go along and as conditions require. Conditions, you will all admit, those who favor the minority report, do not call for the change just now. Let us go right ahead; let us not lose a good man, if he is a General Organizer and if the rank and file wish to have him on the General Executive Board, because he will be an addition and a strengthening of the General Executive Board. Let us not deprive the membership of the benefit of his services. And if there is a good man on the General Executive Board who is not a general organizer, and who may happen to meet the requirements of the organization, who may happen to fit in better than others, let the General Office have its hands free to call for that man's services if he is willing to serve. If any general organizer is not wanted on the G. E. B., let the membership decide it by the referendum vote. The great success of our organization was made by the very fact that we have removed all restraints, that we have abolished all red tape, that we have gone right ahead and worked, that we have not stopped here and there and looked into the little book to see if there is a comma after one word or a semi-colon after another word, and tried to find out from some supreme court what the interpretation of this or that might be. We looked at our policies; we looked at the requirements of the situation; we looked at the spirit of the membership; with that we worked; with that we built up our organization and attained success.

I say, make no change now when conditions are such that we don't know what we might be called upon to do tomorrow. Conditions all over the world are such that something might happen tomorrow, as a result of the present situation, that might call for the fullest services and co-operation of the greatest and of the humblest in our organization. Put no hindrance in the way of anybody. We built up a wonderful spirit. We have shown it most particularly in the course of this convention. Let us do nothing that shall chill our spirit. Let us go ahead as we have and continue our successful work. (Great applause)

President HILLMAN: I think that there was enough discussion on this question, but I do feel that I would disappoint some of the delegates speaking for the minority, if I would not express my opinion at this time. You wish, those of you who support the minority, to insure and safeguard democracy. Democracy must be protected, and in this grave hour you bring the resolution that no man who is fit to be a general organizer must be permitted to run, lest the members elect him. Democracy must be protected against itself—a new kind of democracy—democracy by elimination. Eliminate these people, and the other people, and then we can trust democracy to have its way. Those are very old policies, but they are new at labor conventions, and they sound strange at a convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Let us compare. There are organizations that have those rules in the clothing industry. The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America has that rule. Every member of the Board works in the shop,—nay, not only in the shop, he works in his bed room. And then they come once a month, not in three months, to lay out the policies for the organization. I beg to submit to you delegates, the record of our organization and compare it with the record of the Journeymen Tailors' Union. I think it is not a question of the great danger confronting us. There are only three members on the Board who are on the staff as general organizers, and whether or not you place fortifications around the election of General Executive Board members so that those people or a few more who may be nominated, cannot be elected, the organization is going to survive. But the organization will be

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guided by a new spirit, the spirit of petty politics, the spirit of trying to protect ourselves against merit.

My friends, I am a believer in democracy. I believe with all its faults, with all its mistakes, it is much better than autocracy. But democracy, in order to succeed, must be efficient. It must not be hampered by all kinds of petty rules and regulations. You are not going to guard the organization by this additional rule. How many of you know about the rules of our organization? As one humble member in the organization, I submit, I don't know all the rules. I don't know all the provisions. I do know the aims; I do know the policies.

Delegates, I am not trying here to sway your opinion one way or the other. As a practical measure it will have no grave result. But I would feel sorry if such methods will be introduced into our organization. Look back; examine the methods of the organization. Delegates, I believe that our organization is perhaps the best expression of democracy at work, and it is because the officers of the organization have a great deal of power, and you cannot prevent men of ability in office from exercising power, because, unless they do that, the organization cannot make the progress it should make. The offices are created not to give five or six men a chance to come in. A delegate asks, "Can't we find in the shop six or seven men?" Give us those men, if they are there! Nominate them! Don't make a rule and say that every other able man must not run, so that these five or six men may get into the office. We have made progress because we have power. We have a working democracy. But we also have the greatest check-up on democracy. This convention assembled has the right and power to look back on our policies. Every officer must stand election and every member, man or woman, has the final say whether the officers should serve or not.

My friends, I will go further and say that, from what I know of the officials of the organization, they would never serve if they knew that they are *persona non grata* with the membership. Why make these rules? Why play at democracy when we have a real democracy at work?

We have been making many attempts to get men on our staff. And let me tell you, delegates, that it is not necessary for a man to be first on the General Executive Board in order to get on the staff. We are making no promises to the General Board members that they must get on the staff. Out of a staff of over thirty organizers, three are serving on the Board by virtue of their election, by virtue of nothing else but the fact that the membership at large elected them. Why, delegates, if you are so convinced, why not go to the membership when the vote takes place and tell them not to vote for those people, because they are general organizers? Why make a rule? Why establish a law that we cannot enforce even if we want to?

My friends, I say we have done well. We have done well not because of the General Executive Board. We have done well because there was the real progressive spirit in our organization. Because we were not playing at democracy, because we were exercising democracy, and I do hope that the delegates will take this proposition in the same spirit and permit the membership at large to vote for those whom they think are best fit to administer the high offices in our organization. I thank you. (Applause.)

We will vote right from the beginning by the raising of hands. The vote is on the minority report.

Delegate GOODMAN: I move that we vote by roll call.

The motion was carried.

President HILLMAN: The vote is on the minority report that no general organizers should be permitted to run for membership in the General Executive Board.

The roll call vote was as follows:

LOCAL AND CITY	YES	NO	ABSENT
1. Boston, Mass. ...		Joa. Pennini Frank Lerman	Jack Blume
2. New York City ..	David Goldstein J. Goodman I. Levinson Morris Rappaport Harry Schepps Nathan Slegel Max Schultz		

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LOCAL AND CITY	YES	NO	ABSENT
3. New York City	Alex Cohen Morris Goldin L. Nirenberg L. Revayle S. Weinstein		
4. New York City ..		A. Beckerman J. P. Friedman	Harry Jacobson Meyer Senter
6. Chicago, Ill.		Stephan Skala	
7. Brooklyn, N. Y. . .		Isador Axelrod Louis Berger	
8. New York City	Nathan Sosnick David Weiss	Hyman Goldoft Abr. Miller D. Nirenberg	
9. New York City ..		A. A. Silverman Louis Feinberg	
10. New York City ..		Louis Adler Sam Katz Philip Waldman	
11. New York City ..		Sam Leder	
12. New York City ..		Bennie Horowitz Jacob Gutterman S. Riger Sam Scheir	
15. Baltimore, Md. . .	Aaron Feldman		
16. New York City ..		Morris Goldstein M. Nitzberg Sam Stein Louis Zuckerman Max Yudelowitz	
19. New York City ..			
24. Newark, N. J. . .		Eugene Bucci Philip Berkowitz Julius Powers	one-half each
30. Brooklyn, N. Y. . .			
36. Baltimore, Md. . .	Bennie Bernstein Harry Crystal Sarah Katzen		Morris Zafran
38. Chicago, Ill.		W. Wybraniec	
39. Chicago, Ill.		Bennie Branzal A. N. Fisher D. Goldberg Rubin Morse Mary Resbeck T. Uzarski	
40. New York City ..	Jos. Newman	Hyman Novodvor B. Weiss D. Isaac Louis Shapiro J. Yelowitz Philip De Luca Ulisse De Dominicis	
43. New York City . .			
51. Baltimore, Md. . .			
52. Baltimore, Md. . .	Frank Dvorak		
54. Brooklyn, N. Y. . .	Frank Valtukaitis John Zubauch		
55. New York City ..		Harry Bender	
58. Brooklyn, N. Y. . .	Wm. Cernowsky		
59. Baltimore, Md. . .	Bennie Hurowitz		

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LOCAL AND CITY	YES	NO	ABSENT
61. Chicago, Ill.		Samuel Geler Jacob Kroil Frank Petrick	
63. New York City ..		Paul Arnone Frank Bellanca Dominick Di Nardo Benne Romano Gabriel Vastano	
69. Baltimore, Md. ..	Frank J. Bartoz		
72. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..	Davis Cohen Joe Cohen		
75. Philadelphia, Pa. .		Harry Goldstein	
85. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..		Frank Marrone L. Macola Theo. Pilger	
101. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..			
112. Cleveland, Ohio ..	Victor Foreman		
114. Baltimore, Md. ..	Harry Elsen Louis Lederman Max Prossman Morris Sirkin		
116. Montreal, Canada		A. Wells	
117. Baltimore, Md. ..	Harry Newstadt Max Rosinsky		
120. Louisville, Ky. ...		I. J. Strizover	
138. Philadelphia, Pa.		John Bender	
139. Philadelphia, Pa.		Vincenzo Greco	
140. Philadelphia, Pa.		S. Lesner	
141. Philadelphia, Pa.		Hyman Greenberg	
142. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..	Harry Taylor		
143. Philadelphia, Pa.		I. Kessler	
144. Chicago, Ill.	Morris Rabinowitz		
149. Boston, Mass.		John Platma	
150. Boston, Mass.		Thomas Morelli	
152. Chicago, Ill.	Jos. Goldman	Sam Diamond	
153. Philadelphia, Pa. .	Leah Galbin		
156. New York City ..	Morris Adinsky Chas. Englander Jos. Gold Sam Liptzin Jacob Pollack		
157. New York City ..	Emma Shapiro	Morris Gunt	
158. New York City ..	Harry N. Greenberg		
159. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..		Harry Rubin	
161. New York City ..	Benj. Indyke		
165. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..		Sam Hassner	
167. Montreal, Canada		I. Kessler	
169. New York City ..		Louis Posner	
170. Baltimore, Md. ..	Mamie Santora		
171. Boston, Mass.		David Gilman	
172. Boston, Mass.		Leon Lebovitz	
173. Boston, Mass.	David Goldstein	Nathan Biller	
174. Worcester, Mass.		H. Scher	
175. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..		J. Blume J. Zuckerman	Simon Haas
176. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..		Frank Cancellieri	
178. New York City ..		Abr. Kronick	
186. New York City ..		Hyman Mitnitsky Harris Yanofsky	
207. Woodbine, N. J. ..	M. Glazer		
209. Montreal, Canada		F. White	
213. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..	Sol Friedman H. Heller		
214. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..	Harry Kalushkin		

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LOCAL AND CITY	YES	NO	ABSENT
215. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..	Max Alexander Jack Perelman		
218. Baltimore, Md. ...		John J. Denkevicz	
230. Baltimore, Md. ...	John Drasel		
241. Baltimore, Md. ...	Sam Bassin Abe Sykes		
244. New York City ..		B. Goldsholl	
247. Baltimore, Md. ...		Morris Fisher	
248. New York City ..			Max Steinberg Sam Drabkin
249. Philadelphia, Pa. .		Sam Flicker	
259. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..	Louis Brodsky B. Jackson		
262. Brooklyn, N. Y. ..		Henry Dozzo P. Monat D. Wolf J. J. Young	
269. Chicago, Ill.	Peter Galskis		
277. Montreal, Canada		E. Rabkin	
280. New York City		Lorenzo De Maria	Thomas Frisa
J. B. Rochester		Jacob J. Levin	
J. B. Boston		Lazarus Marcovitz	
J. B. Chicago		Hyman Isovitz	
J. B. New York	Wm. Drubin		
J. B. New York Chf. Clothing Trade ...		Harry Cohen	
J. B. Toronto	Jas. Blugerman		
Phila. District Council		N. Bunin	
Baltimore District Council No. 3.....			Hyman Blumberg
Total.....	62	95	9

NOT VOTING

Sam'l Zorn, Local 1, Boston
J. S. Potofsky, Local 144, Chicago

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Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: The vote is: For the minority report 62; against 95; 9 absentees and 2 not voting. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: The motion to accept the minority report has been lost. All in favor that the majority report shall prevail will signify by saying Aye. This was carried

President HILLMAN: Before adjourning I wish to announce that Resolution No. 27, introduced by Local 2, has been withdrawn.

RESOLUTION NO. 27.

Resolved, that wherever editors of our official organs take the liberty to express their personal opinions on questions not pertaining to our organization in the editorial columns of our organs, that they do it in their own names and not in the name of the organization, which the organ represents.

BASTERS AND TAILORS' BRANCH OF THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF TAILORS, LOCAL 2, A. C. W. OF A.

J. Goodman, Chairman.
Harry Schepps, Secretary.

Secretary Schlossberg read the following greetings to the convention:

BALTIMORE CONVENTION

New York, May 17, 1918.

Best wishes for success of Third Biennial Convention of A. C. W. of A. Hope our requests will be granted.

EXECUTIVE BOARD LOCAL 158.

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 16, 1918.

Our greetings to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. May success be yours. The two thousand members of Local 262, Vestmakers' Union of Brooklyn, are impatient for the forty-four hour week, and hope that the next convention of the Amalgamated will record our having won this just demand.

VEST MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 262.

New York, May 17, 1918.

Accept our heartiest congratulations. Wish you success in all your undertakings.
LADIES' TAILORS' UNION, LOCAL 80, I. L. G. W. U.

New York, May 17, 1918.

May your deliberations contribute to the continued betterment of the conditions of labor and wages in the clothing industry and to the growth of labor solidarity and might, for the reconstruction of the world on the basis of full industrial democracy, which the Amalgamated has made the underlying principles of its activity.

JOINT COUNCIL OF NEW YORK HAT AND CAP MAKERS' UNION.

M. Zaritsky, Secretary.

Baltimore, May 17, 1918.

We congratulate you upon the spirit of the convention and wish you success in the future.

BRANCH 44, WORKMEN'S CIRCLE.

The session was adjourned at 5:35 P.M.

Ninth Session

Saturday Morning, May 18, 1918.

The meeting was called to order at 9:30 A.M.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

By Harry Cohen, Chairman.

RESOLUTION NO. 56, ON THE USE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES, BY LOCAL 3, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, our organization is composed of members of various nationalities, and

Whereas, delegates attending our convention are not always able to express their thoughts otherwise than in their own tongue, and

Whereas, this hinders many of the active and experienced men from participating in the deliberations of the convention and giving us the benefit of their experience, therefore be it

Resolved, that the delegates should have the right to express their opinions in their mother tongue and same should be interpreted in English to the delegates of the convention.

LOCAL 3, A. C. W. OF A.

A. Cohen.
S. Weinstein.
M. Goldin.
L. Revayel.
L. Nirenberg.

The committee recommends non-concurrence.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the report of the committee. The committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution and moves the adoption of its report.

Delegate WEINSTEIN of Local 3: I believe that those who cannot speak in the English language should have the right to speak in the language in which they can make themselves understood.

Delegate DVORAK of Local 52: I am absolutely opposed to this because, if you have twenty-five people speaking different languages, nobody would understand anything. If anybody here, for instance, spoke Bohemian, none would understand him.

Delegate REVAYEL of Local 3: Yesterday afternoon we talked a whole lot about democracy, but when it comes to a convention where 40 or 50 per cent of the delegates are able to express their opinions only in their own languages, why should they not be able to do so?

I should myself like to see that only one language used, but at the same time there are many men who are able to express their views only in a foreign language. Therefore we recommend this resolution to this convention. I ask you delegates to consider it thoroughly. If the Amalgamated claims that it is a democratic organization, this should be adopted in order that we should be able to express ourselves in the languages we know best.

The motion recommending non-concurrence in the resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 55, ON INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY, BY LOCAL 3, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, machinery is being introduced in our industry more frequently now than ever before, and

Whereas, with the introduction of this new machinery an overwhelming curtailment of employment of our members is being brought about, causing suffering for our members and also for our organization, therefore be it

Resolved, that this Third Biennial Convention go on record in favor of curtailing

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the hours of labor in proportion to the introduction of such new machinery. If the introduction of this new machinery will only apply to one particular branch of the trade, the hours of labor for that particular branch should be reduced proportionately, thereby safeguarding our members from lack of work.

LOCAL 3, A. C. W. OF A.

A. Cohen.
S. Weinstein.
M. Goldin.
L. Revayel.
L. Nirenberg.

Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the G. E. B. for proper consideration.

President HILLMAN: The recommendation of the committee is then, that this matter be referred to the incoming G. E. B. together with a committee from the Pressers' Organizations involved, in order that this matter may be thoroughly investigated and a solution sought. Is there any objection to the recommendation?

There was none, and the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 100, THANKING CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE, BY NEW YORK DELEGATES.

Whereas, the Arrangements Committee of District Council No. 3, A. C. W. of A., has in a very effective manner looked after the convenience and comfort of the delegates, and

Whereas, special efforts were made by the Arrangements Committee to entertain the delegates in a manner most satisfactory to the delegates, therefore be it

Resolved, that the Third Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A. hereby expresses its sincerest thanks and appreciation for the splendid efforts of the Arrangements Committee of District Council No. 3 to entertain the delegates and generally make their stay in the city of Baltimore most pleasant during the convention. Every delegate will surely carry pleasant memories of the Third Biennial Convention held in Baltimore, Md.

HARRY COHEN, Local 7,
J. P. FRIEDMAN, Local 4,
HARRY TAYLOR, Local 142,
MEYER SENTER, Local 4,
A. BECKERMAN, Local 4,
H. JACOBSON, Local 4.

The committee recommends concurrence.

This was unanimously carried.

President HILLMAN: On behalf of the Convention I extend the thanks of the Convention to the Arrangements Committee of our Baltimore organization.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: Mr. Chairman, I was asked by a member of the Committee on Resolutions, of which Harry Cohen is Chairman, to report a resolution that he vetoed, and that they adopted over his veto. Brother Cohen even committed the impropriety of tearing up the resolution. I shall read it to you as well as I can from this mutilated document.

RESOLUTION NO. 79, THANKING DELEGATE HARRY COHEN, BY LOCAL 175, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, Brother Harry Cohen, Manager of the Children's Clothing Trades of New York, has secured a flat \$4 increase for the workers of this branch of the clothing industry, and

Whereas, this was done without a strike and to the entire satisfaction of the Children's Clothing Workers, be it, therefore

Resolved, that this convention expresses its gratitude and thanks to Brother Harry Cohen for his past achievements, and wish him success in the future.

LOCAL 175, A. C. W. OF A.
Simon Hass,
Jacob Zuckerman,
Joseph Blum.

The resolution was approved.

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

By Abraham Beckerman, Chairman.

RESOLUTION NO. 52, ON LITERATURE FOR MEMBERS IN THE NATIONAL ARMY.

Whereas, a great number of our members are being drafted for service in the United States Army and Navy, and

Whereas, Knowing that the Bible is probably the only kind of literature that our boys are getting, be it

Resolved, that the A. C. W. of A. send proper literature to the members of our organization in the service.

H. TAYLOR, Local 42.

B. INDYKE, Local 161.

The committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: I think the committee should have recommended something else, instead of non-concurrence. There is a mistake in the substance of the resolution. It is not quite so that the boys in the Army get only the Bible. They might get that from those agencies who are interested in circulating the Bible, but there are other agencies who look after the distribution of all sorts of literature among them. In our own press we published an appeal from the Jewish Welfare Board, an organization that was formed for the purpose of looking after the comforts of the Jewish soldiers. They have asked for literature of all sorts, on economics, physics, religion, sociology, anything at all that any individual or organization desires to send for the purpose of distributing among the soldiers. I understand that they do not confine their to the Jewish soldiers, but they are really non-sectarian.

Everyone of us has an opportunity to send such literature. All that they ask is that whatever literature is sent should be complete. That is, if there is a set of books of three, don't send one; either send the complete set, or if you send one book, see that that book is complete in itself, so that the soldier can get a complete work.

I would suggest that this be referred to the General Executive Board, because a complete system will be worked out as they go along that will enable everybody to send literature to anyone in the army, such literature as you want them to read.

The recommendation of non-concurrence would mean that we don't want to send them any literature. We do not wish to leave our action open to such interpretation. I therefore suggest that this be referred to the General Executive Board.

Delegate ZORN: I move that this be referred to the G. E. B.

The amendment was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 5. ON LITERATURE FOR OUR GENERAL MEMBERSHIP, BY LOCAL 39, CHICAGO.

Whereas, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is a progressive and democratic organization, commanding respect in the Labor Movement, and its aim is, and always has been, to educate its members, because only an organization that has an educated membership can successfully conduct the struggles that a labor organization is constantly confronted with, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Third Biennial Convention, at the Garden Theatre, Baltimore, Maryland, instruct the incoming General Officers to set up a book store in the General Office in New York City, and be it further

Resolved, That said officers, or whoever will be designated by them, should order books and pamphlets in great quantities, so as to enable the General Officers to sell them at a much lower cost than when the members are compelled to buy at the publishers' retail price, and be it also

Resolved, That the General Office sell those books and pamphlets at a nominal cost to the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and be it further

Resolved, That a liberal supply of books and pamphlets should at all times be on stock at the General Office in as many languages as there are nationalities represented in our organization, and be it finally

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Resolved, That a catalogue constantly appear in our press of all the books and pamphlets on hand at the General Office, with the name of the book, its author, and the price.

LOCAL 39, CHICAGO,
A. N. Fisher.

In conjunction with this there is another resolution of a similar nature. That is Resolution No. 53.

RESOLUTION NO. 53, ON LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS FOR OUR MEMBERS, BY LOCAL 3, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, an increase of ten cents in the per capita to our General Office has been voted upon by our general membership, and,

Whereas, it was understood that this raise in the per capita should be used partly for educational purposes, and

Whereas, it is important that a spiritual atmosphere should be created among our members for the purpose of bringing out the best that is in them therefore be it

Resolved, that the General Office stand instructed to endeavor to the best of their ability to establish libraries and reading rooms in all clothing centers where conditions will permit so as to enable our members to enjoy their spare time in a wholesome atmosphere among their fellow workers.

LOCAL 3, A. C. W. OF A.,
A. Cohen,
S. Weinstein,
M. Goldin,
L. Neerenberg,
L. Revayel.

The committee recommends that these resolutions be concurred in and referred to the General Executive Board.

These resolutions were unanimously adopted with the recommendation of the committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 40, MORAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE NEW YORK CALL.

Whereas, the capitalist press has consistently distorted or suppressed news relating to the struggles of the working class; and

Whereas, it therefore becomes necessary for the working class to maintain an organ of its own so that it may have an opportunity to express its views; and

Whereas, the New York Call is the only daily labor paper in the East, and has always aided and faithfully represented the interests of the working class; be it

Resolved, that we, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in convention at Baltimore, do pledge our moral and financial aid in its support.

A. BECKERMAN, Local 4,
J. FRIEDMAN, Local 4,
MEYER SENTER, Local 4,
J. GOODMAN, Local 2,
PAUL ARNONE, Local 63.

The committee recommends concurrence.

Delegate RABKIN: I believe that instead of "the only daily paper," the resolution should read "the only daily paper in the English language."

The resolution was unanimously adopted as corrected.

RESOLUTION NO. 24, ON LITHUANIAN PAPER, BY LITHUANIAN DELEGATION.

Whereas, At the second biennial convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, held in Rochester, N. Y., May 1916, it was resolved that a publication in the Lithuanian language should be issued by our organization, and

Whereas, Thousands of our members speak no other language but the Lithuanian, and, with no publication in said language issued by our organization, they are deprived of a very valuable source of education and information about the

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struggles and achievements, the aims and principles of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and

Whereas, The need of a publication in the Lithuanian language is more imperative now than ever before, be it, therefore,

Resolved, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America publish not later than six months after this date a newspaper in the Lithuanian language, and be it further

Resolved, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America now assembled at its third biennial convention in Baltimore, Md., hereby instruct and authorize the General Executive Board to execute this resolution as adopted for the best interests of our organization.

L. Marcovitz, L. Lebovitz, S. Zorn, J. Blume, N. Biller, I. Takimo, J. Pennini, T. Morelli, U. E. Sher, F. Lerman, D. Gilman.

The committee recommends concurrence and reference to the G. E. B.

Delegate ZOUBOWITZ: The other nationalities with less members have papers in their own languages, and I believe we, Lithuanians, ought to have a paper in our language.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: The great difficulty with the Lithuanian paper is that it seems to be almost impossible to get an editor. It was just as impossible to get an organizer. We have until now been unsuccessful in getting a competent man to edit a Lithuanian paper for our members. The General Office has always been aware of the necessity of a Lithuanian paper. We have not forgotten it and we have not given it up. As soon as it will be possible, arrangements for a Lithuanian paper will be made. But the Lithuanians must make it their business to help the General Office in bringing this about.

President HILLMAN: At our General Executive Board meetings we have decided time and again to issue a Lithuanian paper, but, unfortunately, we could not find the proper man to edit a paper. This resolution will instruct the incoming G. E. B. to make further efforts for the issuance of a Lithuanian paper.

This resolution was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 44, ON EDUCATIONAL WORK IN CANADA, BY MONTREAL JOINT BOARD.

Taking into consideration the necessity of extensive cultural activity amongst Amalgamated members in Montreal, we decided to demand that this convention assign a certain amount of money for educational work in Canada, and to organize lecture tours for the discussion of trade union problems and workingmen's politics.

MONTREAL JOINT BOARD,

F. White, Local 209,
A. Wells, Local 116,
E. Rabkin, Local 277.

With this there was also a communication from the Rand School of Social Science, offering to co-operate with us in work of the nature asked for by the brothers in Canada. A representative of the Rand School was also present at the committee meeting and suggested starting different classes—correspondence classes for members throughout the country. We decided to couple the letter of Algernon Lee and the statement of the Rand School together with Resolution No. 44 and refer them to the General Executive Board, concurring with the general idea of spreading education among the members.

This recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

At this point Board Member Levin of Chicago took the Chair.

Delegate BECKERMAN: There is a Jewish letter here, from the Kropotkin Society, asking for co-operation. The committee decided to refer it to the General Executive Board.

The suggestion of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate BECKERMAN: We have here a resolution which was handed in too late for our consideration.

RESOLUTION NO. 104, ON EDUCATION, BY LOCAL 36, BALTIMORE.

Whereas, members of the A. C. W. of A., at the Second Biennial Convention

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in Rochester, adopted a resolution to educate its members throughout the country, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that \$5,000 be appropriated for the above mentioned purpose.

LOCAL, 36, A. C. W. OF A.,
H. Crystal.

Although the committee has not met, it seems to me that this resolution is similar to the other resolutions that have already been referred to the General Executive Board, and I don't see that any other decision can be made on this resolution, except to couple it along with the others and leave the whole matter to the discretion of the G. E. B.

This suggestion was unanimously adopted.

President Hillman at this point resumed the Chair.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

By Harry Cohen

RESOLUTION NO. 37, ON THE WHOLESALE CLOTHING CLERKS, BY LOCAL 158, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, We, the Clothing Clerks of the wholesale clothing industry, numbering 2,000 workers in an important part of the production of clothing, are overworked and underpaid, and the manufacturers have us at their mercy, can do as they please, while we suffer hardships and also lack of organization;

Whereas, The Wholesale Clothing Clerks' Union, Local 158, has been organized and chartered for the past eight months;

Whereas, Our members, as a part of the clothing industry, are beginning to see the light;

Whereas, We now have a reliable and active nucleus to build up a strong organization; be it

Resolved, That this Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America call on the New York Joint Board and the Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades to seat as a delegation the representatives of our organization, and,

Be It Resolved, That in future the Wholesale Clothing Clerks' Union be protected and supported morally and financially, the same as other branches of the industry.

LOCAL 158, A. C. W. OF A.,
Harry N. Greenberg.

The Committee recommends that it be referred to the New York Joint Board, if Local 158 should be dissatisfied with the action of the Joint Board it may appeal to the G. E. B.

Delegate GREENBERG: The question has been before the G. E. B. at several sessions. Our organization has done a whole lot for the clothing industry at various times. At all times we have done all in our power to help various strikes conducted in New York City by different organizations in the clothing industry. We don't see why our organization, which has been in existence since January, 1916, and chartered for the past eight months, should not get any support from the A. C. W. of A. As a local union, I believe we should be entitled to the full rights and full support, the same as other locals of the A. C. W. of A. We have no one to tell our troubles to. On various occasions we have co-operated with the Cutters' Union. We want to go out and try to accomplish the 48 hours that you men are having today. You are going to get the 44 hours in the very near future. Let the Wholesale Clothing Clerks' Union, Local 158, at least get the 48 hours. We are not looking for 44, but give us 48 hours at the present time.

The men in our local have been paying dues at the rate of 80 cents a month for the past year. We are not giving them any support. They are actually paying for nothing, as you all know as well as I do. And when a man has not the support of an organization or the support of the entire industry, he is going to lag in payments and drop out as a member. But if he sees that the organization has some power in reinstating him when he loses his position, or sees that he gets what is coming to him as an organization man, he will stick. Therefore I urge upon each and every delegate present here this morning to pass this resolution that we should have representation at the New York Joint Board.

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Delegate SILVERMAN, Local 9: I believe that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is an industrial organization, and we wish to see all branches in the clothing industry organized under the banner of the Amalgamated. As to the organization of the shipping and stock clerks' union I know that there is a very good element in that organization, always ready and on the job, whenever there is work for them to do. I, for one, cannot see why the New York Joint Board would not seat their delegates as representatives at the New York Joint Board. I believe that we should give a chance to the Shipping Clerks' Union to have their representatives at the Joint Board, and take up their business with the New York Joint Board, whenever they have some business to be taken up. I, therefore, move to amend that the Shipping Clerks' Union be permitted to be represented at the New York Joint Board as are other branches of this industry.

President HILLMAN: I wish to say to the delegates that it is all very well to come before the convention and make a plea, but it cannot be expected of the delegates to acquaint themselves in five minutes time with all the bodies of the organization. We have dealt with this question for months. This Wholesale Clerks' Organization came time and again before the G. E. B., assuring the G. E. B. that they will raise no issue in the market if a charter is granted until the organization is ready for it. We are an industrial organization, but that does not mean as yet that we must sacrifice our existing organizations by undertaking tasks for which we are not ready.

I believe it is unfair for the movers of the resolution to put it up to the convention, without giving the convention the opportunity to acquaint itself with all the facts. There is the New York Joint Board. The Wholesale Clerks' Union can at any time come to the New York Joint Board and lay its case before them. There is the General Organization. If they have any grievance, they may come before the General Organization and lay it before them. The whole matter is not as simple as it may appear. I do hope that the delegates will concur with the recommendation of the Committee, because, after all, the New York delegation may act on it in New York City if they feel that some wrong should be righted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 92, RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS IN PLACE OF RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY DELEGATE LIPZIN AT THE EIGHTH SESSION.

Whereas, a very great number of the members of the Socialist Party of the United States have rendered efficient and valuable service to the national and local organizations of the A. C. W. of A., in the hard struggles the clothing workers went through, and

Whereas, the organizations of the Socialist Party acted in close harmony with the wishes of the organizations of the A. C. W. of A. in drafting legislative measures to be introduced in various legislatures of the states through the elected officials of the Socialist Party, and

Whereas, the Socialist Party as part of the Workers' International stands for a constructive program of social readjustment and reconstruction to take place upon the conclusion of the war, and

Whereas, such program is entirely in accord with the repeated views of the A. C. W. of A. on the same subject, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that the Third Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A. expresses its full sympathy with the work of the individual socialists and organizations tending to bring about such readjustment of social conditions that would meet with the trend of the world's progress toward a state of society where labor will be fully emancipated and class prejudice and oppression will exist no longer.

The committee recommends concurrence with the resolution, and moves its adoption.

This was unanimously carried.

Secretary Schlossberg at this point took the Chair.

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REPORT OF THE ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

By Chairman Alex Cohen

RESOLUTION NO. 43, ON MERGING OF JOINT BOARDS IN NEW YORK, BY LOCAL 156, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, at the last convention of the A. C. W. of A., a resolution was adopted that the New York Joint Board and the Children's Clothing Trades Joint Board be merged in one Joint Board, therefore be it

Resolved, that this convention order the carrying out of the decision of the last convention.

The committee reports concurrence with this resolution.

Delegate GOLD: I was instructed by my local union to take up this question here and present this resolution. Two years ago we submitted a similar resolution, which passed the convention, and up to the present time the resolution is still on paper. We find it more necessary now than two years ago, especially because of the uniform clothing. The manufacturers of New York realize that it is to their advantage to have one Joint Board, and they have merged into one. We also find that in order to benefit our members in New York more than we have up to the present time, it will be necessary to have one Joint Board. Therefore we ask this convention and the General Executive Board to see that the resolution of two years ago, passed at the Rochester Convention, be carried out.

Delegate HARRY COHEN: A point of information. May I be informed if a resolution of that kind was passed two years ago?

Chairman SCHLOSSBERG: Yes, to bring the two Joint Boards of New York together.

Delegate COHEN: I would like to know if they met at any time.

Delegate GOLD: I can say that they did.

Delegate COHEN: I beg to differ.

Chairman SCHLOSSBERG: You have heard the answer.

Delegate GOODMAN: This is a very important question. We have started to unite the small local unions and we did not meet with success on account of this. They said, we cannot unite our local unions while our central bodies are not united. The manufacturers had two separate bodies, and now they are uniting. Before we could not see it so clearly. The fact that the manufacturers' associations have combined has proven it to them. Therefore I think that this resolution is in place.

Delegate MILLER: I don't know whether a decision of this convention will bring about more close unity of the two Joint Boards, but I wish the delegates, particularly the New York delegates, would consider this proposition from an organization standpoint. I believe that we are suffering in New York City very much on account of having these here two kingdoms: the Children's Jacket Makers' Joint Board on one side and the New York Joint Board on the other side. When we had the District Council, the Children's Jacket Makers' Locals were united with the locals of the men's clothing workers. Now, since we organized the New York Joint Board, we are absolutely separated from the Children's Clothing Workers. In New York City we had the First of May demonstration, which, in my opinion, was one of the most glorious achievements of our organization. Although we had about 10,000 of our members present, we could have had many thousands more, many turned back because of lack of space, if the Children's Clothing Workers would have also participated. In the everyday routine work we frequently come in conflict with each other. I believe it is high time for this convention to come out definitely and urge both Joint Boards to unite. I believe that when we will do that we will have one of the most powerful, one of the most efficient central bodies in New York City.

Chairman SCHLOSSBERG: Delegates, I want to call your attention to one thing. We have shown in this convention the efficiency of democracy. Now the most immediate ideal of democracy for us just now is to adjourn as quickly as we can. So I would urge all the delegates to take up as little time as possible in this discussion.

Delegate HARRY COHEN: Regarding the question of amalgamating both Joint Boards, I think that the delegates of New York are misrepresenting the situation in stating that they are suffering because there are two Joint Boards. I beg to differ, because I can prove that the New York market has gained a great deal because there

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were two Joint Boards. For instance, we all know that the Children's Clothing Workers were at all times on the job to improve conditions. After the Children's Clothing Trades Joint Board got its demands, the New York Joint Board followed.

For that reason I don't think that the New York market is suffering because there are two Joint Boards, although I personally am in favor that we should work out some plan for both Joint Boards to work in conjunction.

There are a few reasons why the Children's Clothing Trades Joint Board does not want to amalgamate. In the first place, there is too much democracy in the New York Joint Board. (Laughter and applause.) Now, for instance, take the paid officials of the New York Joint Board. I say that the New York Joint Board is exploiting its officials, and we, of the Children's Clothing Trades Joint Board will positively not stand for such exploitation. (Applause.)

You all know that when it comes down to trade matters, we always did work in harmony. If the only reason why Brother Miller insists on the amalgamation is that we were not present at Madison Square Garden, I think that is not sufficient proof that we should amalgamate, although I wish to say that if the New York Joint Board would have asked us to co-operate in that demonstration in Madison Square Garden, we would have positively been there. I recommend, if it is in place, that the resolution be referred to the G. E. B., who should invite both the Joint Boards and work out a plan for them to operate harmoniously.

President HILLMAN: The delegate moves to amend that the resolution be referred to the General Executive Board.

This was seconded.

Delegate WOLF: I wish to say to the delegates of Local 156 that they particularly know about the attempts that have been made on the part of the New York Joint Board, but we have been unable to bring about amalgamation. I want to say that the children's clothing trade is not ready to unite. Don't let us fool ourselves. They are not ready, in spite of the fact that your resolution was presented by Delegate Riger of Local 12. It is not practical and you cannot get it. It will take some time before this proposition can be put through, and you simply want a resolution to be on record that two years ago we decided and after two years we decided again and the very same thing happened. We cannot unite at this time. We can only work in harmony. It is not practical at this time.

Delegate RUBIN: I would be satisfied, if we could work in harmony. Do you call it harmony, when the Children's Clothing Trade makes its demands in January, and the tailors in March? Do you call it harmony, when we happen to work for one firm, and the men's clothing workers desire to call a strike and the children's jacket makers are opposing it? Do you call that harmony? If harmony would be there, the resolution would not be there. But there is a lack of harmony for one reason or another, and that is the reason that the resolution is here.

Delegate RABKIN: Both Joint Boards believe that amalgamation is necessary. The trouble is that it cannot be put into effect now. It is necessary to have both Joint Boards amalgamate, but they cannot find the way in which to unite Both Joint Boards.

I would like to call the attention of the delegates to one thing, that the two Joint Boards are not working in perfect harmony. It sometimes takes three and four weeks before we can get both Joint Boards together for the purpose of taking up questions that concern both.

Delegate ALEX COHEN: I feel that it is important that this resolution should be adopted by this convention, though I myself feel that it cannot be done by simply forcing it upon the delegates or the local unions of the Children's Clothing Workers in New York. I understand that you will have to find ways and means to make both parties see the necessity of merging both Joint Boards into one.

Those who know the situation in New York know the importance of merging both Joint Boards into one. I cannot enumerate at this time all the instances for the last several years since we have had these two Joint Boards to show the delegates why it is necessary, but I know there were difficulties in coming together on several occasions on matters of vital importance to the organization. I also know that with the Clothing Cutters' Union we have to make half and half division. We always have to have delegates there and delegates here. When a situation arises in the City of New York, a proportion of the cutters receive something, the next half does not receive it. We don't know how to manage it. We don't know whom to put in the Joint Board of the men's clothing industry and whom to send to the Joint Board of the children's clothing industry.

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Therefore, delegates, I feel that though, as I said in the beginning, I would not like the convention to have it appear that we want to force these two Joint Boards to go ahead and merge, under all conditions and all circumstances, I do feel that with the adoption of the resolution, and with the co-operation of both parties with the General Office, perhaps at the next convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America we may report one big strong Union in the City of New York, and therefore I move the adoption of the resolution. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: The motion is that the resolution be concurred in. The amendment is that it be referred to the incoming General Executive Board. The vote occurs on the amendment. All in favor of the motion, as amended, will signify by saying Aye.

This was not carried. (Applause.)

The motion was carried. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: We appointed a Finance Committee which met at the General Office before we convened here. The Chairman of the Committee is Brother Marcovitz of Boston. The other members are Brother Pollak of Local 156, New York, and Brother Bunin of Philadelphia.

Brother Marcovitz read the report of the Finance Committee as follows:

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

By L. Marcovitz, Chairman

We, the undersigned, having been appointed by the General Executive Board as a Finance Committee to audit the books of our International Organization, herewith beg to submit our report.

We met at the General Office on Tuesday morning, May 7th, and were continually in session for three days until our work was completed.

The Finance Committee appointed before the Rochester Convention did not meet, and the General Officers, therefore, asked us to examine the books for that period as well. Accordingly, our audit began with January 1, 1915, when our organization officially began its activity under the name of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The committee found that it was impracticable and a physical impossibility to go over each item for three and one half years, from the establishment of the organization to the present day.

The committee therefore selected at random several months in each year in the following fashion: A complete audit was made for the months of March and November, 1915; February, July and September, 1916; January, April, August and October, 1917, and January, 1918.

For the above months the committee carefully investigated each item of income and expense and verified the bank accounts. It also examined the system of book-keeping, which it commends highly. The books were found to be well kept and in proper order. All receipts were properly entered and verified by the deposits in the bank. The expenses were accounted for in the most detailed manner. Receipts and checks were found in folded vouchers for each item of expense. The committee verified the report, which was prepared by the auditor, and is herewith given in a recapitulation, which shows the standing of the organization as on the first day of May, 1918. We also checked up stock on hand and found it correct.

ASSETS:

Cash in Banks	\$23631.45	
Third Liberty Loan Bonds.....	5000.00	\$28631.45
Petty Cash Fund		125.00
Accounts Receivable		
Locals	16771.72	
Locals 161-244 due on unpaid per capita	772.95	
Fortschritt	4986.42	
\$100,000 Fund	2181.98	
District Council No. 1—Loan	600.00	
Joint Board Montreal	400.00	25713.07
Inventory of Stamps, Books and Supplies....		4815.21
Furniture and Fixtures, Less Depreciation..	2323.27	
Mailing Equipment	517.60	2841.87
		\$62125.60

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DEDUCT LIABILITIES:

Hillquitt and Levine	\$ 500.00	
Bonds	5.00	
Check Exchanges	182.50	
N. Y. Joint Board (½ Newark expense)...	1945.23	
N. Y. Joint Board (Sundry expense)	899.00	3531.73
		<hr/>
Net worth.....		\$53593.87

We recommend: (1) That it should be made obligatory for all Local Unions, Joint Boards and District Councils to have all of their financial officers, and other persons in their employ who handle funds for them, bonded under the system inaugurated by the General Office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

(2) That a modern and scientific bookkeeping system be installed by all Local Unions, Joint Boards and District Councils under the supervision of the General Office.

We find that none of the Children's Clothing Workers' Locals in New York pay per capita for their women members, also one of their locals, Local 7 of Brooklyn, does not pay per capita for the fifth week in the month. The committee are unanimous in declaring that we not only reprove such practices as being in violation of the constitution, but still more so in violation of the spirit of our organization. We recommend that the Convention insist that those Locals pay per capita in full for all members, and for each week or month as the case may be.

L. MARCOVITZ, Boston Joint Board, Chairman.
 N. BUNIN, District Council No. 2.
 JACOB POLLACK, Local 156.

President HILLMAN: The committee moves the adoption of its report.

Delegate ISOWITZ: I heard that some Local Unions do not pay the per capita; which ones are they?

Delegate MARCOWITZ: None of the Children's Clothing Trades Locals pay per capita for women members, and Local 7 does not pay for the fifth week in the month whenever there are five weeks in the month.

President HILLMAN: I don't want it to be said after a while that you did not receive full information. The committee has reported to you on the financial standing of the organization. They went through with the auditing of the books. They have made their report and ask that you adopt it. Are you ready for the question?

The report was unanimously adopted.

Delegate ISOWITZ: I move that the Convention goes on record that the General Office be instructed to enforce the payment of the proper per capita by every Local Union.

This was unanimously carried.

President HILLMAN: I wish to say to the Local Unions that the General Office will immediately enforce this mandate even before the 44 hour week. (Applause.)

The following resolution was introduced by the Finance Committee:

RESOLUTION NO. 87, ON UNIFORM FINANCE SYSTEM, BY LOCAL 144, CHICAGO.

Whereas, the General Office of the A. C. W. of A. introduced a uniform bookkeeping system for all affiliated Locals with the sole purpose of introducing a proper accounting system for the recording of Local funds, and

Whereas, only a few Locals have availed themselves of this most desirable scheme, and

Whereas, in some cities the Joint Board or District Council is conducting the financial business of Locals, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that those Locals whose finances are not controlled by any central body be and are hereby instructed to use the books of the General Office, be it further

Resolved, that the General Officers stand instructed to see that the financial department devise also a uniform system for all central bodies.

LOCAL 144.

Jacob S. Potofsky.
 Morris Rabinowitz.

This was unanimously adopted.

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RESOLUTION NO. 96, ENDORSING THE NATURALIZATION LEAGUE, BY DELEGATE BECKERMAN.

Resolved, that this Convention endorse the Naturalization Aid League of New York City and pledge moral and financial aid.

A. BECKERMAN, Local 4.

The resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 72, ON SUPPORT FOR THE DAILY WORLD OF CHICAGO, BY CHICAGO DELEGATION.

Whereas, the Chicago Daily World is a Socialist daily paper, issued by the Workers' Publishing Association for the purpose of spreading the ideal of Socialism and trade unionism, and

Whereas, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Locals of Chicago are in hearty support of said paper, and

Whereas, the Chicago daily paper is the only means of strengthening the labor movement, as well as of organizing the Jewish workers of the Western states, therefore be it

Resolved, that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America pledge its moral and financial support.

Jacob S. Potofsky, Morris Rabinowitz, Joseph Goldman, Sam Diamond, Hyman Isowitz, Chairman Chicago Joint Board; R. Morse, A. N. Fisher, D. Goldberg and Mae Rezbeck, Local 39; F. Petrick, J. Kroll and Sam Geler, Local 61.

The committee recommends concurrence and reference to the General Executive Board.

Delegate RABINOWITZ: I move to amend that we contribute \$200.

President HILLMAN: I do hope that the delegates will vote down this amendment. I know for the interest of the Convention that if we are going to take up financial contributions here at the Convention at this time, we are not going to get through today.

Delegate RABINOWITZ: The delegates of the country do not know the situation in Chicago. On account of the press we have always suffered. Lately we have been fortunate enough to have a daily Socialist paper in the City of Chicago, working for the trade unions and the Socialist Party. What this paper has done for the Amalgamated I believe that the \$200 will not be sufficient to repay. I would surely favor more, but at this time I know that the General Office cannot contribute more, and I therefore made an amendment for only \$200. I feel that if the Amalgamated intends to do any work now, it can only be done through the press in Chicago. I know that it cannot exist without our financial assistance.

Delegate GOLD: A point of information: Is not the decision of the committee to refer it to the G. E. B. and they shall act on the matter?

President HILLMAN: The delegate feels that the convention must act now.

Delegate DIAMOND: Although I am a Chicago member, I don't agree with the other delegate. I believe that this thing should be given over to the General Executive Board. They are interested just as much as the delegates here, and I believe that \$200 is no money, if the Amalgamated really wants to do something for this paper. If the Brother should make it \$500, probably I would speak on it. I expect that the General Office knows the necessity of this paper for Chicago, and, therefore, I leave it to the General Executive Board, and I believe they will do all they can.

President HILLMAN: The motion is that this be referred to the General Executive Board. The amendment is that \$200 be voted by this convention.

The amendment was not carried.

The motion to refer it to the G. E. B. was carried.

President HILLMAN: I wish to state, for the benefit of the convention, that the General Executive Board will meet right after the adjournment of this convention, to take up the requests for aid that the convention has referred to the G. E. B.

The following resolutions referred to the finance committee were then read:

RESOLUTION NO. 99, ON ASSISTANCE FOR BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM, BY LOCAL 43, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Whereas, the workers of Williamsburg need a home, be it

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Resolved, that we go on record to assist financially the Williamsburg (Brooklyn) Labor Lyceum.

L. SHAPIRO, YELOWITZ, AND D. ISAACS of Local 43.

The committee recommends concurrence and reference to the G. E. B.
This was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 101, ON ASSISTANCE FOR BROWNSVILLE LABOR LYCEUM, BY LOCAL 175, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Resolved, to aid the Brownsville Labor Lyceum with five hundred dollars.

SIMON HAAS, JACOB ZUCKERMAN, JOSEPH BLOOM, of Local 175.

Committee recommends reference to the G. E. B.
Recommendation accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 76, ON ASSISTANCE FOR THE "NEW WORLD," BY LOCALS 2 AND 161, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, the Jewish Socialist Federation can only express and fight the battle of the working class through their official organ, the New World, and

Whereas, this paper, in its course of battle for the working class has found itself in financial embarrassment, therefore be it

Resolved, that the A. C. W. of A. extend its financial assistance to that said paper.

Nathan Siegel, Morris Rappaport, Joe Goodman, Max Schultz, D. Goldstein, I. Levenson and R. Schepps of Local 2; Benj. Indyke, of Local 161.

Committee recommends reference to the G. E. B.
Carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION NO. 74, SAME PURPOSE, BY DELEGATE BLUGERMAN.

Whereas, the labor movement in general depends on its own press, and

Whereas, the success of the Amalgamated is largely due to the loyal support of the Socialist Labor Press, and

Whereas, the official organ of the Jewish Socialist Federation, the Naye Welt, is one of the papers which stood by the Amalgamated through thick and thin, be it

Resolved, to grant a donation of \$3000 for that paper and express our appreciation for all the support given to us.

JOINT BOARD OF TORONTO,
J. Blugerman.

RESOLUTION NO. 102, ON A SINKING FUND, BY LOCAL 52, BALTIMORE, MD.

Whereas, the organization is carrying on its work slowly and successfully, and

Whereas, large sums of money are needed for such noble purposes, be it

Resolved, that the Third Biennial Convention instructs the General Executive Board to establish a sinking fund of \$1,000,000. In order to realize the above mentioned sum five cents per month from each member should be laid aside.

F. DEBOROK, Local 52.

The committee recommends reference to the G. E. B.

Delegate RIEGER: I would like to amend this resolution that we establish an emergency fund for the purpose of helping carry out the 44 hour proposition; I recommend that we put a \$2 assessment on each member of the Amalgamated and raise a fund of \$200,000 in order to help to carry out the 44 hour week campaign.

President HILLMAN: Do you think it is worth while to place this motion before the house? If you are satisfied we will. Almost every local organization is laying aside emergency funds. I think it would be too much to come to our membership now and ask them for money for another fund. I also wish to state for the benefit of the delegates that it has been reported by the Secretary. Some of the delegates were not here when the report was read that we are putting aside 5 cents per month per capita for what we call an emergency strike fund, which is used whenever assistance for strikes is called for by the Local Unions.

The recommendation of the committee is to refer it to the incoming G. E. B.
This was unanimously carried.

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RESOLUTION NO. 98, ON THE SOCIALIST PARTY MILLION DOLLAR FUND, BY LOCAL 4, NEW YORK CITY.

Resolved, that this convention does hereby endorse the million dollar fund for the Socialist Party campaign and hereby vote \$500 towards this fund.

A. Beckerman, Meyer Senter, J. P. Friedman, Harry Jacobson and A. Silverman of Local 4; Sam Drabkin, Local 248; Simon Haas, Local 175.

Committee recommends reference to the G. E. B.

Unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 71, ON BONDING FINANCIAL OFFICERS, BY LOCAL 144, CHICAGO.

Whereas, the General Office has entered into an arrangement with a reliable Surety Company, through which all financial officers of any Local Union may be bonded without regard as to who the officers may be, and

Whereas, under this arrangement the funds of the organization are fully and amply protected continually, as long as the premium for the ensuing year is paid, be it

Resolved that it be made obligatory with all Local Unions of the A. C. W. of A. to bond through the General Office their respective financial officers for the protection of the organization's funds. Be it further

Resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to all Local Unions immediately after the convention.

JACOB S. POTOFSKY,
MORRIS RABINOWITZ, Local 144.

Committee recommends concurrence.

Report unanimously accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 73, ON ASSISTANCE FOR "PUBLIC OWNERSHIP," BY DELEGATE EISEN.

Whereas, the Socialist paper, Public Ownership, has contributed a great deal towards the growth of the Amalgamated in this city, and

Whereas, District Council No. 3 of this city has officially endorsed Public Ownership as the Organ of the Amalgamated in this city, and

Whereas, Public Ownership is at this time in an embarrassing financial condition, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that the Third Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A. now assembled in the City of Baltimore does hereby vote three hundred dollars towards the maintenance of the above paper.

H. EISEN, Local 114, Baltimore.

Committee recommends reference to the G. E. B.

Unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 75, ON ASSISTANCE FOR THE JEWISH LABOR GAZETTE, TORONTO, CANADA, BY TORONTO JOINT BOARD.

Whereas, the Locals in Canada are much assisted by the New Jewish Labor Gazette, published in Toronto, and

Whereas, this is the only paper in Canada on which we can depend for support, be it

Resolved, to grant a donation of \$50 to this paper.

TORONTO JOINT BOARD.

J. Blugerman.

The committee recommends reference to the incoming G. E. B.
Unanimously carried.

Delegate ALEX COHEN: There is here a delegation from the Cigar Makers' Union and I move that the committee be referred to the General Executive Board.

This was carried unanimously.

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REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REPORT OF OFFICERS

By J. P. Friedman

RESOLUTION NO. 21, ON INDORSING THE PROGRAM OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY, BY LOCAL 63, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, the British Labor Party, as the political spokesman of the vast majority of the organized working class of Great Britain, has come out squarely and uncompromisingly for the international working class program on social, political and industrial reconstruction, the adoption and establishment of which must lead the toilers of the British Isles from political dependence and industrial slavery to the full enjoyment of the entire product of their labor; and

Whereas, the same principles, purposes and aspirations are also those of a vast and rapidly growing portion of the labor movement of America and the world, and is the ultimate goal of the great organization of Clothing Workers represented by this Convention, and

Whereas, we firmly believe that at the end of this war, and immediately following the conclusion of peace, such a program must necessarily be adopted by the workers of every nation as the logical, effective and scientific method of social reconstruction, countenanced by historical evolution and progress, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that we, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in International Convention Assembled, in Baltimore, Md., do now express our wholehearted and unconditional solidarity with our brothers and fellow workers of Great Britain, and hereby pledge our fullest moral support, as well as financial, to the end that their program may be carried out in its entirety, setting thereby a mighty and glorious example to the toilers of the world; and be it further

Resolved, that the Convention goes on record as favoring the adoption of a similar program as the standing policy of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to be carried out along such political and industrial lines as events may determine and opportunity may dictate.

A. BELLANCA, P. ARNONE, B. ROMANO, DI NARDO, G. VASTANO.

RESOLUTION NO. 8, INDORSING THE INTER-ALLIED LABOR CONFERENCE, BY LOCAL 63, NEW YORK CITY.

Resolved, that this Convention indorse the program adopted by the Socialists and Labor Unions of the Allied Countries held in London, known as the Labor Party War Programme.

P. ARNONE, G. VASTANO, A. BELLANCA, B. ROMANO, DI NARDO.

The committee recommends concurrence with Resolutions 22 and 8.
Recommendation unanimously accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 33, ON FINANCIAL REPORTS, BY LOCAL 2, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, financial reports are submitted by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America Bi-Annually at the regular Conventions, and

Whereas, it is desirable to keep our members acquainted with the financial standing of our International, be it

Resolved, that the General Office issue quarterly financial statements to be compiled in bulletin form and submit same to the different Local Unions affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

BASTERS' AND TAILORS' BRANCH OF THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD
OF TAILORS, LOCAL 2.

The committee recommends favorably.

Delegate EISEN: I understand, that at the last convention at Rochester a similar resolution was adopted, but not carried out to my knowledge.

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE: The committee discussed this recommendation at length and they took the view, that at times, when we have a great deal of trouble, such as strikes, it may be advisable for our General Officers, or the G. E. B., to withhold all information from the general public regarding such an important part of our organization as its finances. The committee intended to recommend that the

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G. E. B. may withhold financial reports at such times as they deem it advisable, but they feel that the organization will always give them that right and permit them to use their discretion as to when it is necessary to hold back any reports.

Delegate BECKERMAN: I am very glad that Brother Friedman made this explanation, because it seems to me that the Committee did not use very good judgment in simply making a direct recommendation that the financial report be made every three months. I believe we can afford to accept the recommendation of the committee that a financial report be made, but I believe it would be the understanding of everybody that votes in favor of it that, at any time the General Office see fit to withhold any report, they are certainly entitled to that privilege, and that sometimes it may be necessary for the organization to do so. But simply to insist that every three months a report must go out may be all right and very democratic so far as we are concerned, but it is no good for outsiders who may use this information against us. I want to say that the office is surely not desirous of withholding information from our members. We have appointed the Financial Committee, and we have given them ample time not only to go through the report, but every detailed information they desired was given to them. But unfortunately, or fortunately, we are always busy either on defensive strikes or offensive, and it is not always advisable to have our financial condition disclosed to the public at large. Everything printed is public information. We feel that at this time we can send the information to the Local Union. If in the future, for some reason, the General Executive Board should feel that it would hurt the best interests of the organization, we will naturally withhold it. The recommendation of the committee is concurrence with the resolution.

Delegate EISEN: May I offer an amendment to this resolution? My amendment is that the words "every three months" be stricken out and "periodically" be inserted instead.

President HILLMAN: The amendment is to strike out the words "three months" and to insert the word "periodically" in their place.

The resolution as amended was seconded and unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 83, ON THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS, BY LOCAL 6, CHICAGO.

Whereas, a spirit of resentment has been manifested by the Czech-Slovaks, Jugoslavs, Poles and other nationalities oppressed by the Hapsburg misrule, be it therefore,

Resolved, that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in this Third Biennial Convention assembled at the City of Baltimore, endorse the principles voiced by the President of the United States, the Inter-Allied Labor Conference and revolutionary Russia for the self-determination of all nations, large or small, which is the basis of lasting democratic peace, and be it also

Resolved, that we appeal to President Wilson and the members of Congress to exercise the great powers of the United States in favor of the independence of those nationalities that are suffering under the Austrian Government and are striving for their independence, and be it further

Resolved, that copies of these resolutions be sent to the President and Vice-President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Chairman of the Committees for Foreign Affairs of both Houses of Congress.

STEPHEN SKALA, Local 6.

Committee recommends concurrence.
Unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 88, ON SUBSCRIPTION TO OFFICIAL ORGANS, BY LOCAL 69, BALTIMORE, MD.

Whereas, the official organs of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are published by the General Office in five different languages, English, Polish, Bohemian, Italian and Jewish, and we also expect that a Lithuanian paper will be published soon, therefore be it

Resolved, that every member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America become a subscriber of one of the above mentioned papers, and that he or she pay for the subscription while paying the monthly or weekly dues.

F. J. BARTOCZ, Local 69.

Committee recommends resolution favorably, and if adopted, every member of the A. C. W. of A. should receive one of the official journals of our organization, to

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be paid for by the Local Unions, District Councils or Joint Boards by paying one cent per week in addition to the regular dues. Local to have option whether to charge members or not.

Unanimously carried.

President HILLMAN: As soon as this is passed by the membership by a referendum vote, it will become part of the constitution.

Delegate FRIEDMAN: The Committee on Report of Officers calls particular attention to recommendation of the General Executive Board regarding the bonding of local officers, which reads as follows:

"We have entered into an arrangement with a bonding company for the bonding of the Local officers. According to this arrangement, the office is bonded instead of the particular officer. This is a great advantage for the Local Unions, as it dispenses with all the red tape incidental to bonding, and makes it unnecessary to repeat the procedure when a new officer is elected. The bond is continuous for the office, regardless of who the officer is. The fee is small. It is most desirable that all our subdivisions should avail themselves of this opportunity. The necessity of it need hardly be emphasized."

The Committee recommends that the General Officers, immediately upon the adoption of this recommendation, shall enforce this system in all Local Unions, District Councils and Joint Boards.

President HILLMAN: This has been acted upon already in a previous resolution reported on by the Finance Committee.

Delegate FRIEDMAN: The Committee further recommends that each Local Union, Joint Board and District Council shall note the recommendations of the G. E. B. which read as follows:

"In connection with the recent wage increases we are glad to note a new policy that has been inaugurated by some of our Local Unions. In New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and probably also in other places, the members voted to contribute the amount of the first week's wage increase to a special reserve and defense fund, which the organization may fall back on in case of an emergency. The wisdom of such action is so obvious that we heartily congratulate those organization who have taken it and recommend it to those that have not."

The Committee recommends that this recommendation of the G. E. B. be put in operation by all the Local Unions, Joint Boards and District Councils as a means to further strengthen our organization.

This was unanimously carried.

The Committee wishes to impress upon the convention the importance and propaganda value of the General Executive Board report. The membership of our organization are not fully acquainted with the remarkable progress made by our organization throughout the country. This report, well written as it is, is the history of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for the past two years. Every member of the organization should be acquainted with its achievements.

The Committee further recommends that this report be printed in large quantities in the English, Jewish and Italian languages. (The Bohemian, Lithuanian and Russian members can read English.) The expense of the printing of these books shall be paid for by the Local Unions or Joint Boards or District Councils.

The Committee feels that this will be of great educational value for our members and the Local Unions should distribute them to every member in their organization. Those Local Unions unable to pay for these books shall be assisted by the General Office.

J. KROLL, Chairman; J. P. FRIEDMAN, Secretary; MORRIS GOLDIN, CHAS. ENGLANDER, SAM STEINER, HYMAN GOLDOLFT, B. ROMANO, FRANK WHITE, AND JOHN DENKEWICZ.

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE: The Lithuanians and the other nationalities involved speak English well—that part of the organization is advanced in English better than any other.

Delegate ZORN: As regards Boston, this would not be fair. In Boston every bill is paid by the Joint Board. In Boston the Lithuanians are a part of the Joint Board. How are we going to tell them that we are paying a bill of which they are not getting the benefit? I therefore amend to include all languages.

President HILLMAN: It was moved to amend that the report be printed in all

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the languages for which there will be a sufficient demand in our organization. You should not force us to print the report if there are only a few members of a particular nationality.

This suggestion was seconded.

Delegate HARTOCZ: I wish to state that if the report of the General Executive Board is to be printed in some of the languages, I would strongly be in favor that all members should read this report. I read this report, and I saw many things in it that are very important to every member of our organization. The committee stated to my sorrow that the Lithuanians and Poles and Bohemians can read English. As far as I know about 90 per cent of the Jewish nationality can read English, whereas out of the other three nationalities—only about 60 per cent read English. Therefore it is more important that these three have it in their own language so that they know what is going on in this organization. Therefore I beg you all, delegates, that this report be printed in the Lithuanian, Polish and Bohemian languages.

The amendment that the report be printed in all the languages for which there will be a sufficient demand, was unanimously carried.

President HILLMAN: This completes the work of the Committee on the Report of Officers. We will give them the usual honorable discharge and thanks of the convention. (Applause.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

By Abraham Miller

RESOLUTION NO. 91, ON WEEK WORK SYSTEM, BY LOCALS 2, 3 AND 156, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, at the present time we have different systems of work throughout the country, which we feel are of no benefit to our organization, be it

Resolved, that this convention go on record to work for the establishment of the week work system all over the country, which we feel will benefit our membership.

J. GOODMAN, NATHAN SIEGEL, MORRIS RAPPAPORT, HARRY SCHEPPS, DAVID GOLDSTEIN, MAX SCHULTZ, I. LEVINSON—Local 2.

WEINSTEIN, REVAYLE, ALEX COHEN, NERENBERG, GOLDIN—Local 3.

JOS. GOLD, S. LIPZIN, J. POLLACK, A. SIDINSKY, CHAS. ENGLANDER—Local 156.

President HILLMAN: The question of week work has already been acted upon by the convention.

RESOLUTION NO. 86, ON MEMBERSHIP IN THE ORGANIZATION, BY LOCAL 156, NEW YORK CITY.

Resolved, that no member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America who leaves our organization in order to accept a position as foreman or contractor or in any other capacity as representative of the employers, be eligible for office, of whatever description, local or otherwise, for ten years following the date of his rejoining the organization.

LOCAL 156.

The committee considered this punishment a little too hard for those prospective candidates. We therefore reduced that term to one year.

President HILLMAN: The committee recommends that they should not be eligible to any office for one year.

Delegate ZUBOWITZ: I agree with this motion, but I would amend it. I would include also that anybody who was a scab and, afterwards joined the Union, be also included in this resolution.

Delegate DRUBIN: I feel that we are going from one extreme to the other. I would amend it to five years if there is no objection.

Delegate ALEX COHEN: I think it would help very much to strengthen the morale of our organization if the resolution as submitted should be adopted. I don't know about other cities, but I do know that in New York, on several occasions, we had men who have constantly changed from officer of the Local Union to foreman or sometimes contractor, and then back again to the organization into the Local Executive Board and into leadership of the Local Union. I am therefore in favor of the resolution.

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Delegate ARNONE: A point of information: What is the motion?

President HILLMAN: The resolution is that anyone who takes the position of foreman or contractor, or who is otherwise in a position where he would have charge of labor in a shop, be ineligible to hold any office in our organization for ten years. The recommendation of the committee is for one year. A suggestion has been made for five years.

Delegate RABINOWITZ: Does this apply to the past, or only to the future?

President HILLMAN: When it becomes the law of the convention, that is the time it goes into effect. The resolution calls for a ten year term. The recommendation of the committee is for one year. It has been amended for 5 years. The vote takes place on the motion, as amended. o

VOICE: Are scabs included?

President HILLMAN: I hope that our membership is intelligent enough not to elect scabs to office without a provision of the constitution.

The motion as amended for 5 years was carried.

President HILLMAN: Information has been asked about shop officers, shop delegates, shop chairman. In a shop organization where we may sometimes feel, especially in our unorganized shops, that a particular man may be able to organize the shop, I would rather leave it to the local organization to determine it for itself. I don't believe that should become part of our constitution.

RESOLUTION NO. 85, ON COMPOSITION OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, BY LOCAL 69, BALTIMORE, MD.

Whereas, five recognized nationalities of the large membership of our beloved Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are the Jewish, Polish, Bohemian, Lithuanian and Italian, and

Whereas, at a special meeting of two Polish Locals of this city, 69 and 116, members accepted a resolution that one Polish member be seated in the General Executive Board, therefore be it

Resolved, that each of the above mentioned nationalities should have representation in the incoming General Executive Board.

We beg all the delegates of the Third Biennial Convention to consider the above resolution and act on same.

F. J. BARTOCZ, Local 69.

In view of the fact that every member of the Amalgamated has a constitutional right to run as a candidate for the G. E. B., the committee recommends non-concurrence.

Delegate ZOUROWITZ: The General Executive Board members cannot know what is going on among the various nationalities unless those nationalities are represented on the board.

Delegate GILMAN: I hope that the recommendation of the committee will be adopted. We are all members of the Amalgamated. We have no national distinctions in this organization. Everyone has a right to be nominated and run for office.

The committee's recommendation was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 34, ON METHOD OF ELECTIONS, BY LOCAL 2, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, the General Officers are the leading figures of our organization, and

Whereas, it is important to keep the membership interested in the election of such General Officers, and

Whereas, at times there is but one candidate for any particular national office and that candidate is, therefore, considered as elected to that office by the general membership, be it

Resolved, that in case where there is only one candidate on the ballot for any national office it shall take a two-thirds majority vote of our membership to elect that candidate to office.

LOCAL 2.

JOE GOODMAN, Chairman.
HARRY SCHEPPS, Secretary.

The Committee recommends non-concurrence.

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Delegate DRUBIN: I want to ask, whether the resolution means two thirds of the membership or two-thirds of the votes cast?

President HILLMAN: Two-thirds of the votes cast.

Delegate GOODMAN: We have in the City of New York a membership of about 40,000 or 50,000. When it comes to elections, a small number of our members participate in them. So far we have not made any blunder in electing officers, but we know from the past that in the future we may. So, therefore, in order that our members may safeguard themselves for the future, I hope that this resolution will be passed.

Delegate ISOWITZ: Does it mean that if a man does not receive two-thirds he won't be elected?

President HILLMAN: That is what it means. The motion is for non-concurrence.

This was carried.

Delegate GOODMAN: I move that we vote by roll call.

This motion was defeated.

RESOLUTION NO. 28A, ON METHOD OF SELECTING A CITY FOR THE BIENNIAL CONVENTION, BY LOCAL 2, NEW YORK CITY.

In consideration that each Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers decide upon the place for the next Convention, be it

Resolved, that the Convention name two cities and that same be submitted to a referendum vote of the general membership to choose one of them as the place for the following convention.

LOCAL 2.

JOE GOODMAN, Chairman.

HARRY SCHEPPS, Secretary.

The committee recommends non-concurrence, with Brother Rappaport in the minority.

Delegate ZORN: Does this go to a referendum?

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: The convention chooses the City, which is then submitted for ratification by the members.

Delegate ZORN: The members can reject it?

President HILLMAN: Yes; that is correct.

Delegate GOODMAN: If we only nominate one city and that is voted down by the members, what are we to do then?

President HILLMAN: Another referendum vote would be initiated and in that way a city would be chosen in the course of the two years.

Delegate GOODMAN: Instead of nominating one, why not nominate two and let the members choose one of them?

President HILLMAN: The convention will answer your question by voting on the proposition. The committee reports non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted. (Applause.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

By Abraham Miller

Delegate MILLER: We have three resolutions covering the same ground. Delegate Rosenblum took the chair at this point.

RESOLUTION NO. 23, ON SALARIES FOR GENERAL OFFICERS, BY LOCALS 4 AND 9, NEW YORK CITY.

Resolved, that due to the tremendous increase in the cost of living we do herewith increase the salaries of our General Officers to \$4,000 a year each.

A. BECKERMAN, MEYER SENTER, HARRY JACOBSON, J. P. FRIEDMAN, of Local 4; A. SILVERMAN, LOUIS FEINBERG, of Local 9.

RESOLUTION NO. 58, SAME SUBJECT. BY LOCAL 3, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, the high cost of living is increasing rapidly and,

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Whereas, that applies to members of our organization as well as to our officers, and
Whereas, the salaries of our General Officers have not been increased since the establishment of our organization, therefore be it

Resolved, that this Third Biennial Convention votes an increase of salary to our General President and General Secretary from \$2,600 to \$3,120 per year.

A. COHEN, S. WEINSTEIN, M. GOLDIN, L. REVAYEL, and L. GREENBERG,
Local 3.

RESOLUTION NO. 26, SAME SUBJECT, BY LOCAL 2, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, our organization, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has widely extended its activity and made much progress in the different clothing centers throughout the country, and

Whereas, the initiative and responsibility for the successful growth of our organization are the burden of our General President and General Secretary, be it

Resolved, that the salaries of the General President and General Secretary be increased to Seventy Five Dollars per week.

J. GOODMAN, Chairman.
HARRY SCHEPPS, Secretary.

The committee recommends concurrence with resolution No. 23, and non-concurrence with resolution 58 and 26. (Applause.)

Delegate BECKERMAN: On this particular question I feel that it is important that the resolution be adopted by the members with the proper spirit. It seems to me that there can be no discussion on it. There are no additional arguments to be made in its favor, and I know of no arguments that can be made against it. This is one resolution that I should like to see adopted by a strong, unanimous vote, with everybody voting. (Great applause.)

The report of the committee was unanimously carried. (Great applause.)

President Hillman resumed the chair at this point.

President HILLMAN: Delegates, I shall abstain from making any remarks.

Delegate SCHAPIRO: I move that the first raise goes to the emergency fund. (Laughter and applause.)

President HILLMAN: A delegate has suggested that the first weekly increase should go to the emergency fund. Does it mean for a possible strike of officers? (Laughter.)

Delegate WOLF: No, it means, you pay as well as I do. (Laughter.)

President HILLMAN: I shall abstain from thanking the delegates, as the matter has still to go to a referendum vote. The salaries of the General Officers are determined by our Constitution. In my judgment, it is not the proper method. But that is in the Constitution. All the other officers are not subject to the Constitution. Their wages may be raised and may be reduced (laughter) without submitting the matter to a referendum vote.

This completes the work of the Committee on Law. We will give the thanks of the Convention to the Chairman and the members of the Committee on Law for their work. (Applause.)

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

By Harry Cohen

RESOLUTION NO. 108, THANKING GENERAL ADMINISTRATION, BY LOCAL 30, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, the General Executive Board has successfully carried out the Rochester decision to establish the 48 hour week, and

Whereas, the General Officers and Organizers have done splendid work for the past two years in behalf of the organization, be it therefore

Resolved, that the Third Biennial Convention express thanks for the good work done.

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Committee recommends concurrence with the resolution. Recommendation unanimously accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 109, ON MACHINE ADJUSTERS, BY BALTIMORE DELEGATION.

Whereas, it is the aim and object of this organization to organize the industry 100 per cent, and

Whereas, the sewing machine adjusters are a part of the clothing industry, as they are of great value to the employers in times of strikes, and

Whereas, their membership in this organization would be an asset to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that this Third Biennial Convention assembled in Baltimore, Md., does hereby authorize and instruct the incoming General Executive Board to grant a charter to any organization of machine adjusters whenever same is applied for.

BALTIMORE DELEGATION,
H. Eisen, Chairman.

Introduced by unanimous consent at Saturday morning session, May 18.

The committee reports non-concurrence with this resolution on the ground that there is a Machinists' Union in existence.

Delegate ZORN: If these machinists who are working in clothing factories are willing to join the Amalgamated, I say it will do no harm if the Amalgamated makes them a part of the organization as they work in the tailor shop. I believe that the Amalgamated should endorse the resolution as presented.

Delegate RIEGER. I am in favor of the recommendation of the committee for the following reason: We should not enter into a fight with the International of the Machinists. We do not wish to take up jurisdictional fights.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President HILLMAN: We have with us one of our old friends. When Comrade Yanofsky came in, I asked him to wait until we completed our work on the resolutions. Comrade Yanofsky desires to leave—not Baltimore, but just simply to leave the hall and to return before we adjourn, but I feel that the delegates would resent the action of the Chair if I should cause him to delay his address. I should, therefore, call on him now. Comrade Yanofsky. (Great applause.)

Address of S. Yanofsky

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Speak Yiddish!

S. YANOFSKY: I shall speak to you in the vernacular that you all understand, and probably tonight, at the banquet, I shall speak to you in the international language, in Yiddish.

Of course, it is not necessary for me to tell you that it is really a great pleasure to address you today. If it were not, I would not have come. I don't believe in duties. I do whatever I like, whatever I please, and whatever I think is agreeable. It is really a pleasure to come to the Amalgamated, to this Convention, and address you. I don't regret that I came, in fact, I consider the two hours that I have spent with you as the most agreeable ones that I have ever spent, though the questions discussed were not very interesting. The debate was so good, clever and to the point, that I though everybody had read the Freie Arbeiter Stimme and profited by it, and especially the Chairman, who is so sharp and so ingenious in his replies at times, that I know he must certainly be a student of the Briefkasten. (Laughter.)

I heard several things that I liked very much in this debate, and several times I felt like getting up and saying my word too. What struck me as the most agreeable thing is the fact that there is no machine at this convention. I have been at several conventions of different organizations, and it seemed to me that everything was ruled from here (pointing to the chair) and that those people there (pointing to the delegates) were simply lambs doing the bidding of the so-called platform.

Unless you are such tricky politicians that you hide it all from me (laughter) (turning to Hillman and Schlossberg), it seems to me that you are really all taking part in the Convention. There is one great thing that I find in the Amalgamated, and in fact I never expected anything less. In an organization that was born in the spirit of revolution, in the spirit of freedom, in the spirit of watchfulness, even over their

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own officers—an organization that has overthrown those who were becoming too despotic, I should be disappointed if I should find anything less, no matter whether your decisions are wise, or not. But it seems to me that they are the result of your own reasoning; that there was no caucus meeting before; that the resolutions were brought to you and you decided on them according to your reasoning. That was very good; although I disagree with many things, but since it is the decision of your reasoning, of your mind, it is important and good.

I am very much pleased to see that the Amalgamated has grown to that degree. I expected a somewhat quicker growth, I must say, but, of course, I expected many, many things, in which I must acknowledge myself disappointed. But I can say and testify that it is a normal, natural growth. You have not yet achieved everything that is to be achieved. There is no question about it. I know that the clothing industry is not yet 100 per cent organized, and yet it should be. I expect that at the next convention the Amalgamated will really represent the whole clothing industry. But of course, "Rome was not built in a day." I am sure if you should go on as you have, that you will grow and grow, and that there is no power that can really hinder you from growing. It is the confidence that you have in yourselves—it is the spirit of trying, of getting there, that is what brought you up. And if that spirit should continue, I am sure you will grow and grow and get stronger and stronger. I understand now that you are trying to work for the 44-hour week. That is, that you have achieved the 48 hour week and that you want 4 hours less. And you will get it, too.

But I am afraid that the fact that you raised the salary of your officers, especially the big ones, will hinder you a little (laughter). You did not consider that point.

I have come to the conclusion, by experience, that the less you pay your officers, the better they serve you. (Laughter and applause.) Of course, you are paying them such a salary that they will never become foremen, or contractors; there is no question about that (laughter); but it is the same thing with you, too. In order that you should not be tempted, you must not only achieve the 44 hour week, but probably 36 hours. There are some people who are working only 36 hours a week, and they are making a salary of \$33 a week, and they are growing every year, and they are getting each year a dollar more. Next year they will get \$34, and the next \$35, and let me tell you that the work they are doing, a child could do. Why you don't have to learn it; it is no trade; it is, you know, that strumming on the piano, on the linotype machine—they even don't know how to read my copy, and still they get \$33 a week (laughter).

Now, I understand that in the tailoring trade a great deal of skill is required, and it is not too much to expect that in the next year or two you will get the 36 hour week for \$35 a week. In fact I believe that after the war, we might dispose of the question of hours and wages altogether. We might become of ourselves one big, great commonwealth, and the whole trade of the tailors would not be in the hands of tailors and bosses but would be in the hands of the tailors only. (Applause.)

It is not because I am so Utopian that I say this. It is not because I am such a dreamer. But I see that things are going that way. It cannot be helped. Sooner or later, and I believe sooner than later, we will get there. But in the meantime, while there are still bosses, try to get as much as you can, Brothers. (Laughter.) I don't know what you did get at this convention, simply because I have not yet happened to read the reports. But let me be frank with you. I don't expect any convention to do anything. I see the convention simply as pay—as a compensation for the whole year's work you did. The Union gave you a holiday for a week; go on and enjoy yourselves! (Laughter and applause.)

I don't know whether all the delegates have the clear conscience that they should. But if you don't, try to do better in the future. Decide today that you are winding up your affairs, that you have adopted all the resolutions, which are really scraps of paper, if you don't act upon them—decide that the next year or two years later, when you will again be sent to the convention, you will deserve it, you will not be parasites, simply eating up \$100 or \$150 of the Union's funds, and doing nothing for it the whole year.

If you idle away your time in the Convention, I don't blame you. You don't have many idle weeks. But if you idle away your time after the convention, why it is a crime, my friends. You have taken money for nothing. In that way no Union can exist.

I am very pleased that I was not one of the speakers who opened the convention, because those speakers have to advise you, to tell you what to do, and they don't

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know a thing about it themselves (laughter). Having heard the debate to-day, I am sure that I have to learn from you for years and years—especially your jargon. It is something fine: G. E. B., etc. (Laughter.) I will have to study it, if I am not too old for that. I am glad I don't have to tell you what to do. All you had to do you have done already. I am sure that if you did not do it well this time, you will do it better next time.

But I am pleased to have come here and I wish to tell you that no matter what you have done, no matter what sins you have committed, you are so young yet, so fresh yet, that you have your time to regret it and do better. And that is all. (Great applause.)

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MISCELLANEOUS

By William Drubin

RESOLUTION NO. 84, ON UNIFORM PRICES FOR ARMY CLOTHING, BY LOCAL 156, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, we find that the prices on army clothing are different in different cities where such clothing is made, be it therefore

Resolved, that we ask this Convention to instruct the incoming General Executive Board to work out uniform prices on army clothing.

LOCAL 156.

The committee recommends concurrence.

Unanimously accepted.

RESOLUTION NO. 81, ON A TUBERCULOSIS SANATORIUM, BY LOCAL 61, CHICAGO.

Whereas, workers in the clothing industry, by the nature of their occupation, are compelled to earn their livelihood by working indoors, and

Whereas, because of this dominant fact a large percentage of the workers become afflicted with tuberculosis, and

Whereas, this terrible plague causes untold suffering, not only to the person thus

Whereas, the family of such a person not infrequently is unable to give the afflicted, but likewise to his family, and afflicted member proper care, in order to cure him, or at least bring relief to him, and

Whereas, it is our earnest and sincere desire to do our utmost in order to render all possible aid to a Sister or Brother, who is afflicted with this terrible disease, be it, therefore,

Resolved, that we, members of Local 61, assembled at a regular and special meeting, at 409 S. Halstead St., Chicago, recommend to the Third Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A. that they devise some ways and means in order to create a general fund for the erection of a tuberculosis sanatorium for the purpose of sheltering such members of our organization as may become the victims of this terrible plague.

SAM GEIER,

I. KROLL, and

F. PETRICK, Local 161, Chicago.

The committee recommends non-concurrence.

Delegate GEIER: The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is in a very good position to fight for better hours and better wages and everything that will benefit the workingmen, but tailoring is a hard job it best. It is hard work. With its shorter hours and better pay, it is still very hard work. Every day members of our organization become afflicted with that terrible disease, tuberculosis. That is something that at present seems to be unavoidable. When we get that awful sickness our friends do all they can for us for a certain length of time. The organization contributes \$100 or \$200, which is only a drop in the bucket. It is up to this membership not to allow those who are with us and have struggled with the Amalgamated, to drop by the wayside the moment they get sick—to abandon them and their families.

I think that the General Executive Board should make every effort to provide assistance for members so afflicted.

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Delegate ISOWITZ: I move that entire matter be referred to the G. E. B. The amendment that this be referred to the incoming G. E. B. for investigation and action was unanimously carried.

President HILLMAN: There was a request made this morning that we hold this session until we get through, but I feel that everybody is tired. I am tired, I know. I feel that we should adjourn now and reconvene at 2 o'clock sharp.

At this point Delegate Drubin stepped on the platform and presented each of the officers of the Amalgamated, President Hillman, Secretary Schlossberg and Treasurer Wolf with a beautiful bouquet of flowers.

Delegate DRUBIN: On behalf of all the locals of the New York Joint Board, we wish to pave the way for the next two years to the incoming officers with flowers. This is for Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated (applause); this is for Secretary Schlossberg (applause) and this is for Brother Wolf (applause).

This one is for Brother Rosenblum. We are giving these roses to Brother Rosenblum because he is leaving us today for the camp, and we wish on this occasion, to express our appreciation of his work for the organization in the past. (Great applause.)

Address of Frank Rosenblum

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: Like a good many of our brothers in the ranks who have preceded me, I am called for military service. It is expected that I do my share, do my bit, and take my chances with the rest of the boys in the trenches.

I am not a pacifist—never was—I don't suppose I ever will be. I believe in fighting. There have been changes in the war situation; I have come to the conclusion that it will be better for all of us, better for the people at large, better for the workers, better for the revolution in Russia, better for the democracy of the world, that the autocracy of Germany be licked into submission.

And since those are my views, I am accepting my fate as a matter of course, and will proceed. Needless to say, I expect to come back. I hope to, anyway.

We are called to fight for democracy in France. But if we are to have democracy, it must be fought out at home as well. And we leave to you folks here, the burden of making democracy safe at home industrially and politically.

You are about to adjourn. It depends a great deal on how you go back to your home towns—the spirit you go back with—how much democracy you will have at home. If you are to go along as others do, and be satisfied with things as they are, I am afraid that when we come back we will find that our victory over there will prove to be an empty shell. The boys who are in the trenches ask of you, and they demand of you, to do everything in your power to organize the industry as a whole, so that when they come back there will be a place for them to live in and that they will not be compelled to walk the streets suffering from privation while vainly searching for jobs, as has been the case after the wars in the past.

Whether this country will be a good place to live in after the war, as I said before, does not depend mainly on the trenches in France, but on the people right here.

I hope and trust that, when we come back, the Amalgamated will be able to show a record of achievements that will surpass that of the past. We have done well, undoubtedly. But there is still much more room for improvement. No member of our organization should content himself, should rest satisfied, until every man and woman in the needle industry is in the organization, until the organization is able to enforce its standards for the protection of the people; until the men and women in the industry have legislated for themselves what hours, what conditions, and what compensation they should receive. No man has a right to rest until that is accomplished.

It has been my good fortune to be with you at the inception of the organization and to be singled out for honors.

I did not think that the call would come so soon. I told you yesterday that I expected to be with you some time yet, two or three months. It came sooner than I expected.

But I am glad that it came now, and I am able to bid you all goodbye in Convention assembled, that I am able to ask of you to do your share in this work of freeing mankind, that I am able to ask of you to do your duty in this work.

You responded to the call in Nashville. You have given a good account of yourselves. I hope that the occasion of my leaving will be an inspiration to you, fellow

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delegates, and that you will carry a message to the workers in the ranks for still greater efforts, and work and organize the men and women in the clothing industry, and that your activities will go further and further, and that you will be the leaders of the organized labor movement of America, that your actions and your accomplishments will be the envy of every right thinking man and woman, that you will do your share, your duty.

I hope to be back with you and to find you with a still greater organization, with great accomplishments.

Rosenblum received an ovation, everybody rising and vigorously applauding.

President HILLMAN: I shall call upon Secretary Schlossberg to make a few remarks on this occasion.

Address of Secretary Schlossberg

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I think I can speak in the name of all who have been favored by you with the beautiful flowers, when I say that we thank you for this expression of your sentiments. We know that this is a mere—shall I call it?—physical expression of your soul for the work done by the organization—not to the officers as singled out from the entire organization, but through the officers, for the organization.

Brother Rosenblum, this is the second time in two days that we have been called upon to take leave of our best co-workers. This Convention has to quite some degree been converted into an American edition of the Russian Council of Soldiers and Workmen. It is perhaps the only Labor Convention—surely the first one—in whose midst a representative of the fighting forces of the United States was a fully accredited delegate. We had occasion yesterday to give expression to our feelings in a situation that now exists throughout the world, and our feelings toward the delegate particularly who was called upon to part with us.

We have to do it again today. Brother Rosenblum occupies a place in our history that is entirely unique. My friends, we have a good many here who were with us in Nashville, who were sitting in the gallery, watching Brother Rosenblum, who was one of the few representatives of the organized clothing workers admitted to the convention, fighting for the admission of all the representatives of the organized clothing workers. We were sitting there and looking at him as our champion in the fight for labor's rights, not against capitalism, but for labor's rights in labor's own ranks, in a labor organization.

He was our champion in the fight for the initial rights of industrial democracy, which we had to acquire then in order that we might conduct the fight for industrial democracy on the larger and larger scale against autocracy in industry. It was the power of the large delegation in the gallery, relegated there after they had been deprived of the right to represent those who had elected them; it was that power that gave strength to Brother Rosenblum to fight for the great principle of democracy in labor's own organization. No one of us who has gone through that historic fight can ever forget that scene. You will all remember that after we left Capital Hall, delegates, grown up persons, hardened men who had gone through all sorts of struggles, industrial and otherwise, walked through the streets of Nashville with tears streaming down their cheeks! I shall never forget that scene. If ever there was a fight put up by representatives of organized labor for labor's rights, it was that fight in Nashville. It was that purity of the souls of the representatives of the organized clothing workers, it was the purity of that atmosphere, it was the sacredness of that atmosphere that gave birth to the organization which we now represent here. And it is no wonder that an organization, born in such an atmosphere, has developed so pure and so strong and so solid, physically, materially, spiritually and in every other sense.

Brother Rosenblum may consider himself fortunate that, when he is called upon to leave us temporarily, and he has to go to the front to participate in the great world war, he can carry with him the consciousness that the great Amalgamated family holds dear the memories of that great fight that he conducted for us in Nashville, and which was the initial fight for the upbuilding of this organization. I feel that I can speak for all who are here, and for all who are not here, but who watch our proceedings from the various towns and cities from which you came here to legislate for our organization; I say, I feel that I can speak for all of them, when I say to Brother Rosenblum, and to all others who will be called upon to follow him: we, those who are of older blood, and are not called to the colors; we, who remain

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here and will continue the work of this organization; we pledge ourselves in the face of this great world tragedy, where the best blood of the human race is being poured out on the battlefields—we pledge ourselves to carry on our fight for democracy, with more strength, with more vigor, with more determination, because of this tragedy. We all realize that we are now passing through a period in the history of life that has never had its equal. We realize that everything that is being done now will mean for the coming generations either their happiness or unhappiness. We realize that the work that we are now doing here is not only for us. It is for those who are still too young to participate in the world's work, and it is for those whom we or our children may bring into this world. This great world tragedy brings this home to us more strongly and more forcibly than anything else ever did. I say, I feel that I can speak for all of our membership, when I tell Brother Rosenblum, and all others who have already left and those who will leave, that we shall continue this war here relentlessly, mercilessly. We have given our blood to this battle that is now being carried on on the other side. Our sons, our brothers, our dearest ones are there. Our blood is being poured out. We are sacrificing the lives of those who are dearest to us and whom we need here most to help us make our lives happier here.

We serve notice upon all who are responsible for this carnage that is now being carried on in Europe, that we shall demand an accounting!

When these boys come back, when Brother Rosenblum and Brother Senter, and all the others, come back here with the training that they have received there, with the additional experience, with the greater fighting capacity that they will bring with them, we shall again enlist them into our ranks and put their greater capacity, their greater skill at the service of the people, at the service of those who, when the war is over, will begin the reconstruction of society, so as to make wars impossible in the future, and make society, the world, a place worthy to live in!

What would have taken a hundred years otherwise, will probably be brought about in a very short time, possibly within our own generation—the overthrow of autocracy everywhere in everything, political and industrial and in every other respect.

That has been emphasized here a number of times, but, my friends, we cannot emphasize it too much. This is our struggle. This is now our problem. We shall go right ahead with it.

And we say, Brother Rosenblum, you take with you the love of every man and woman in this industry. You take with you a memory that people would pay fortunes to be able to acquire. You take with you the best wishes of all of us. You take with you the blessings of all of us. We pray that you, and the others of our ranks may come back here just as vigorous, just as strong as you leave us. And when you do come back to us, and when others come back to their organizations, then! by God!! then!!! the final battle for the emancipation of the world will begin!

(Tremendous applause, everybody rising and cheering.)

President HILLMAN: It is getting late. I shall not take any time now to make any remarks. Whatever I may wish to say I shall say at the close of the Convention. The session adjourned at one o'clock to reconvene at 2.

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Tenth Session

Saturday Afternoon, May 18, 1918

The meeting was called to order at 2.20 P.M., President Hillman presiding.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: I was asked by the Resolutions Committee to report for them on Resolution No. 46.

RESOLUTION NO. 46, ON THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT, BY LOCALS 142 AND 161, NEW YORK CITY.

Whereas, the present war in Europe has brought about one of the greatest changes of Government in Russia, and

Whereas, the present Soviet Government in Russia is the only Government that can bring about the deliverance of the working class in Russia, and

Whereas, knowing that those things that are done by the Soviet Government in Russia will have a great effect upon the workers of all other nations, especially in Germany, that may result in the overthrow of the Kaiser and Junker Government in Germany, therefore be it

Resolved, that the A. C. W. of A. should use its influence as a labor organization upon the Government of the United States to make it recognize the Soviet Government and that the A. C. W. of A. wire its sympathy to the Soviet Government.

H. TAYLOR, Local 142.

E. INDYKE, Local 161.

The committee recommends the adoption of the following substitute for Resolution No. 46:

Whereas, the Russian people have emancipated themselves from the tyranny of Czardom and established a free people's republic, be it

Resolved, that we hail with joy Free Russia and send to her our most fraternal greetings. We realize the tremendous difficulties that are now in the way of the Russian people in the working out of order and national prosperity. Those difficulties are but natural for a great nation just freed from autocracy, freed at a time when the world is in such a state of universal upheaval as the present. We do not wish to enter into a consideration of the merits of the several parties in Russia, but we rejoice in the fact that the Russian nation is free, and are confident that it will successfully work out its own salvation. It is our fervent hope that our own country, and all other civilized nations, will come to the assistance of Free Russia by recognizing the Russian People's Soviet Government, and giving the Russian people all aid in working out their own destinies.

(Applause.)

The substitute resolution was unanimously adopted.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: The General Executive Board, as was announced at the time its report was read, has recommendations to make. We submit to you the following declaration:

PUBLIC CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

The war has demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of the system of private ownership in industry and its danger to the nation. Its failure to meet the needs of the country when the emergency arose, while it has been bleeding the country by profiteering, proved beyond a doubt that that system has no justification for its continuation. It has become a menace to the best interests of the people. Conditions are now fully ripe for the public ownership of industries, with the workers in them in control.

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While affirming our aspiration for that ultimate goal, there is one problem that is of immediate concern to our members, and calls for relief forthwith. It is the very much aggravated wool situation. The woolen industry, though highly trustified and, therefore, more easily regulated than other industries, has collapsed at a time when the country needs its service most. The workers are there ready to do the work, but the curse of private ownership and management, the curse of greed, rests on this industry as well as on others, and does not permit of sufficient production to meet the requirements of the country. As a result, a large number of our members have been thrown out of employment at a time when the government needs their labor. For the purpose of speedy and effective relief in this emergency we urge that the Government should immediately remove the woolen industry from the hands of the selfish and greedy private interests and take control of it. As a matter of justice, we further urge that labor be given ample representation on the committee that is to control working conditions in the industry, and inasmuch as we are so vitally interested in this problem, proper representation should also be given to our organization.

We feel that by urging such action we not only voice the sentiments of our membership, but serve the interests of the country generally.

The same causes that are pressing on us public control of the woolen industry operate with equal force to all other industries and public utilities. They also cry out for the checking of profiteering. The people pay ungrudgingly all that the Government asks of them, but they should not be allowed to be bled and victimized for the benefit of private interests, that have been enriching themselves upon the great world catastrophe. (Applause.)

This was unanimously carried.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: There is another recommendation that the Executive Board wishes to make, and that is this:

Article 5 of the constitution, entitled "General Officers and How Chosen," reads as follows:

"Section 1: The General Officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shall consist of a General President, a General Secretary, a General Treasurer, a General Auditor and three Trustees."

The General Executive Board has come to the conclusion that the office of General Auditorship is entirely superfluous. We have inherited that from the former organization, where it was simply another name for a General Officership, but in our case it serves no useful purpose. For the purpose of auditing the books of the local organizations, we have engaged a professional accountant. The General Executive Board, therefore, recommends that this section 1 of Article 5 should read as follows:

"The General Officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shall consist of a General President, a General Secretary and a General Treasurer. The General Executive Board shall consist of eleven members, including the General Officers."

The number on the Board remains the same, but the auditorship is abolished, and also the trusteeships, which mean nothing. When this is adopted, it will dispense with Sections 1, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16, of Article 5, which refer to the General Auditorship and the Trustees. That is the recommendation.

The recommendation was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABELS

By Gabriel Vastano, Chairman

Having no resolutions to act upon, the committee discussed the value of the label in the clothing industry for the Amalgamated. The point was brought out that although there have been about 250,000 labels used up to the present time, the organization has not felt the necessity of encouraging the use of the labels, for obvious reasons. The committee, therefore, recommends to refer the matter for further consideration to the incoming General Executive Board.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President HILLMAN: The next on the order of business is Nomination of Officers. Before proceeding with the nominations, Secretary Schlossberg will make a suggestion.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: In our Constitution we have no provision as to

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how the nominations for officers or Board members are to be made. The Constitution provides that the Convention nominate and the members vote. At the previous Convention, you will remember, everyone that was nominated went on the ballot. It was found that that system was most unsatisfactory. The Board members, therefore, recommend this to the Convention: That in order that any name proposed for a General Office or Board membership may go on the ballot for a referendum vote, it must secure the support of 25 per cent of the Convention.

Delegate ISAACS: I move that that be accepted.

President HILLMAN: The suggestion is made in order not to permit any practical jokes. Some delegates may feel in good humor and nominate anyone who comes to his mind, and we would be obliged to place the name on the ballot. It has been suggested that the percentage of 25 may be too large. Do the delegates feel that way? We can make it 20 per cent or 15 per cent.

Delegate BLUGERMAN: I amend it to 10 per cent.

President HILLMAN: Suppose that instead of requiring a percentage we require twenty seconds for a nomination.

Delegate LEVINE: May I suggest that the 20 delegates should be from different localities.

President HILLMAN: Don't you see, Delegate Levine, that the only purpose of this is that we should not be obliged to place on the ballot people whom nobody considers eligible for officers? Now if 20 delegates desire to place a name before the membership for election, they should be entitled to it. It does not make much difference where they come from.

Delegate GOLDBERG: A point of information: Have these delegates a right to nominate men who are not at the Convention?

President HILLMAN: That has been the rule of our previous Conventions. There is a motion that twenty seconds be required for a nomination.

This motion was unanimously adopted.

President HILLMAN: As the nomination of the President of the Amalgamated is the first on the list, I shall ask the Secretary to take the Chair.

Secretary Schlossberg thereupon took the Chair.

Delegate RIEGER: I appeal to the members that nominating and seconding speeches be left out, on account of the lateness of the hour.

Secretary Schlossberg then called for nominations for the office of President.

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Hillman, Hillman!

Delegate YOUNG: I move that we close the nominations.

There was no objection and nominations were closed.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: All those who are in favor of nominating Sidney Hillman for President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America will signify so by saying Aye.

The convention ensemble: "Aye!"

(Everybody rises and cheers enthusiastically for several minutes.)

A VOICE: Three cheers for Hillman, our next President!

EVERYBODY: Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!

President HILLMAN: I wish to thank you very much for the nomination, and if elected I shall agree to serve for the next term.

The nominations are now in order for the office of General Secretary.

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Schlossberg! Schlossberg!

President HILLMAN: The Chair thinks that the name of Brother Schlossberg has been suggested. (Laughter.) Any further nominations?

SEVERAL DELEGATES: A motion to close the nominations.

President HILLMAN: All those in favor of the nomination of Brother Schlossberg, the only candidate so far nominated, will signify by saying Aye.

Convention ensemble: Aye!

(Everybody rises and applauds vigorously for several minutes.)

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Three cheers for Brother Schlossberg!

Everybody: Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!

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President HILLMAN: The next office is that of General Treasurer.

SEVERAL DELEGATES: David Wolf!

President HILLMAN: All those in favor that Brother Wolf should be nominated will signify by saying Aye.

Everybody: Aye.

President HILLMAN: I won't ask for those against. (Laughter.)

We shall still go through with the nomination of General Auditor. If the recommendation of this Convention is accepted by the membership, the General Auditor will become a member of the Board. The nomination is open for the General Auditorship.

Delegate GOLD: I nominate Brother Alex Cohen of New York.

Delegate COHEN: I accept.

The following other nominations were made:

Abraham Miller: I decline.

Harry Cohen: I decline.

P. Monat: I decline.

J. Potofsky: I decline in favor of Alex Cohen.

A. Marimpietri: I decline.

H. Madanick, of Montreal: I decline.

P. Arnone: I decline in favor of Alex Cohen.

W. Drubin: I decline.

J. Blugerman: I decline.

The nominations were then closed.

President HILLMAN: All those in favor of the nomination of Alex Cohen will signify by saying Aye.

(Everybody rises and cheers.)

President HILLMAN: There are now nominations for how many Board members?

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: Seven.

President HILLMAN: There are now nominations for seven members of the Board.

A number of names were proposed. The following were nominated with the twenty or more seconds, as provided by the action of the convention:

Harry Cohen, Local 17, New York.

Samuel Levin, Local 61, Chicago.

August Bellanca, Local 63, New York.

Dorothy Jacobs, Local 170, Baltimore.

Hyman Blumberg, Local 36, Baltimore.

A. D. Marimpietri, Local 39, Chicago.

Lazarus Marcovitz, Local 172, Boston.

Joseph Gold, Local 156, New York.

Paul Arnone, Local 63, New York.

Harry Madanick, Local 15, Baltimore.

Joseph Goodman, Local 2, New York.

Harry Crystal, Local 36, Baltimore.

Jacob P. Friedman, Local 4, New York

Louis Revayle, Local 3, New York.

Peter Galskis, Local 269, Chicago.

Nathan Bunin, Local 140, Philadelphia.

James Blugerman, Local 211, Toronto.

President HILLMAN: Delegate Goldberg of Chicago asks for the floor. Is there any objection?

Delegate GOLDBERG: Mr. Chairman, I asked the floor before the recommendation of our General Secretary was passed. I believe the recommendation was not practical, that any man in order to be nominated must secure 20 seconds. I am even more surprised that the delegates accepted this recommendation than I was when the convention rejected the minority report on the resolution that an organizer should not be permitted to run for G. E. B. membership. Here is a man nominated from Chicago. There is no chance for any man outside of this body to get in on this nomination list, and we have good members who ought to get on the G. E. B. I don't see any sense in it. I think it is a crime that we should pass a recommendation like that, that each member in order to be nominated must have 20 seconds. What

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is the result of this: Here Brother Galski was nominated. A Brother says, "We don't know him." He is probably a better man than any other.

My speech will not do any good because the motion has already passed, but I believe it was wrong, and I believe some day you delegates will regret it.

President HILLMAN: Let me correct the delegate that Delegate Galski's name was placed in nomination.

The next order of business is the selection of a place for the next convention. The nomination of a city for the next convention of our organization to be held is now open. The Chair will recognize Delegate Harry Cohen.

Delegate HARRY COHEN: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: two years ago—

President HILLMAN: No speeches.

(Hurrahs and applause.)

Delegate COHEN: I propose that our next convention take place in Chicago. (Hurrahs and applause.)

Delegate BLUM: I propose the City of Boston. (Hurrahs and applause.)

President HILLMAN: Any further nominations? The delegates from Brownsville have introduced a resolution.

Delegate BENDER: I nominate Brownsville.

Delegate GOODMAN: I nominate Brooklyn.

(It was moved and seconded that the nominations be closed.)

Delegate ? : I propose Montreal.

President HILLMAN: The secretary will read the names of the cities proposed.

Assistant Secretary POTOFSKY: Chicago, Boston, Brownsville, Brooklyn and Montreal.

President HILLMAN: Each delegate may vote only once.

The following is the result of the vote taken: Montreal 2, Boston 95, Chicago 35, Brooklyn 0, Brownsville 0.

Delegate RABINOWITZ: I noticed several members voting for more than one city.

President HILLMAN: Brother Rabinowitz, be a game loser.

Delegate COHEN: I move that the nomination of the city of Boston be made unanimous.

This was unanimously carried. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: Under the heading of Good and Welfare of the organization, I shall call upon one who has shared the responsibility of the General Office since we organized. There is no need for an elaborate introduction. You all know Brother Wolf, General Treasurer of our organization, Manager of the New York Joint Board. I shall call upon him to address the Convention. (Hurrahs and applause, everybody rising.)

Address of David Wolf

I am only going to take five minutes, as the Chairman ruled. I think the delegates have had enough speeches at this convention. I have participated in only a few questions at this convention. I believe that instead of talking and making speeches, we have got to get busy and do work.

There is only one proposition that interests me that has passed this convention, and that the General Executive Board together with the entire organization will have to get busy on. That is the question of the 44-hour week. (Applause.)

It will not be an easy matter to get it, yet I believe that there is not a proposition that the Amalgamated has ever undertaken in which it has failed. I am convinced that we are not going to fall in this proposition either.

Our work has been successful because of the harmony that we have had all the time since the inception of the Amalgamated.

This has been the most interesting Convention that has ever been held to my knowledge, not only as compared with the Conventions of the United Garment Workers, but even with those of other organizations. I attribute this only to the harmony prevailing in our ranks. Whether it has been joy, or sorrow we have always been together. Our accomplishments have been great; our accomplishments have been wonderful. Yet I remember one of the speakers on this platform said to us that

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there are bad times coming, and I fully agree that they are coming. He asked: "Will there be a 100 per cent. Union when that time comes?"

I can say, "Members of the Amalgamated, I don't doubt that a 100 per cent. Union will be here!" Nothing will set back these tailors whom it has taken 25 years to organize. I do not refer merely to the city of New York. I am pretty well acquainted with other cities. As for New York, I don't believe that there is any power in this world that can break that organization. The spirit shown throughout the history of the Amalgamated by the New York membership, and by the membership everywhere, is guaranty that if we ever were in a position to rejoice, it is right now at the close of this convention. We have achieved everything that we possibly could under the circumstances. We shall now adjourn and work until the next convention in Boston, when we shall report on greater achievements. We will achieve our 44-hour week. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: Secretary Schlossberg will read a message which has been drawn up, and for which we will ask your endorsement.

Secretary Schlossberg thereupon read the following:

We, the delegates to the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, deeply stirred by the farewell addresses of Brother Meyer Senter, who is now in the United States Naval Reserve, and General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum, who has just been drafted into the National Army, unanimously adopt the following message, to be sent to all such of our members as are either in the service now, or will be there in the course of time:

We send greetings to you, you who are on the firing line. We, who have remained here, solemnly pledge ourselves to continue the noble fight in which you participated until you were called to the national colors, and double our energies in view of the present world crisis, in order that we may make the world a safe place for political and industrial democracy. We want you, our brothers, to know that you occupy a big place in the hearts of all of us. We send you our greetings, our love, our blessings. We pray that you may all return safely and give the American people at home the benefit of your increased fighting capacity in order to free the world from all sorts of autocracy.

This was received with applause and unanimously adopted.

President HILLMAN: I shall ask, at this time, Brother Samuel Levin, of Chicago, member of the General Board, to say a few words to the convention. (Applause.)

Address of Samuel Levin

Brother President and Delegates: About four years ago we were put to a test which was to show whether the Clothing Workers of America could be organized. We had been told that to organize the tailors was an impossibility.

We undertook the task. We found that not only was it possible to build a labor organization of the kind that existed in other industries, but we succeeded in building up an organization that should be the pride of the labor movement. Our accomplishments outside of the material benefits for our members—the moral achievement, the uplifting of the spirit among the great masses of the clothing workers, was the greatest victory attained by our organization.

We have been put to many tests. We have been continually forced into great struggles in every part of the country where clothing is being made—in Baltimore, New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and Montreal—and the people everywhere fought bravely. Now nothing can keep us from further progress and further achievement. There are great missions yet before us, not only in the improvement of our conditions materially but also spiritually. We have been told by our friends that the labor movement is to look upon the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as the banner carrier of the American Labor movement. (Applause.) This we should remember and strive to live up to.

I am happy to have been able to attend this convention. I am ready to say that the British Labor movement in its councils cannot conduct its business any better than the Amalgamated has done it within the last few days. (Applause.) When we go back home let us remember that there are great missions before us. We must remember that, while our brothers and sons are fighting autocracy on the other side of the ocean, we have autocracies that are just as bad as that of the German Kaiser within our own industry. Let us remember that we have to fight them here as well as our brothers and our children are fighting them there. We must put up an industrial fight here so that our organization will be one hundred per cent. strong when our brothers come back. On us rests the responsibility of making our home safe for democracy. We are carrying that responsibility along with all other people who are

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fighting for the same cause. History has shown that progress was never made by the human race, unless it was stubbornly fought for. We are going to carry this message home. We are to fight for the improvement of our economic conditions, and we shall remember that when this war is over we are to be a great part of the reconstruction forces of the Workers' Internationale. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: Is Delegate Zuckerman in the hall? I should like to have Brother Zuckerman, as one of the old members, say a few words to our convention. (Brother Zuckerman was not present.)

President HILLMAN: We will hear something from Brother Gold, Manager of the New York Coat Makers' Organization.

Address of Joseph Gold

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: When I came into this industry about 22 years ago, when I came into the workshops, I found the necessity of such an organization as we have today, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. I joined the organization of my trade at that time, the so-called United Garment Workers of America. But when I came there and I preached the principles on which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is now founded, it did not take me very long to find myself downstairs from the fourth floor. The men in the organization then did not have an organization such as we have at the present time.

It took over 20 years to build the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. We have it now and are getting the results. I hope and trust that we will continue on our road of progress; we shall work not only for 44 hours a week, but all that is due to labor, and that is, all that labor produces. I hope and trust that when we, delegates, come back from this convention to our Local Unions we will bring to them the spirit in which we have conducted this Convention. We will ask the members to continue the work that they have done up to this Convention. I hope that when we come to the next Convention in Boston, we shall be able to report the establishment of the 44-hour week. Then we will take up the task of abolishing capitalism as a whole. I thank you. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: I am sure that we should all like to hear from a member of the Board, from this city, Sister Dorothy Jacobs. (Great applause.)

Address of Dorothy Jacobs

Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Convention: I am surprised to be called upon, but I will say that I am a little bit concelated about this fact, that I am, I think, the first woman to address the Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

A great many things have been said about the labor movement—so many things that there is hardly anything left for me to add. This week, as I was standing outside of the theatre, waiting for some of the delegates to come up to the convention hall, a man approached me and said: "Is this the convention of the Garment Workers?" And I said, "No. This is the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The Garment Workers have stopped having conventions." And he said, "Well, what is the difference between the Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America?"

And I said, "The difference is between the dark night and the smiling dawn." And he walked away. He was evidently satisfied.

As I was sitting at the first session, and listened to the eloquent speakers complimenting us on the achievements that we have made, I thought to myself, "Well, they are our guests and they have to compliment us." But, then, again, on second thought, I realized that we have come here with some achievements. But there are a great many things still left for us to do. The world is moving very rapidly, and it takes almost all of our strength and every bit of our breath, to run along with the times. The great problem before us today in our industry, and in every other industry, is the woman problem. Many, many of our boys were called to the colors—have answered the call of the Government, and many, many of our boys are going to go, and their places are going to be taken by the women that are coming into the industry, women that perhaps have never heard of an organization before. And I say that this is one of the important things that the delegates at our convention must reckon with.

I remember reading that in Great Britain, when war first broke out, and the boys answered the call of their government, and the women followed into the industry, into the mines and the mills and factories, there were no laws provided for them to protect their health. There was no organization to protect them. In a very short

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time these women were broken in body and spirit. If things had kept up as they did, there would have been none left to move the wheels of industry. Great Britain just woke up in time to check the disaster. And I say that we must look out for these things, not only to protect the women that are now coming into our industry, but to protect those that are going to remain in it and those that are coming back into the industry. I hope that every delegate at this convention will go back to the local organization he represents here, and take this question a little bit more seriously than has been heretofore. We have got to give every encouragement to the women that are in the industry and to the women that are coming into the industry. I thank you. (Great applause.)

President HILLMAN: I shall call next upon Board Member Marimplettri.

Address of A. D. Marimplettri

Brother Chairman and Delegates: I am not much of a talker. I am one of those who believe that actions speak louder than words. To tell you the truth, I expected to be asked to say something, and I was prepared to welcome the next convention in Chicago. Chicago has lost. But I tell you that Chicago cannot be defeated. We accept the loss at this time, but we are sure to come back. You have only to ask the Chicago manufacturers; they will tell you that we do come back.

In Nashville, I was one of those privileged to be seated in the Convention. When I looked at many of you who are now here, I had to raise my eyes to the gallery. You know I was seated there. Local 39, whom I had represented at that convention, paid \$229.00 for me to sit there. The admission ticket was so high that it barred many of you who did not have the price. It cost my local union \$229.00, and I'm proud of it, because that \$229.00 helped to buy a casket for the United Garment Workers of America! (Laughter and applause.)

The main progress made by our organization has been the elimination of national prejudices. That progress is immense. I am so proud of it, more proud than of any other achievement that the organization has made. We must keep out national prejudice. We are doing it. We must continue to do it and help develop human solidarity in the broadest sense. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: It is always well to go from Chicago to New York. After Brother Marimplettri, of Chicago has addressed the convention, I feel that we should be very glad to hear from one who is an old time New Yorker with the Amalgamated, and this is Brother Miller, Manager of the Pants Makers' Department. (Applause.)

Address of Abraham Miller

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: One of the things that has impressed me mostly at this convention is the fact that all were imbued by one spirit, the spirit of putting everything aside for the benefit of our beloved organization, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (Applause.)

I can tell you, delegates, that the delegates of Local 2, who fought so valiantly on for the things that they considered to be right and to be just, also compromised when it was a question of preserving the unity of our organization. This is the spirit that has run like a golden thread through all of our proceedings.

It has been our fate to be always on the battlefield. I remember very distinctly, as if it were but yesterday, when we received at the Duncan Hotel a telegram informing us that three thousand members were locked out in the city of Baltimore, and that the cutters were getting financial support by the repudiated officials in order to get them to betray the tailors.

I also recollect that while we were in the city of Rochester at our Second Convention the Chicago delegates received word to return immediately to the battlefield in that city. And now while we are meeting in this city we have the strike at Schloss Brothers. It is a characteristic phase in the history of our organization. Always on the firing line.

If we go on with our organization work along these lines, and if we are permeated with that spirit with which we were imbued in the city of Nashville, I think that when we gather again in the city of Boston, we will be able to report a record of achievements that will surpass our record to-day. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: I will next call upon Brother Bellanca, member of the General Executive Board.

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Address of August Bellanca

What do you want me to talk in, Jewish or English? (Laughter and applause.)

Dear Friends, I did not expect to be in the convention hall today, because my duty was to be with the strikers, but I managed to come here too. This is a time to strengthen our organization. Every time I look at Montreal, I see that Montreal must be organized. The same is true of Philadelphia and Chicago and many other cities. And after we organize Chicago, Montreal and Philadelphia, and other cities we will come to the next convention in Boston and report that the clothing workers have succeeded in securing the 44 hour week, and that we have a few more legislators to represent the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in the legislative bodies of the land. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: I shall now call upon brother Harry Cohen of New York. (Applause.)

Address of Harry Cohen

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: Other speakers mentioned the Convention of Nashville, and I might as well start the same way. When we went to the convention in Nashville, we all felt that were going to a strange convention, that we were out of place there, and we felt also that we would not get justice. The results justified our feelings.

At the Convention in New York and at the Convention in Rochester, we felt that that we were going to our own convention, where we should make our own laws. In this case, too, the results justified our feelings. I now claim, Mr. Chairman and Delegates that this meeting is not a convention, as it is usually understood. We have come here to celebrate our great victories for the past two years. (Applause.)

The most important business done today was the ovation given to our officers. That was a sign that the members of the Amalgamated are satisfied with the work done.

In conclusion, a word about the 44 hour resolution. We all know the history of the Amalgamated. We all feel that if a resolution has been passed, it will positively be carried out. I for one wish to state that New York will be the first one to get on the job, and I am almost sure that, as long as you have decided it we are going to put it in effect in a very short time. (Great applause.)

President HILLMAN: I shall now call upon a Board member, Delegate Blumberg.

Address of Hyman Blumberg

The previous speakers referred to the achievements of our organization in this city. It is impossible for any man not immediately connected with the workings of our organization in this city to thoroughly realize just what the membership here had to overcome in order to establish a permanent organization—a permanent organization in the full sense of the word—an organization that is in a position today to meet and discuss terms and conditions with every clothing manufacturer in the city of Baltimore. On behalf of the Baltimore organization I will assure the Convention and the delegates here that Baltimore will steadily attend to its affairs in protecting the interests of the clothing workers in this city, forever improving their conditions.

I want to extend to the delegates an invitation to our banquet tonight. I don't want any delegates to leave this city without having been present at the banquet that we have arranged at the Lyric hall. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: I am sure that our list of speakers would not be complete if we should not call at this time upon the former Secretary-Treasurer of the New York Joint Board and present General Organizer, Brother Alex Cohen. (Great applause.)

Address of Alex Cohen

Brother Chairman and Delegates: I have heard so much praise for our organization. I have heard it from men and women who were and are now friends of the organization. I have heard it from men who have changed their opinion about our organization, and I am glad. I also saw men who had abused and accused this organization, come before us and praise our work and rejoice in our achievements, whereas I know that these men never mean what they say. In their hearts they are not glad to see the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in its present strength, with its present high and wonderful achievements. They would rather see us on our knees, cringing before the American Federation of Labor and begging for charity.

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I have just come from little Germany. I doubt whether you know where it is. It is in Rochester, where the worst form of autocracy prevails in the clothing industry, worse than the autocracy in Germany proper. The employers there are masters in the art to camouflage. They give you something but you don't get it.

We have the 48 hour week, but I have never met a man there working less than 60 or 65 hours. We are supposed to have good wages, but I have never yet met a man there that made sufficient to live decently. Twenty-two and twenty-three dollars is considered a good wage there. In that stronghold of industrial autocracy we have taken up the fight for democracy.

It will interest you all to know that the name Amalgamated is filling with hope and joy all the slaves in the clothing industry in Rochester today. I feel now more than ever that there are still greater things ahead of us to achieve.

I am sorry that the terms democracy and industrial Union do not include all the men and women that are anxious to come into our ranks. I hope that the time will come when the Amalgamated will really become not only the expression of industrial Unionism among the clothing workers, not only the expression of a true labor movement for the clothing industry, but that it will become the industrial Union expression for America, for the whole labor movement, and will call out: "Welcome, each man and each woman who wants to come and join the ranks of organized labor!" (Great applause.)

President HILLMAN: Board Member Rosenblum will read a few greetings to the convention, and also bid his last farewell to the convention.

Address of Frank Rosenblum

Mr. President and Delegates: I want to express my full appreciation for the feeling you have had toward me in all these years since the inception of our organization. I know that I have had many friends in the Amalgamated. Very few members of the Amalgamated perhaps enjoyed the full confidence and the love of the membership that I have enjoyed. I want to say that my feelings toward them have always been the same. I also want to say that as far as my fellow officers are concerned, President Hillman, Schlossberg and Wolf and all the Board members, our relations have always been the most friendly and cordial. We have been more than colleagues in the work. We have been real good friends, and it is really with regret that I leave them at this time. I want to thank you, one and all, for all you have done for me. It has certainly been a privilege for me to work with you. I hope and trust that I will be able to come back and continue where I left off. I thank you. (Hearty applause.)

President HILLMAN: I am sure that the delegates would like to hear from one who always makes himself heard, and that is, Brother Arnone of New York. (Applause.)

Address of Paul Arnone

Brother Chairman and Delegates: I have promised that tonight I will deliver a speech in Yiddish at the banquet. I appreciate very much the opportunity of saying a few words to the delegates. There is one thing to which I want to call the attention of the delegates. The success of the Amalgamated is due to the fact that no one working for it has any selfish interests. (Applause.) And I say to you, brothers, that I for one, who have worked for the radical movement for the last 14 years, am very proud to be one of the rank and file of the Amalgamated.

I hope that when we meet again in Boston we will have a bigger family, a stronger organization. I thank you one and all. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: I shall now call on one who is representing the international office in Canada, and who comes originally from the city of Baltimore, General Organizer Harry Madanick. (Applause.)

Address of Harry Madanick

Brother President and Fellow Delegates to the Convention: I am sure that it is a pleasure and an honor to address this convention, especially for one who comes from the frozen north. I want to impress upon the delegates here the fact that the clothing industry in Canada is an industry that has been very much improved since the Amalgamated first began its activity in that country.

When you decided on the 44 hour week, some of the delegates remarked that their cities are going to get it first. I want to tell you that there is a city in Canada, and that is the city of Toronto, that has had the 44 hours week for the last year,

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and it got it through the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America! (Great Applause.)

President HILLMAN: Delegates, I am going to present to you a man who has always stood by our organization and who is well known to our membership. I am sure that you will all be glad to hear from Brother Salutsky of New York City. (Great applause.)

Address of Jacob B. Salutsky

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I am in rather grave doubt as to whether I can add anything of interest or importance to what has been said before, and especially to the assertion that even in the councils of the British Labor Party nothing better and nothing wiser and nothing more beautiful could have been achieved than had been achieved in this convention.

I must confess very frankly that I have my doubts on the subject, and I am inclined to believe that probably something wiser and something better could have been done in the councils of the British Labor movement.

It is, however, no reflection upon the value of your work. You just take it from me as from an observer, who has not the least desire to belittle your work in any way. But it seems to me that a great many of those who have occupied this platform during this afternoon have ignored one point which is of considerable importance. It is undoubtedly true that the convention of the Amalgamated, as well as the organization of the Amalgamated, is a bright spot—one of the few bright spots on the not very bright horizon of the American Labor movement, and we certainly have the right to rejoice in it. We certainly have the right to be complimented upon it, and we have the privilege and the duty to compliment you upon it.

However, I feel that it would have been much better for all of us, if the Amalgamated had not been one of the few bright spots in the labor movement in this country. We would have been probably just as able to accomplish what the British Labor movement accomplished if the organizations of the labor movement of this country, if very many of them, possibly if all of them, were of the same nature, of the same disposition as your organization. It is not a great pleasure to announce that this convention is a beautiful place to sit in and the achievement of this organization is a great thing to glory in. It is not, when you feel that the rest is not up to the mark, and when we praise this organization it is with a deep sense of sorrow for the others. We are bound to praise this one, and the praising of this one only accentuates its being different from the rest. I say frankly that I don't think you are the very best people on earth. I hope you will never become that. It is quite a tedious bunch of people, those that are the best on earth, and their place is in Heaven and not on Earth.

We are now going through a very grave crisis—possibly the gravest so far in human history, possibly the most important in the whole trend of civilization. Democracy itself is being subjected to the acid test of reality. Let us be frank about it. It has failed on a number of occasions. It has been attacked very severely and been forced out of a great number of its positions. This is a fact, a sad fact, but we have got to reckon with it. And, therefore, it behooves a body of representatives of a large labor organization assembled together, to deal with this particular problem. It seems to me that if that problem is ever solved it will not be solved by English Professors; by people with nice manners and still nicer words. It seems to me that the solution might emanate from here. There is the good-will among a good many of you to help in solving this great problem, and that is of the greatest importance not only to every one of you, but, I believe, to every one in the world.

I hope that the soldiers in the military army will be able to conquer autocracy. But if autocracy is conquered, as I hope it will be, on the fields of actual military battles, democracy will never be established through military battles. Democracy will be established by the soldiers of the industrial army. And the soldiers of the industrial army and its Lieutenants and Captains are assembled here, as in a great many other conventions and gatherings of this sort.

It seems to me that I have spent with advantage the few days of this convention, watching, observing you in this great process of building up the army that will make this world a decent place to live in. I have enjoyed it and have benefited by it.

If your organization is able to hold its grip on its membership, it will be not only because you will be able to show next year or in the next two years one hundred per cent. organization, but it will be due to the fact primarily that you are able to show 100 per cent. of real, progressive, of real democratic spirit—the thing which has been lacking for years and years in the ranks of your branch of the labor movement.

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I think that you have tried to solve the great problems before us as well as you could, and I congratulate you most sincerely, most earnestly upon it. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: Secretary Schlossberg will say a few words before we adjourn the convention.

Address of Secretary Schlossberg

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: We have had some emotional moments here, and some dramatic situations. We may have them repeated at other meetings, not necessarily conventions, as the war has not yet ended. We shall not at these last few minutes of this convention indulge into anything in connection with those emotions and the causes that called them forth.

Let me tell you frankly that my heart is full of overflowing from the harmony, the wonderful spirit of this convention. All of our conventions have been harmonious. All of our Conventions have displayed the spirit of fraternity and cooperation and aspiration for high ideals. But I don't remember any of our meetings where that has been brought out so completely and so forcibly and powerfully as at this convention.

What I appreciate most and above all—I am sure that we all did—was that when a point was reached where there were serious and sharp differences of opinion among the delegates, and while these differences of opinion were being argued out, even fought out, on the floor of the convention, it was all done in the most brotherly manner. The party that lost, accepted its fate in the best spirit and with good grace. The spirit of cooperation has prevailed from the very beginning until the our very end. It is this that renews our courage for further work. We are going back to our respective cities now. We will have to take up the problems of the organization—some new one and a great many old ones—and we will have the same hardships, the same troubles that we have had all the time. We are stronger now and better prepared to tackle them. But the problems are there, with all that they imply. It is just this consciousness of having behind us the full backing and support of the entire membership and their representatives at such gatherings as this that gives us the necessary moral and spiritual courage to cope with all of the situations as they arise.

I think Brother Hillman will agree with me when I will say that the General Officers are perhaps in a position to appreciate this better and to be more grateful for it than any other member, because the local members have the opportunity of complaining and handing over their grievances to the Local Officers, the Local Officers have the opportunity of kicking at the General Officers; the General Officers cannot kick at anybody. It is our business to come to the members, even at the time when we feel like kicking hard and strong, and talk to them in a manner that will keep up their courage and strengthen them. And it is just such demonstrations of the spirit of our organization that gives us new strength and new vigor for the work that is before us.

I feel that when we go back home from this convention, all of us will be able to take the message back to our constituents that the harmony in our organization is complete. There is not a single defective spot in our great structure; our great structure and our great army are growing more strong as we go along; we are growing stronger with time and experience. Our determination is strengthening. Our spirit is strengthening. Our army is increasing. Our consciousness becomes clearer. We become ever more clear as to what we want and how we can get it. Never before in the history of our organization was there such clearness as to what the Amalgamated stands for, as there is today.

And that clearness has not been brought out by theoretical discussions. Usually theoretical discussions only help to create a thicker and heavier cloud. In our case clearness was brought out by the handling of the problems that we were called upon to deal with. It was in real life, in actual fight, that we learned clearly what it is that we are after, and what is the best way of getting it.

We keep on learning this. It is just because we are learning it and we understand what we want and what we are after, that we are in a position to say the word that the situation calls for and that other organizations have failed to say. It is because we happen to be so situated that while we have our natural enemies in the capitalist camps, we also have enemies where we should have nothing but friends, in labor's own camp, and we must fall back upon our own strength, and we must think out our own thoughts, and we must formulate our own ideas, in our own way; and we must speak so carefully and so clearly and so strongly that there should be no room for misinterpretation, which might be used to fight us with; that there may be no opportunity for using any of our utterances, any of our acts or formulation of our principles,

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in order to injure us, to increase the prejudice against us. It is because we are so situated that we have learned how to think clearly, how to speak clearly and concisely, how to act carefully and wisely. I say that it is because of that that we have put ourselves in a position where we command the full confidence of our members, who know that they can depend upon their chosen representatives. They know that if any representative is selected who does not live up to the spirit as conditions have crystallized in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, he will naturally and automatically have to drop out and make room for one who will measure up to the requirements and the tests of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Let our next convention be like this one, in a larger degree—an international celebration of the progress made, of the spirit strengthened, of the understanding made clearer. May we, then, perhaps, be in a position to impart the strength of our spirit, the light of our message to the rest of the working class, so that they may follow suit!

(Tremendous applause.)

President HILLMAN: Before introducing the next speaker, who will be the last speaker, I should like to announce that after the convention is adjourned, those of you who would like to do so may order the picture of the convention from the photographer who will be in the hall.

This morning, when I introduced Comrade and Friend Yanofsky to the convention, I promised you that he would be back before we adjourn. I shall take the opportunity to call upon Comrade Yanofsky to say a few words before we adjourn the convention. (Applause.)

Address of S. Yanofsky

It is rather hard to come here to speak. You are all such beautiful speakers, orators I may say, that there is nothing else for us professionals to do but to bow our heads and say "Well, we are surpassed."

I want to say a few words: I think we are harping too much on the past, and that is not a good sign. A real live man never thinks too much of the past. The moment he starts to think too much of the past, it is a sign of degeneracy, of death. You, as a live organization, no matter what your achievements have been, how great they are, have still greater achievements in store for you. Never mind the past. Let us think of the future. Let us think of what we will do in the future. (Applause.)

You are throwing bouquets at each other, complimenting each other for all you have done. Let me tell you something. If you ascribe everything to yourselves you are making a little mistake. It was the times, it was the new spirit; that is what helped you so much. You ought to thank all those who come before you, but who did not achieve anything, although they laid the foundation.

I remember in the olden times the so-called leaders, the so-called members. I used to go to a meeting to speak to them. I felt that I was not understood by anybody. I felt that neither the leaders nor the members really had any idea of what Unionism meant, not to speak of industrial democracy. But still, something was done; something was achieved. You are the grandsons of those people. Therefore you build upon their foundation.

But what you are building is not enough. Let me tell you that Ideal Union has not been achieved yet. There are many, many things to achieve yet in your relations to the outside world, in your relations to the labor movement at large—many, many things to be done yet; there is much room for improvement. True, the past is glorious. The past is really something that should make us proud. But we should never think of resting upon what we have achieved, but always of going further and further and further.

And I should be very much disappointed if in two years from now, at the Boston convention, you are the same Amalgamated that you are now. That will mean practically that you are going back. Everything that is living must always be progressive. If it does not progress, it means that it is going backward and it is going to die. In order that that should not happen, you must always be on your guard; always see that you are not be misrepresented; always see that people do not say in your name things that you never meant to say or to do. Your freedom must be as dear to you as your own life. Remember how you had to fight until you got rid of those despots, of those parasites of the olden times. Therefore, hold your freedom as dear as your life. Be watchful. Never fall asleep, and your Union will grow and grow to that state of idealism, that we all want. (Applause.)

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Closing Address of President Hillman

Delegates to this Convention: A few minutes more, and this convention will be adjourned. This convention has been memorable in many ways. We have gone through our record of the past, but only in order to search for mistakes and to learn from them, so as to be properly guided in the future. We have looked over our achievements of the past, only to learn what can be, and should be done in the future. If we pride ourselves on that which has been accomplished, it is because we know that a greater achievement will be had in the future.

The forty-eight hour week—the fact that it was brought into life, means so much to us, because we know that the same power that brought us the forty-eight hour week will also bring us the 44 hour week within the next year! (Applause.)

We have laid out for ourselves a program for the future a program for the improvement of our conditions—a program to make our organization felt in the life of the country—a program to make our organization felt when international problems have been solved. My friends, this convention has illustrated once more the tremendous strength that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America can call forth in its members. That which has been done has been done because of the wonderful spirit of harmony, of loyalty, of determination that prevails in our organization. And throughout this convention this spirit has asserted itself time and time again.

I am sure that everyone of us will carry back to their respective cities this fine, harmonious spirit that prevails at this convention. But we have learned some other things from this convention. It has been brought to us more strongly than it could have possibly been done in any other form, that we are losing some of the best people in the organization, even it only temporarily. First Brother Senter, who represented a great number who have left our ranks. Then this morning, Brother Rosenblum. And while you may know only Brother Rosenblum from your acquaintance and contact with him since the Amalgamated has come into existence, I had the privilege to be with Brother Rosenblum way back in 1910, and 1911, when we were both strikers in the great, memorable Chicago strike. I recall all the work that was done by him and many others to build the movement that made this organization possible. And I know that we will feel not only in a personal way but as an organization, the departure of these most active people from our ranks.

My friends, we have built the program before us. There is a great deal of work ahead of us. Until every man and every woman in the industry are protected by our organization, the work will not be completed. Until labor, not only in this country, but throughout the world, is free, our work will not be completed. Until the whole world is a free world, there will still be work ahead of us. The wonderful spirit of the past has made it possible for us to go forward, no matter what the obstacles, to make progress, no matter what the opposition, and always to go on and on. My friends, perhaps greater obstacles are ahead of us, greater goals are ahead of us. But I do hope—Nay!—I am convinced—I feel certain, that all of you here, and through you the membership of the country at large—will make a still greater effort, and if need be, still greater sacrifice, so that the work of freeing the human race may be done, so that real liberty may come into life.

My friends, in closing this convention I want to urge you again, "On and On!" "On until the final victory has been achieved!"

(Great applause, everybody rising and cheering.)

When the cheering had subsided, everybody rose and sang the Marsellaise.

President HILLMAN: I propose three cheers for our brothers who have left us temporarily, and who, we expect, will return soon:

Everybody: "Hurrah! Hurrah!! Hurrah!!!"

President HILLMAN: I think we can send those cheers right through Brother Rosenblum.

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: I call for three cheers for the new social order proclaimed by the British Labor Party.

Everybody: "Hurrah! Hurrah!! Hurrah!!!"

President HILLMAN: This convention stands adjourned, to reconvene the second Monday in May, 1920, in the city of Boston.

Everybody: "Hurrah! Hurrah!! Hurrah!!!"

As soon as President Hillman had finished making this announcement, the delegates rushed forward and took both President Hillman and Secretary Schlossberg on their shoulders, cheering enthusiastically for several minutes.

The convention adjourned at 5.15 P. M.

Appendix I.

Inter-Allied Labor War Aims

The following is the full text of the "Memorandum on War Aims" adopted by the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference in London:

The War

I.—The Inter-Allied Conference declares that whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of war it is clear that the peoples of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it. Their common interest is now so to conduct the terrible struggle in which they find themselves engaged as to bring it, as soon as may be possible, to an issue in a secure and lasting peace for the world.

The Conference sees no reason to depart from the following declaration unanimously agreed to at the Conference of the Socialist and Labor Parties of the Allied Nations on February 4, 1915:

"This Conference cannot ignore the profound general causes of the European conflict, itself a monstrous product of the antagonisms which tear asunder capitalist society and of the policy of colonial dependencies and aggressive imperialism, against which International Socialism has never ceased to fight and in which every government has its share of responsibility.

"The invasion of Belgium and France by the German armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. The Socialists of Great Britain, Belgium, France and Russia do not pursue the political and economic crushing of Germany; they are not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, but only with the governments of those countries by which they are oppressed. They demand that Belgium shall be liberated and compensated. They desire that the question of Poland shall be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Polish people, either in the sense of autonomy in the midst of another state, or in that of complete independence. They wish that throughout all Europe, from Alsace-Lorraine to the Balkans, those populations that have been annexed by force shall receive the right freely to dispose of themselves.

"While inflexibly resolved to fight until victory is achieved to accomplish this task of liberation, the Socialists are none the less resolved to resist any attempt to transform this defensive war into a war of conquest, which would only prepare fresh conflicts, create new grievances and subject various peoples more than ever to the double plague of armaments and war.

"Satisfied that they are remaining true to the principles of the International, the members of the Conference express the hope that the working classes of all the different countries will before long find themselves united again in their struggle against militarism and capitalist imperialism. The victory of the Allied Powers must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful federation of the United States of Europe and the World."

Making the World Safe for Democracy

II.—Whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun the fundamental purpose of the Inter-Allied Conference in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy.

Of all the conditions of peace none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war.

Whoever triumphs, the peoples will have lost unless an international system is established which will prevent war. What would it mean to declare the right of peoples to self-determination if this right were left at the mercy of new violations, and was not protected by a super-national authority? That authority can be no other than the League of Nations, in which not only all the present belligerents, but every other independent state, should be pressed to join.

The constitution of such a League of Nations implies the immediate establishment of an International High Court, not only for the settlement of all disputes between states that are of justiciable nature, but also for prompt and effective mediation between states in other issues that vitally interest the power of honor of such states. It is also under the control of the League of Nations that the consultation of

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peoples for purposes of self-determination must be organized. This popular right can be vindicated only by popular vote. The League of Nations shall establish the procedure of international jurisdiction, fix the methods which will maintain the freedom and security of the election, restore the political rights of individuals which violence and conquest may have injured, repress any attempt to use pressure or corruption, and prevent any subsequent reprisals. It will be also necessary to form an International Legislature, in which the representatives of every civilized state would have their allotted share and energetically to push forward, step by step, the development of international legislation agreed to by, and definitely binding upon, the several states.

By a solemn agreement all the states and peoples consulted shall pledge themselves to submit every issue between two or more of them for settlement as aforesaid. Refusal to accept arbitration or to submit to settlement will imply deliberate aggression, and all the nations will necessarily have to make common cause, by using any and every means at their disposal, either economic or military, against any state or states refusing to submit to the arbitration award, or attempting to break the world's covenant of peace.

But the sincere acceptance of the rules and decisions of the super-national authority implies complete democratization in all countries; the removal of all the arbitrary powers who, until now, have assumed the right of choosing between peace and war; the maintenance or creation of legislatures elected by and on behalf of the sovereign right of the people; the suppression of secret diplomacy, to be replaced by the conduct of foreign policy under the control of popular legislatures, and the publication of all treaties, which must never be in contravention of the stipulation of the League of Nations, with the absolute responsibility of the government, and more particularly of the foreign minister of each country to its legislature.

Only such a policy will enforce the frank abandonment of every form of imperialism. When based on universal democracy, in a world in which effective international guarantees against aggression have been sacred, the League of Nations will achieve the complete suppression of force as the means of settling international differences.

The League of Nations, in order to prepare for the concerted abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, must first take steps for the prohibition of fresh armaments on land and sea and for the common limitation of the existing armaments by which all the peoples are burdened; as well as the control of war manufactures and the enforcement of such agreements as may be agreed to thereupon. The states must undertake such manufactures themselves, so as entirely to abolish profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in the war scares and progressive competition in the preparation for war.

The nations, being armed solely for self-defense and for such action as the League of Nations may ask them to take in defense of international right, will be left free, under the international control either to create a voluntary force or to organize the nation for defense without professional armies for long terms of military service.

To give effect to the above principles, the Inter-Allied Conference declares that the rules upon which the League of Nations will be founded must be included in the treaty of peace, and will henceforth become the basis of the settlement of differences. In that spirit the Conference expresses its agreement with the propositions put forward by President Wilson in his last message:

(1) That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case, and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

(2) That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game now forever discredited of the balance of power; but that

(3) Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustments of compromise of claims amongst rival states.

(4) That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and, consequently, of the world.

Territorial Questions

III.—The Inter-Allied Conference considers that the proclamation of principles of international law accepted by all nations, and the substitution of a regular procedure for the forceful acts by which states calling themselves sovereign have hitherto adjusted their differences—in short, the establishment of a League of Nations—gives an entirely new aspect to territorial problems.

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The old diplomacy and the yearnings after domination by states, or even by peoples, which during the whole of the nineteenth century have taken advantage of and corrupted the aspirations of nationalities, have brought Europe to a condition of anarchy and disorder which have led inevitably to the present catastrophe.

The Conference declares it to be the duty of the Labor and Socialist movement to suppress without hesitation the imperialist designs in the various states which have led one government after another to seek, by the triumph of military force, to acquire either new territories or economic advantage.

The establishment of a system of international law and the guarantees afforded by a League of Nations, ought to remove the last excuse for those strategic protections which nations have hitherto felt bound to require.

It is the supreme principle of the right of each people to determine its own destiny that must now decide what steps should be taken by way of restitution or reparation, and whatever territorial readjustments may be found to be necessary at the close of the present war.

The Conference accordingly emphasizes the importance to the Labor and Socialist movement of a clear and exact definition of what is meant by the right of each people to determine its own destiny. Neither destiny of race nor identity of language can be regarded as affording more than a presumption in favor of federation or unification. During the nineteenth century the theories of this kind have so often served as a cloak for aggression that the International cannot but seek to prevent any recurrence of such an evil. And adjustments of boundaries that become necessary must be based exclusively upon the desire of the people concerned.

It is true that it is impossible for the necessary consultation of the desires of the people concerned to be made in any fixed and invariable way for all the cases in which it is required, and that the problems of nationality and territory are not the same for the inhabitants of all countries. Nevertheless, what is necessary in all cases is that the procedure to be adopted should be decided, not by one of the parties to the dispute, but by the super-national authority.

Upon the basis of the general principles herein formulated the Conference proposes the following solutions of particular problems:

(a) Belgium

The Conference emphatically insists that a foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German government, under the direction of an International Commission, of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong; and the restoration of Belgium as an independent sovereign state, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

(b) Alsace and Lorraine

The Conference declares that the problem of Alsace and Lorraine is not one of territorial adjustment, but one of right, and thus an international problem, the solution of which is indispensable if peace is to be either just or lasting.

The Treaty of Frankfort of 1871 and the same time mutilated France and violated the right of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to dispose of their own destinies, a right which they have repeatedly claimed.

The new treaty of peace, in recognizing that Germany, by her declaration of war of 1914, has herself broken the Treaty of Frankfort, will make null and void the gains of a brutal conquest and of the violence committed against the people.

France, having secured this recognition, can properly agree to a fresh consultation of the population of Alsace and Lorraine as to its own desires.

The treaty of peace will bear the signatures of every nation in the world. It will be guaranteed by the League of Nations. To this League of Nations France is prepared to remit, with the freedom and sincerity of a popular vote, of which the details can be subsequently settled, the organization of such a consultation as shall settle forever, as a matter of right, the future destiny of Alsace and Lorraine, and as shall finally remove from the common life of all Europe a quarrel which has imposed so heavy a burden upon it.

(c) The Balkans

The Conference lays down the principle that all the violations and perversions of the rights of the people which have taken place, or are still taking place, in the Balkans must be made the subject of redress or reparation.

Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Albania and all the territories occupied by military forces should be evacuated by the hostile forces. Wherever any population of the same race and tongue demands to be united this must be done. Each such people

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must be accorded full liberty to settle its own destiny, without regard to the imperialistic pretensions of Austria, Hungary, Turkey or other state.

Accepting this principle, the Conference proposes that the whole problem of the administrative reorganization of the Balkan peoples should be dealt with by a special conference of their representatives or in case of disagreement by an authoritative international commission on the basis of (a) the concession within each independent sovereignty of local autonomy and security for the development of its particular civilization of every racial minority; (b) the universal guarantee of freedom of religion and political equality for all cases; (c) a Customs and Postal Union embracing the whole of the Balkan states with free access for each to its natural seaport; (d) the entry of all the Balkan states into a federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves of all matters of common interest.

(d) Italy

The conference declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, and for strategic reasons, been assigned to the Kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realizes that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it condemns the aims of conquest of Italian Imperialism and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded, without precluding a like recognition of the deeds of others or annexation of other people's territories.

Regarding the Italian population dispersed on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, the relations between Italy and the Yugo-Slav populations must be based on principles of equity and conciliation, so as to prevent any cause of future quarrel.

If there are found to be groups of Slavonian race within the newly defined Kingdom of Italy or groups of Italian race in Slavonian territory, mutual guarantees must be given for the assurance of all of them; on one side or the other, full liberty of local self-government and of the natural development of their several activities.

(e) Poland and the Baltic Provinces

In accordance with the right of every people to determine its own destinies, Poland must be reconstituted in unity and independence with free access to the sea.

The Conference declares further, that any annexation by Germany, whether open or disguised, of Livonia, Courland or Lithuania would be a flagrant and wholly inadmissible violation of international law.

(f) The Jews and Palestine

The Conference demands for the Jews in all countries the same elementary rights of freedom of religion, education, residence and trade and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. It further expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the hard and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a Free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

(g) The Problem of the Turkish Empire

The Conference condemns the handing back to the systematically cruel domination of the Turkish government any subject people. Thus, whatever may be proposed with regard to Armenia, Mesopotamia and Arabia, they cannot be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his Pashas. The Conference condemns the imperialist aims of governments and capitalists who would make of these and other territories now dominated by the Turkish hordes merely instruments either of exploitation or militarism. If the peoples of these territories do not feel themselves able to settle their own destinies, the Conference insists that, conformably with the policy of "no annexations," they should be placed for administration in the hands of a Commission acting under the Super-National Authority or League of Nations. It is further suggested that the peace of the world requires that the Dardanelles should be permanently and effectively neutralized and opened like all the main lines of marine communication, under the control of the League of Nations, freely to all nations, without hindrance or customs duties.

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(b) Austria-Hungary

The Conference does not propose as a war aim dismemberment of Austria-Hungary or its deprivation of economic access to the sea. On the other hand, the Conference cannot admit that the claims to independence made by the Czecho-Slovaks and the Yugo-Slavs must be regarded merely as questions for internal decision. National independence ought to be accorded, according to rules to be laid down by the League of Nations, to such peoples as demand it, and these communities ought to have the opportunity of determining their own groupings and federations according to their affinities and interests. If they think fit they are free to substitute a free federation of Danubian states for the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

(i) The Colonies and Dependencies

The International has always condemned the colonial policy of capitalist governments. Without ceasing to condemn it, the Inter-Allied Conference nevertheless recognizes the existence of a state of things which it is obliged to take into account.

The Conference considers that the treaty of peace ought to secure to the natives in all colonies and dependencies effective protection against the excesses of capitalist colonialism. The Conference demands the concession of administrative autonomy for all groups of people that attain a certain degree of civilization, and for all the others a progressive participation in local government.

The Conference is of opinion that the return of the colonies to those who possessed them before the war, or the exchange or compensations which might be effected, ought not to be an obstacle to the making of peace.

Those colonies that have been taken by conquest from any belligerent must be made the subject of special consideration at the Peace Conference, as to which the communities in their neighborhood will be entitled to take part. But the clause in the treaty of peace on this point must secure economic equality in such territories for the peoples of all nations, and thereby guarantee that none are shut out from legitimate access to raw materials; prevented from disposing of their own products, or deprived of their proper share of economic development.

As regards more especially the colonies of all the belligerents in Tropical Africa, from sea to sea, including the whole of the region north of the Zambesi and south of the Sahara, the Conference condemns any imperialist idea which would make these countries the booty of one or several nations, exploit them for the profit of the capitalist or use them for the promotion of the militarist aims of the governments.

With respect to these colonies the Conference declares in favor of a system of control, established by international agreement, under the League of Nations and maintained by its guarantee, which, whilst respecting national sovereignty, would be alike inspired by broad conceptions of economic freedom and concerned to safeguard the rights of the natives under the best conditions possible for them, and in particular:

(1) It would take account in each locality of the wishes of the people, expressed in the form which is possible for them.

(2) The interests of the native tribes as regards the ownership of the soil would be maintained.

(3) The whole of the revenues would be devoted to the well-being and development of the colonies themselves.

Economic Relations

IV. The Inter-Allied Conference declares against all the projects now being prepared by imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only, but in most countries, for an economic war, after peace has been secured, either against one or other foreign nation or against all foreign nations, as such an economic war, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defense be driven. The main lines of marine communication should be open without hindrance to vessels of all nations under the protection of the League of Nations. The Conference realizes that all attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariff or capitalist trusts or monopolies, inevitably result in the spoliation of the working classes of the several countries for the profit of the capitalists; and the working class see in the alliance between the military imperialists and the fiscal protectionists in any country whatsoever not only a serious danger to the prosperity of the masses of the people, but also a grave menace to peace. On the other hand, the right of each nation to the defense of its own economic interests, and in face of the world-shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation for its own people of a sufficiency of its own supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials, cannot be denied. The Conference accordingly urges upon the Labor and Socialist parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the government towards com-

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mercial enterprise, along with the necessary control of supplies for its own people, on the principle of the open door, and without hostile discrimination against foreign countries. But it urges equally the importance, not merely of conservation, but also of the utmost possible development, by appropriate government action, of the resources of every country for the benefit not only of its own people, but also of the world, and the need for an international agreement for the enforcement in all countries of the legislation on factory conditions, a maximum eight-hour day, the prevention of "sweating" and unhealthy trades necessary to protect the workers against exploitation and oppression, and the prohibition of night work by women and children.

The Problems of Peace

V. To make the world safe for democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. It will be a device of the capitalist interests to pretend that the treaty of peace need concern itself only with the cessation of the struggles of the armed forces and with any necessary territorial readjustments. The Inter-Allied Conference insists that in view of the probable world-wide shortage, after the war, of exportable foodstuffs and raw materials, and of merchant shipping, it is imperative, in order to prevent the most serious hardships, and even possible famine, in one country or another, that systematic arrangements should be made on an international basis for the allocation and conveyance of the available exportable surpluses of these commodities to the different countries, in proportion, not to their purchasing powers, but to their several pressing needs; and that, within each country, the government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities, in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to the means, but, systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community on the principle of "no cake for anyone until all have bread."

Moreover, it cannot but be anticipated that, in all countries, the dislocation of industry attendant on peace, the instant discharge of millions of munition makers and workers in war trades, and the demobilization of millions of soldiers—in face of the scarcity of industrial capital, the shortage of raw materials, and the insecurity of commercial enterprise—will, unless prompt and energetic action be taken by the several governments, plunge a large part of the wage-earning population into all the miseries of unemployment more or less prolonged. In view of the fact that widespread unemployment in any country, like a famine, is an injury not to that country alone, but impoverishes also the rest of the world, the Conference holds that it is the duty of every government to take immediate action, not merely to relieve the unemployed, when unemployment has set in, but actually, so far as may be practicable, to prevent the occurrence of unemployment. It therefore urges upon the Labor parties of every country the necessity of their pressing upon their governments the preparation of plans for the execution of all the innumerable public works (such as the making and repairing of roads, railways and waterways, the erection of schools and public buildings, the provision of working-class dwellings and the reclamation and afforestation of land) that will be required in the near future, not for the sake of finding measures of relief for the unemployed, but with a view to these works being undertaken at such a rate in each locality as will suffice, together with the various capitalist enterprises that may be in progress, to maintain at a fairly uniform level year by year, and throughout each year, the aggregate demand for labor and thus prevent there being any unemployed. It is now known that in this way it is quite possible for any government to prevent, if it chooses, the occurrence of any widespread or prolonged involuntary unemployment which if it is now in any country allowed to occur, is as much the result of government neglect as is any epidemic disease.

Restoration of the Devastated Areas and Reparation of Wrongdoing

VI. The Inter-Allied Conference holds that one of the most imperative duties of all countries immediately peace is declared will be the restoration, so far as may be possible, of the homes, farms, factories, public buildings and means of communication whatever destroyed by war operations; that the restoration should not be limited to compensation for public buildings, capitalist undertakings and material property proved to be destroyed or damaged, but should be extended to setting up the wage-earners and peasants themselves in homes and employment; and that to insure the full and impartial application of these principles the assessment and distribution of the compensation, so far as the cost is contributed by any international fund, should be made under the direction of an international Commission.

The Conference will not be satisfied unless there is a full and free judicial investigation into the accusations made on all sides that particular governments have

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ordered, and particular officers have exercised, acts of cruelty, oppression, violence and theft against individual victims, for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war. It draws attention in particular to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other non-combatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct. It should be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a Court of Claims and Accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment, and award compensation or damages, payable by the individual or government condemned, to the persons who had suffered wrong, or to their dependents. The several governments must be responsible, financially and otherwise, for the presentation of the cases of their respective nationals to such a Court of Claims and Accusations, and for the payment of the compensation awarded.

International Conference

VII. The Inter-Allied Conference is of opinion that an International Conference of Labor and Socialist organizations, held under proper conditions, would at this stage render useful service to world democracy by assisting to remove misunderstandings, as well as the obstacles which stand in the way of world peace.

Awaiting the resumption of the normal activities of the International Socialist Bureau, we consider that an International Conference, held during the period of hostilities, should be organized by a committee whose impartiality cannot be questioned. It should be held in a neutral country, under such conditions as would inspire confidence; and the Conference should be fully representative of all the Labor and Socialist movement in all the belligerent countries accepting the conditions under which the Conference is convoked.

As an essential condition to an International Conference the Commission is of the opinion that the organizers of the Conference should satisfy themselves that all the organizations to be represented put in precise form, by a public declaration, their peace terms in conformity with the principles "no annexations or punitive indemnities," and that they are working with all their power to obtain from their governments the necessary guarantees to apply those principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference.

In view of the vital differences between the Allied countries and the Central Powers, the Commission is of opinion that it is highly advisable that the Conference should be used to provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavor by mutual agreement to arrange a programme of action for a speedy and democratic peace.

The Conference is of opinion that the working classes, having made such sacrifices during the war, are entitled to take part in securing a democratic world peace, and that M. Albert Thomas (France), M. Emile Vandervelde (Belgium) and Mr. Arthur Henderson (Great Britain) be appointed as a commission to secure from all the governments a promise that at least one representative of Labor and Socialism will be included in the official representation at any government conference, and to organize a Labor and Socialist representation to sit concurrently with the official conference; further, that no country be entitled to more than four representatives at such conference.

The Conference regrets the absence of representatives of American Labor and Socialism from the Inter-Allied Conference, and urges the importance of securing their approval of the decisions reached. With this object in view, the Conference agrees that a deputation, consisting of one representative from France, Belgium, Italy and Great Britain, together with Camille Huysmans (Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau), proceed to the United States at once, in order to confer with representatives of the American democracy on the whole situation of the war.

The Conference resolves to transmit to the Socialists of the Central Empires and of the nations allied with them the memorandum in which the Conference has defined the conditions of peace, conformably with the principles of Socialist and international justice. The Conference is convinced that these conditions will commend themselves on reflection to the mind of every Socialist, and the Conference asks for the answer of the Socialists of the Central Empires, in the hope that these will join without delay in a joint effort of the International, which has now become more than ever the best and most certain instrument of democracy and peace.

Appendix II.

Labor and the New Social Order

A Report on Reconstruction by the Sub-Committee of the British Labor Party

It behooves the Labor party, in formulating its own programme for reconstruction after the war, and in criticising the various preparations and plans that are being made by the present government, to look at the problem as a whole. We have to make clear what it is that we wish to construct. It is important to emphasize the fact that, whatever may be the case with regard to other political parties, our detailed practical proposals proceed from definitely held principles.

The End of a Civilization.

We need to beware of patchwork. The view of the Labor party is that what has to be constructed after the war is not this or that government department, or this or that piece of social machinery; but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself. The individual worker, or for that matter the individual statesman, immersed in daily routine—like the individual soldier in a battle—easily fails to understand the magnitude and far-reaching importance of what is taking place around him. How does it fit together as a whole? How does it look from a distance? Count Okuma, one of the oldest, most experienced and ablest of the statesmen of Japan, watching the present conflict from the other side of the globe declares it to be nothing less than the death of European civilization. Just as in the past the civilization of Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Carthage and the great Roman empire have been successively destroyed, so, in the judgment of this detached observer, the civilization of all Europe is even now receiving its death blow. We of the Labor party can so far agree in this estimate as to recognize, in the present world catastrophe, if not the death, in Europe, of civilization itself, at any rate the culmination and collapse of a distinctive industrial civilization, which the workers will not seek to reconstruct. At such times of crisis it is easier to slip into ruin than to progress into higher forms of organization. That is the problem as it presents itself to the Labor party.

What this war is consuming is not merely the security, the homes, the livelihood and the lives of millions of innocent families, and an enormous proportion of all the accumulated wealth of the world, but also the very basis of the peculiar social order in which it has arisen. The individual system of capitalist production, based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital, with its reckless "profiteering" and wage-slavery; with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for the means of life and its hypocritical pretense of the "survival of the fittest"; with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces and the degradation and the brutalization, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom, may, we hope, indeed have received a death blow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression. We of the Labor party, whether in opposition or in due time called upon to form an administration, will certainly lend no hand to its revival. On the contrary, we shall do our utmost to see that it is buried with the millions whom it has done to death. If we in Britain are to escape from the decay of civilization itself, which the Japanese statesman foresees, we must ensure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting but on fraternity—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain—not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach towards a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world—not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but, in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy. We do not, of course, pretend that it is possible, even after the drastic clearing away that is now going on, to build society anew in a year or two of feverish reconstruction. What the Labor party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other.

The Pillars of the House.

We need not here recapitulate, one by one, the different items in the Labor party's programme, which successive party conferences have adopted. These proposals, some of them in various publications worked out in practical detail, are often care-

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lessly derided as impracticable, even by the politicians who steal them piecemeal from us! The members of the Labor party, themselves actually working by hand or brain, in close contact with the facts, have perhaps at all times a more accurate appreciation of what is practicable, in industry as in politics, than those who depend solely on academic instruction or are biased by great possessions. But today no man dares to say that anything is impracticable. The war which has scared the old political parties right out of their dogmas, has taught every statesman and every government official, to his enduring surprise, how very much more can be done along the lines that we have laid down than he had ever before thought possible. What we now promulgate as our policy, whether for opposition, or for office, is not merely this or that specific reform, but a deliberately thought out, systematic, and comprehensive plan for that immediate social rebuilding which any ministry, whether or not it desires to grapple with the problem, will be driven to undertake. The four pillars of the house that we propose to erect, resting upon the common foundation of the democratic control of society in all its activities, may be termed:

- (a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum;
- (b) The Democratic Control of Industry;
- (c) The Revolution in National Finance; and
- (d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

The Universal Enforcement of a National Minimum.

The first principle of the Labor party—in significant contrast with those of the capitalist system, whether expressed by the Liberal or by the Conservative party—is the securing to every member of the community, in good times and bad alike (and not only to the strong and able, the well born or the fortunate), of all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship. This is in no sense a "class" proposal. Such an amount of social protection of the individual, however poor and lowly, from birth to death, is, as the economist now knows, as indispensable to fruitful cooperation as it is to successful combination! and it affords the only complete safeguard against that insidious degradation of the standard of life which is the worst economic and social calamity to which any community can be subjected. We are members one of another. No man liveth to himself alone. If any, even the humblest, is made to suffer, the whole community and every one of us, whether or not we recognize the fact, is thereby injured. Generation after generation this has been the corner-stone of the faith of Labor. It will be the guiding principle of any Labor government.

The Legislative Regulation of Employment.

Thus it is that the Labor party today stands for the universal application of the policy of the national minimum, to which (as embodied in the successive elaborations of the Factory, Mines, Railways, Shops, Merchant Shipping, and Truck acts, the Public Health, Housing, and Education acts and the Minimum Wage act—all of them aiming at the enforcement of at least the prescribed minimum of leisure, health, education, and subsistence) the spokesmen of Labor have already gained the support of the enlightened statesmen and economists of the world. All these laws purporting to protect against extreme degradation of the standard of life need considerable improvement and extension, whilst their administration leaves much to be desired. For instance, the Workmen's Compensation act fails shamefully, not merely to secure proper provision for all the victims of accident and industrial disease, but what is much more important, does not succeed in preventing their continual increase. The amendment and consolidation of the Factory and Workshop acts, with their extension to all employed persons, is long overdue, and it will be the policy of Labor greatly to strengthen the staff of inspectors, especially by the addition of more men and women of actual experience of the workshop and the mine. The Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) act must certainly be maintained in force, and suitably amended, so as both to ensure greater uniformity of conditions among the several districts, and to make the district minimum in all cases an effective reality. The same policy will in the interests of the agricultural laborers, dictate the perpetuation of the Legal Wage clauses of the new Corn Law just passed for a term of five years, and the prompt amendment of any defects that may be revealed in their working. And, in view of the fact that many millions of wage-earners, notably women and the less skilled workmen in various occupations, are unable by combination to obtain wages adequate for decent maintenance in health, the Labor Party intends to see to it that the Trade Board Act is suitably amended and made to apply to all industrial employments in which any considerable number of those employed obtain less than 30s. per week. This minimum of not less than 30s. per week (which will need revision to the level of prices) ought to be the very lowest statutory base line for the least skilled adult workers, men or women, in any occupation, in all parts of the United Kingdom.

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The Organization of Demobilization.

But the coming industrial dislocation, which will inevitably follow the discharge from war service of half of all the working population, imposes new obligations upon the community. The demobilization and discharge of the eight million wage-earners now being paid from public funds, either for service with the colors or in munition work and other war trades, will bring to the whole wage-earning class grave peril of unemployment, reduction of wages, and a lasting degradation of the standard of life, which can be prevented only by deliberate national organization. The Labor party has repeatedly called upon the present government to formulate its plan, and to make in advance all arrangements necessary for coping with so unparalleled a dislocation. The policy to which the Labor party commits itself is unhesitating and uncompromising. It is plain that regard should be had, in stopping government orders, reducing the staff of the national factories and demobilizing the army, to the actual state of employment in particular in vestries and in different districts, so as both to release first the kinds of labor most urgently required for the revival of peace production, and to prevent any congestion of the market. It is no less imperative that suitable provision against being turned suddenly adrift without resources should be made, not only for the soldiers, but also for the three million operatives in munition work and other war trades, who will be discharged long before most of the army can be disbanded. On this important point, which is the most urgent of all, the present government has, we believe, down to the present hour, formulated no plan, and come to no decision, and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party has apparently deemed the matter worthy of agitation. Any government which should allow the discharged soldier or munition worker to fall into the clutches of charity or the Poor law would have to be instantly driven from office by an outburst of popular indignation. What every one of them will look for is a situation in accordance with his capacity.

Securing Employment for All.

The Labor party insists—as no other political party has thought fit to do—that the obligation to find suitable employment in productive work for all these men and women rests upon the government for the time being. The work of re-settling the disbanded soldiers and discharged munition workers into new situations is a national obligation; and the Labor party emphatically protests against its being regarded as a matter for private charity. It strongly objects to this public duty being handed over either to committees of philanthropists or benevolent societies, or to any of the military or recruiting authorities. The policy of the Labor party in this matter is to make the utmost use of the trade unions, and, equally for the brainworkers, of the various professional associations. In view of the fact that, in any trade, the best organization for placing men in situations is a national trade union having local branches throughout the kingdom, every soldier should be allowed, if he chooses, to have a duplicate of his industrial discharge notice sent, one month before the date fixed for his discharge, to the secretary of the trade union to which he belongs or wishes to belong. Apart from this use of the trade union (and a corresponding use of the professional association) the government must, of course, avail itself of some such public machinery as that of the employment exchanges; but before the existing exchanges (which will need to be greatly extended) can receive the cooperation and support of the organized labor movement, without which their operations can never be fully successful, it is imperative that they should be drastically reformed, on the lines laid down in the Demobilization Report of the "Labor After the War" Joint Committee; and, in particular, that each exchange should be placed under the supervision and control of a joint committee of employers and trade unionists in equal numbers.

The responsibility of the government, for the time being, in the grave industrial crisis that demobilization will produce, goes, however, far beyond the eight million men and women whom the various departments will suddenly discharge from their own service. The effect of this peremptory discharge on all the other workers has also to be taken into account. To the Labor party it will seem the supreme concern of the government of the day to see to it that there shall be, as a result of the gigantic "General Post" which it will itself have deliberately set going, nowhere any degradation of the standard of life. The government has pledged itself to restore the trade union conditions and "pre-war practices" of the workshop, which the trade unions patriotically gave up at the direct request of the government itself; and this solemn pledge must be fulfilled, of course, in the spirit as well as in the letter. The Labor party, moreover, holds it to be the duty of the government of the day to take all necessary steps to prevent the standard rates of wages, in any trade or occupation

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whatsoever, from suffering any reduction, relatively to the contemporary cost of living. Unfortunately, the present government, like the Liberal and Conservative parties, so far refuses to speak on this important matter with any clear voice. We claim that it should be a cardinal point of government policy to make it plain to every capitalist employer that any attempt to reduce the customary rates of wages when peace comes, or to take advantage of the dislocation of demobilization to worsen the conditions of employment in any grade whatsoever, will certainly lead to embittered industrial strife, which will be in the highest degree detrimental to the national interests; and that the government of the day will not hesitate to take all necessary steps to avert such a calamity. In the great impending crisis the government of the day should not only, as the greatest employer of both brainworkers and manual workmen, set a good example in this respect, but should also actively seek to influence private employers by proclaiming in advance that it will not itself attempt to lower the standard rates of conditions in public employment; by announcing that it will insist on the most rigorous observance of the fair wages clause in all public contracts, and by explicitly recommending every local authority to adopt the same policy.

But nothing is more dangerous to the standard of life, or so destructive of those minimum conditions of healthy existence, which must in the interests of the community be assured to every worker, than any widespread or continued unemployment. It has always been a fundamental principle of the Labor party (a point on which, significantly enough, it has not been followed by either of the other political parties) that, in a modern industrial community, it is one of the foremost obligations of the government to find, for every willing worker, whether by hand or by brain, productive work at standard rates.

It is accordingly the duty of the government to adopt a policy of deliberately and systematically preventing the occurrence of unemployment, instead of, as heretofore, letting unemployment occur, and then seeking, vainly and expensively, to relieve the unemployed. It is now known that the government can, if it chooses, arrange the public works and the orders of national departments and local authorities in such a way as to maintain the aggregate demand for labor in the whole kingdom (including that of capitalist employers) approximately at a uniform level from year to year; and it is therefore a primary obligation of the government to prevent any considerable or widespread fluctuations in the total numbers employed in times of good or bad trade. But this is not all. In order to prepare for the possibility of there being any unemployment, either in the course of demobilization or in the first years of peace, it is essential that the government should make all necessary preparations for putting instantly in hand, directly or through the local authorities, such urgently needed public works as (a) the rehousing of the population alike in rural districts, mining villages, and town slums, to the extent, possibly, of a million new cottages and an outlay of three hundred millions sterling; (b) the immediate making good of the shortage of schools, training colleges, technical colleges, etc., and the engagement of the necessary additional teaching, clerical, and administrative staffs; (c) new roads; (d) light railways; (e) the unification and reorganization of the railway and canal system; (f) afforestation; (g) the reclamation of land; (h) the development and better equipment of our ports and harbors; (i) the opening up of access to land by cooperative small holdings and in other practicable ways. Moreover, in order to relieve any pressure of an overstocked labor market, the opportunity should be taken, if unemployment should threaten to become widespread, (a) immediately to raise the school-leaving age to sixteen; (b) greatly to increase the number of scholarships and bursaries for secondary and higher education; and (c) substantially to shorten the hours of labor of all young persons, even to a greater extent than the eight hours per week contemplated in the new Education bill, in order to enable them to attend technical and other classes in the daytime. Finally, wherever practicable, the hours of adult labor should be reduced to not more than forty-eight per week, without reduction of the standard rates of wages. There can be no economic or other justification for keeping any man or woman to work for long hours, or at overtime, whilst others are unemployed.

Social Insurance Against Unemployment.

In so far as the government fails to prevent unemployment—whenever it finds it impossible to discover for any willing worker, man or woman, a suitable situation at the standard rate—the Labor party holds that the government must, in the interest of the community as a whole, provide him or her with adequate maintenance, either with such arrangements for honorable employment or with such useful training as may be found practicable, according to age, health and previous occupation. In many ways the best form of provision for those who must be unemployed, because the industrial organization of the community so far breaks down as to be temporarily unable to set them to work, is the Out of Work Benefit afforded by a well admin-

istered trade union. This is a special tax on the trade unionists themselves which they have voluntarily undertaken, but towards which they have a right to claim public subvention—a subvention which was actually granted by Parliament (though only to the extent of a couple of shillings or so per week) under Part II of the Insurance act.

The arbitrary withdrawal by the government in 1915 of this statutory right of the trade unions was one of the least excusable of the war economies; and the Labor party must insist on the resumption of this subvention immediately the war ceases, and on its increase to at least half the amount spent in Out of Work Benefit. The extension of state unemployment insurance to other occupations may afford a convenient method of providing for such of the unemployed, especially in the case of badly paid women workers and the less skilled men, whom it is difficult to organize in trade unions. But the weekly rate of the state unemployment benefit needs, in these days of high prices, to be considerably raised; whilst no industry ought to be compulsorily brought within its scope against the declared will of the workers concerned, and especially of their trade unions. In the twentieth century, there must be no question of driving the unemployed to anything so obsolete and discredited as either private charity, with its haphazard and ill considered doles, or the Poor law, with the futilities and barbarities of its "Stone Yard," or its "Able-bodied Test Workhouse." Only on the basis of a universal application of the Policy of the National Minimum, affording complete security against destitution, in sickness and health, in good times and bad alike, to every member of the community can any worthy social order be built up.

The Democratic Control of Industry.

The universal application of the policy of the national minimum is, of course, only the first of the pillars of the house that the Labor party intends to see built. What marks off this party most distinctly from any of the other political parties is its demand for the full and genuine adoption of the principle of democracy. The first condition of democracy is effective personal freedom. This has suffered so many encroachments during the war that it is necessary to state with clearness that the complete removal of all the war time restrictions on freedom of speech, freedom of publication, freedom of the press, freedom of travel and freedom of choice of place of residence and kind of employment must take place the day after peace is declared. The Labor party declares emphatically against any continuance of the Military Service acts a moment longer than the imperative requirements of the war excuse. But individual freedom is of little use without complete political rights. The Labor party sees its repeated demands largely conceded in the present Representation of the People act, but not yet wholly satisfied. The party stands, as heretofore, for complete adult suffrage, with not more than a three months' residential qualification, for effective provision for absent electors to vote, for absolutely equal rights for both sexes, for the same freedom to exercise civic rights for the "common soldier" as for the officer, for shorter Parliaments, for the complete abolition of the House of Lords, and for a most strenuous opposition to any new Second Chamber, whether elected or not, having in it any element of heredity or privilege, or of the control of the House of Commons by any party or class. But unlike the Conservative and Liberal parties, the Labor party insists on democracy in industry as well as in government. It demands the progressive elimination from the control of industry of the private capitalist, individual or joint-stock; and the setting free of all who work, whether by hand or by brain, for the service of the community, and of the community only. And the Labor party refuses absolutely to believe that the British people will permanently tolerate any reconstruction or perpetuation of the disorganization, waste and inefficiency involved in the abandonment of British industry to a jostling crowd of separate private employers, with their minds bent, not on the service of the community, but—by the very law of their being—only on the utmost possible profiteering. What the nation needs is undoubtedly a great bound onward in its aggregate productivity. But this cannot be secured merely by pressing the manual workers to more strenuous toil, or even by encouraging the "Captains of Industry" to a less wasteful organization of their several enterprises on a profit-making basis. What the Labor party looks to is a genuinely scientific reorganization of the nation's industry, no longer deflected by individual profiteering, on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production; the equitable sharing of the proceeds among all who participate in any capacity and only among these, and the adoption, in particular services and occupations, of those systems and methods of administration and control that may be found, in practice, best to promote the public interest.

Immediate Nationalization.

The Labor party stands not merely for the principle of the common ownership of the nation's land, to be applied as suitable opportunities occur, but also, specifically,

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for the immediate nationalization of railways, mines and the production of electrical power. We hold that the very foundation of any successful reorganization of British industry must necessarily be found in the provision of the utmost facilities of transport and communication, the production of power at the cheapest possible rate and the most economical supply of both electrical energy and coal to every corner of the kingdom. Hence the Labor party stands, unhesitatingly, for the national ownership and administration of the railways and canals, and their union, along with harbors and roads, and the posts and telegraphs—not to say also the great lines of steamers which could at once be owned, if not immediately directly managed in detail, by the government—in a united national service of communication and transport; to be worked, unhampered by capitalist, private or purely local interests (and with a steadily increasing participation of the organized workers in the management, both central and local), exclusively for the common good. If any government should be so misguided as to propose, when peace comes, to hand the railways back to the stockholders; or should show itself so spendthrift of the nation's property as to give these shareholders any enlarged franchise by presenting them with the economies of unification or the profit of increased railway rates; or so extravagant as to bestow public funds on the re-equipment of privately owned lines—all of which things are now being privately intrigued for by railway interests—the Labor party will offer any such project the most strenuous opposition. The railways and canals, like the roads, must henceforth belong to the public.

In the production of electricity, for cheap power, light, and heating, this country has so far failed, because of hampering private interests, to take advantage of science. Even in the largest cities we still "peddle" our electricity on a contemptibly small scale. What is called for immediately after the war, is the erection of a score of gigantic "super-power stations," which could generate, at incredibly cheap rates, enough electricity for the use of every industrial establishment and every private household in Great Britain; the present municipal and joint-stock electrical plants being universally linked up and used for local distribution. This is inevitably the future of electricity. It is plain that so great and so powerful an enterprise, affecting every industrial enterprise and, eventually, every household, must not be allowed to pass into the hands of private capitalists. They are already pressing the government for the concession, and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party has yet made up its mind to a refusal of such a new endowment of profiteering in what will presently be the life blood of modern productive industry. The Labor party demands that the production of electricity on the necessary gigantic scale shall be made, from the start (with suitable arrangements for municipal cooperation in local distribution) a national enterprise, to be worked exclusively with the object of supplying the whole kingdom with the cheapest possible power, light and heat.

But with railways and the generation of electricity in the hands of the public, it would be criminal folly to leave to the present one thousand five hundred colliery companies the power of "holding up" the coal supply. These are now all working under public control, on terms that virtually afford to their shareholders a statutory guarantee of their swollen incomes. The Labor party demands the immediate nationalization of mines, the extraction of coal and iron being worked as a public service (with a steadily increasing participation in the management, both central and local, of the various grades of persons employed); and the whole business of the retail distribution of household coal being undertaken, as a local public service, by the elected municipal or county councils. And there is no reason why coal should fluctuate in price any more than railway fares, or why the consumer should be made to pay more in winter than in summer, or in one town than another. What the Labor party would aim at is, for household coal of standard quality, a fixed and uniform price for the whole kingdom, payable by rich and poor alike, as unalterable as the penny postage stamp.

But the sphere of immediate nationalization is not restricted to these great industries. We shall never succeed in putting the gigantic system of health insurance on a proper footing, or secure a clear field for the beneficent work of the Friendly Societies, or gain a free hand for the necessary development of the urgently called for Ministry of Health and the Local Public Health Service, until the nation expropriates the profit-making industrial insurance companies, which now so tyrannously exploit the people with their wasteful house-to-house industrial life assurance. Only by such an expropriation of life assurance companies can we secure the universal provision, free from the burdensome toll of weekly pence, of the indispensable funeral benefit. Nor is it any sense a "class" measure. Only by the assumption by a state department of the whole business of life assurance can the millions of policy-holders of all classes be completely protected against the possibly calamitous results of the depreciation of securities and suspension of bonuses which the war is causing. Only by this means

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can the great staff of insurance agents find their proper place as civil servants, with equitable conditions of employment, compensation for any disturbance and security of tenure, in a nationally organized public service for the discharge of the steadily increasing functions of the government in vital statistics and social insurance.

In quite another sphere the Labor party sees the key to temperance reform in taking the entire manufacture and retailing of alcoholic drink out of the hands of those who find profit in promoting the utmost possible consumption. This is essentially a case in which the people, as a whole, must deal with the licensing question in accordance with local opinion. For this purpose, localities should have conferred upon them facilities: (a) To prohibit the sale of liquor within their boundaries; (b) To reduce the number of licenses and regulate the conditions under which they may be held; and (c) If a locality decides that licenses are to be granted, to determine whether such licenses shall be under private or any form of public control.

Other main industries, especially those now becoming monopolized, should be nationalized as opportunity offers. Moreover, the Labor party holds that the municipalities should not confine their activities to the necessarily costly services of education, sanitation and police; nor yet rest content with acquiring control of the local water, gas, electricity and tramways; but that every facility should be afforded to them to acquire (easily, quickly and cheaply) all the land they require, and to extend their enterprises in housing and town planning, parks, and public libraries, the provision of music and the organization of recreation; and also to undertake, besides the retailing of coal, other services of common utility, particularly the local supply of milk, wherever this is not already fully organized by a cooperative society.

Control of Capitalist Industry

Meanwhile, however, we ought not to throw away the valuable experience now gained by the government in its assumption of the importation of wheat, wool, metals, and other commodities, and in its control of the shipping, woolen, leather, clothing, boot and shoe, milling, baking, butchering, and other industries. The Labor party holds that, whatever may have been the shortcomings of this government importation and control, it has demonstrably prevented a lot of "profiteering." Nor can it end immediately on the declaration of peace. The people will be extremely foolish if they ever allow their indispensable industries to slip back into the unfettered control of private capitalists, who are, actually at the instance of the government itself, now rapidly combining, trade by trade, into monopolist trusts, which may presently become as ruthless in their extortion as the worst American examples. Standing as it does for the democratic control of industry, the Labor party would think twice before it sanctioned any abandonment of the present profitable centralization of purchase of raw material; of the present carefully organized "rationing," by joint committees of the trades concerned, of the several establishments with the materials they require; of the present elaborate system of "costing" and public audit of manufacturers' accounts, so as to stop the waste heretofore caused by the mechanical inefficiency of the more backward firms; of the present salutary publicity of manufacturing processes and expenses thereby ensured; and, on the information thus obtained (in order never again to revert to the old-time profiteering) of the present rigid fixing, for standardizing products, of maximum prices at the factory, at the warehouse of the wholesale trader and in the retail shop. This question of the retail prices of household commodities is emphatically the most practical of all political issues to the woman elector. The male politicians have too long neglected the grievances of the small household, which is the prey of every profiteering combination; and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party promises, in this respect, any amendment. This, too, is in no sense a "class" measure. It is, so the Labor party holds, just as much the function of government, and just as necessary a part of the democratic regulation of industry, to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole and those of all grades and sections of private consumers, in the matter of prices, as it is, by the Factory and Trade Boards acts, to protect the rights of the wage-earning producers in the matter of wages, hours of labor and sanitation.

A Revolution in National Finance

In taxation, also, the interests of the professional and house-keeping classes are at one with those of the manual workers. Too long has our national finance been regulated, contrary to the teaching of political economy, according to the wishes of the possessing classes and the profits of the financiers. The colossal expenditure involved in the present war (of which, against the protest of the Labor party, only a quarter has been raised by taxation, whilst three-quarters have been borrowed at onerous rates of interest, to be a burden on the nation's future) brings things to a crisis.

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When peace comes, capital will be needed for all sorts of social enterprises, and the resources of government will necessarily have to be vastly greater than they were before the war. Meanwhile innumerable new private fortunes are being heaped up by those who have taken advantage of the nation's needs; and the one-tenth of the population which owns nine-tenths of the riches of the United Kingdom, far from being made poorer, will find itself, in the aggregate, as a result of the war, drawing in rent and interest and dividends a larger nominal income than ever before. Such a position demands a revolution in national finance. How are we to discharge a public debt that may well reach the almost incredible figure of seven thousand million pounds sterling, and at the same time raise an annual revenue which, for local as well as central government, must probably reach one thousand millions a year? It is over this problem of taxation that the various political parties will be found to be most sharply divided.

The Labor party stands for such a system of taxation as will yield all the necessary revenue to the government without encroaching on the prescribed national minimum standard of life of any family whatsoever; without hampering production or discouraging any useful personal effort, and with the nearest possible approximation to equality of sacrifice. We definitely repudiate all proposals for a protective tariff, in whatever specious guise they may be cloaked, as a device for burdening the consumer with unnecessarily enhanced prices, to the profit of the capitalist employer or landed proprietor, who avowedly expects his profit or rent to be increased thereby. We shall strenuously oppose any taxation, of whatever kind, which would increase the price of food or of any other necessary of life. We hold that indirect taxation on commodities, whether by customs or excise, should be strictly limited to luxuries; and concentrated principally on those of which it is socially desirable that the consumption should be actually discouraged. We are at one with the manufacturer, the farmer, and the trader in objecting to taxes interfering with production or commerce, or hampering transport and communications. In all these matters—once more in contrast with the other political parties, and by no means in the interests of the wage-earners alone—the Labor party demands that the very definite teachings of economic science should no longer be disregarded as they have been in the past.

For the raising of the greater part of the revenue now required the Labor party looks to the direct taxation of the incomes above the necessary cost of family maintenance; and, for the requisite effort to pay off the national debt, to the direct taxation of private fortunes both during life and at death. The income tax and super-tax ought at once to be thoroughly reformed in assessment and collection, in abatements and allowances and in graduation and differentiation, so as to levy the required total sum in such a way as to make the real sacrifice of all the tax-payers as nearly as possible equal. This would involve assessment by families instead of by individual persons, so that the burden is alleviated in proportion to the number of persons to be maintained. It would involve the raising of the present unduly low minimum income assessable to the tax, and the lightening of the present unfair burden on the great mass of professional and small trading classes by a new scale of graduation, rising from a penny in the pound on the smallest assessable income up to sixteen or even nineteen shillings in the pound on the highest income of the millionaires. It would involve bringing into assessment the numerous windfalls of profit that now escape, and a further differentiation between essentially different kinds of income. The excess profits tax might well be retained in an appropriate form; whilst, so long as mining royalties exist, the mineral rights duty ought to be increased. The steadily rising unearned increment of urban and mineral land ought, by an appropriate direct taxation of land values, to be wholly brought into the public exchequer. At the same time, for the service and redemption of the national debt, the death duties ought to be regraduated, much more strictly collected, and greatly increased. In this matter we need, in fact, completely to reverse our point of view, and to rearrange the whole taxation of inheritance from the standpoint of asking what is the maximum amount that any rich man should be permitted at death to divert, by his will, from the national exchequer, which should normally be the heir to all private riches in excess of a quite moderate amount by way of family provision. But all this will not suffice. It will be imperative at the earliest possible moment to free the nation from at any rate the greater part of its new load of interest bearing debt for loans which ought to have been levied as taxation; and the Labor party stands for a special capital levy to pay off, if not the whole, a very substantial part of the entire national debt—a capital levy chargeable like the death duties on all property, but (in order to secure approximate equality of sacrifice) with exemption of the smallest savings, and for the rest at rates very steeply graduated, so as to take only a small contribution from the little people and a very much larger percentage from the millionaires.

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Over this issue of how the financial burden of the war is to be borne, and how the necessary revenue is to be raised, the greatest political battles will be fought, the wealth of the community, the Labor party—speaking in the interests not of the In this matter the Labor party claims the support of four-fifths of the whole nation, for the interests of the clerk, the teacher, the doctor, the minister of religion, the average retail shopkeeper and trader, and all the mass of those living on small incomes are identical with those of the artisan. The landlords, the financial magnates, the possessors of great fortunes will not, as a class, willingly forego the relative immunity that they have hitherto enjoyed. The present unfair subjection of the cooperative society to an excess profits tax on the "profits" which it has never made—specially dangerous as "the thin end of the wedge" of penal taxation of this laudable form of democratic enterprise—will not be abandoned without a struggle. Every possible effort will be made to juggle with the taxes, so as to place upon the shoulders of the mass of laboring folk and upon the struggling households of the professional men and small traders (as was done after every previous war)—whether by customs or excise duties, by industrial monopolies, by unnecessarily high rates of postage and railway fares, or by a thousand and one other ingenious devices—an unfair share of the national burden. Against these efforts the Labor party will take the firmest stand.

The Surplus for the Common Good

In the disposal of the surplus above the standard of life society has hitherto gone as far wrong as in its neglect to secure the necessary basis of any genuine industrial now to have made this Britain of our immune from class poverty or from any widespread destitution—to be absorbed by individual proprietors; and then devoted very largely to the senseless luxury of an idle rich class. Against this misappropriation of value of the lands superior to the margin of cultivation, the extra profits of the fortunate capitalists, even the material outcome of scientific discoveries—which ought by efficiency or decent social order. We have allowed the riches of our mines, the rental wage-earners alone, but of every grade and section of producers by hand or by brain, not to mention also those of the generations that are to succeed us, and of the permanent welfare of the community—emphatically protests. One main pillar of the house that the Labor party intends to build is the future appropriation of the surplus, not to the enlargement of any individual fortune, but to the common good. It is from this constantly arising surplus (to be secured, on the one hand, by nationalization and municipalization and, on the other, by the steeply graduated taxation of private income and riches) that will have to be found the new capital which the community day by day needs for the perpetual improvement and increase of its various enterprises, for which we shall decline to be dependent on the usury exacting financiers. It is from the same source that has to be defrayed the public provision for the sick and infirm of all kinds (including that for maternity and infancy) which is still so scandalously insufficient; for the aged and those prematurely incapacitated by accident or disease, now in many ways so imperfectly cared for; for the education alike of children, of adolescents and of adults, in which the Labor party demands a genuine equality of opportunity, overcoming all differences of material circumstances; and for the organization of public improvements of all kinds, including the brightening of the lives of those now condemned to almost ceaseless toil, and a great development of the means of recreation. From the same source must come the greatly increased public provision that the Labor party will insist on being made for scientific investigation and original research, in every branch of knowledge, not to say also for the promotion of music, literature and fine art, which have been under capitalism so greatly neglected, and upon which, so the Labor party holds, any real development of civilization fundamentally depends. Society, like the individual, does not live by bread alone—does not exist only for perpetual wealth production. It is in the proposal for this appropriation of every surplus for the common good—in the vision of its resolute use for the building up of the community as a whole instead of for the magnification of individual fortunes—that the Labor party, as the party of the producers by hand or by brain, most distinctively marks itself off from the older political parties, standing, as these do, essentially for the maintenance, unimpaired, of the perpetual private mortgage upon the annual product of the nation that is involved in the individual ownership of land and capital.

The Street of Tomorrow

The house which the Labor party intends to build, the four pillars of which have now been described, does not stand alone in the world. Where will it be in the street of tomorrow? If we repudiate, on the one hand, the imperialism that seeks to dominate other races, or to impose our own will on other parts of the British empire, so we disclaim equally any conception of a selfish and insular "non-interventionism,"

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unregarding of our special obligations to our fellow-citizens overseas; of the corporate duties of one nation to another; of the moral claims upon us of the non-adult races, and of our own indebtedness to the world of which we are part. We look for an ever-increasing intercourse, a constantly developing exchange of commodities, a continually expanding friendly cooperation among all the peoples of the world. With regard to that great commonwealth of all races, all colors, all religions and all degrees of civilization, that we call the British empire, the Labor party stands for its maintenance and its progressive development on the lines of local autonomy and "Home Rule All Round"; the fullest respect for the rights of each people, whatever its color, to all the democratic self-government of which it is capable, and to the proceeds of its own toil upon the resources of its own territorial home; and the closest possible cooperation among all the various members of what has become essentially not an empire in the old sense, but a Britannic alliance.

We desire to maintain the most intimate relations with the Labor parties overseas. Like them, we have no sympathy with the projects of "Imperial Federation," in so far as these imply the subjection to a common imperial legislature wielding coercive power (including dangerous facilities for coercive imperial taxation and for enforced military service), either of the existing self-governing Dominions, whose autonomy would be thereby invaded; or of the United Kingdom, whose freedom of democratic self-development would be thereby hampered; or of India and the colonial dependencies, which would thereby run the risk of being further exploited for the benefit of a "White Empire." We do not intend, by any such "Imperial Senate," either to bring the plutocracy of Canada and South Africa to the aid of the British aristocracy, or to enable the landlords and financiers of the mother country to unite in controlling the growing popular democracies overseas. The autonomy of each self-governing part of the empire must be intact.

What we look for, besides a constant progress in democratic self-government of every part of the Britannic alliance, and especially in India, is a continuous participation of the ministers of the Dominions, of India, and eventually of other dependencies (perhaps by means of their own ministers specially resident in London for this purpose) in the most confidential deliberations of the Cabinet, so far as foreign policy and imperial affairs are concerned and the annual assembly of an Imperial Council, representing all constituents of the Britannic alliance and all parties in their local legislatures, which should discuss all matters of common interest, but only in order to make recommendations for the simultaneous consideration of the various autonomous local legislatures of what should increasingly take the constitutional form of an alliance of free nations. And we carry the idea further. As regards our relations for foreign countries, we disavow and disclaim any desire or intention to dispossess or to impoverish any other state or nation. We seek no increase of territory. We disclaim all idea of "economic war." We ourselves object to all protective customs tariffs; but we hold that each nation must be left free to do what it thinks best for its own economic development, without thought of injuring others. We believe that nations are in no way damaged by each other's economic prosperity or commercial progress; but, on the contrary, that they are actually themselves mutually enriched thereby. We would therefore put an end to the old entanglements and mystifications of secret diplomacy and the formation of leagues against leagues. We stand for the immediate establishment, actually as a part of the treaty of peace with which the present war will end, of a universal league or society of nations, a supernational authority, with an international high court to try all justiciable issues between nations; an international legislature to enact such common laws as can be mutually agreed upon, and an international council of mediation to endeavor to settle without ultimate conflict even those disputes which are not justiciable. We would have all the nations of the world most solemnly undertake and promise to make common cause against any one of them that broke away from this fundamental agreement. The world has suffered too much from war for the Labor party to have any other policy than that of lasting peace.

More Light—but also More Warmth!

The Labor party is far from assuming that it possesses a key to open all locks; or that any policy which it can formulate will solve all the problems that beset us. But we deem it important to ourselves as well as to those who may, on the one hand, wish to join the party, or, on the other, to take up arms against it, to make quite clear and definite our aim and purpose. The Labor party wants that aim and purpose, as set forth in the preceding pages, with all its might. It calls for more warmth in politics, for much less apathetic acquiescence in the miseries that exist, for none of the cynicism that saps the life of leisure. On the other hand, the Labor party has no belief in any of the problems of the world being solved by good will alone. Good will without knowledge is warmth without light. Especially in all the complexities of politics, in the still undeveloped science of society, the Labor party

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stands for increased study, for the scientific investigation of each succeeding problem, for the deliberate organization of research, and for a much more rapid dissemination among the whole people of all the science that exists. And it is perhaps specially the Labor party that has the duty of placing this advancement of science in the forefront of its political programme. What the Labor party stands for in all fields of life is, essentially, democratic cooperation; and cooperation involves a common purpose which can be agreed to; a common plan which can be explained and discussed, and such a measure of success in the adaptation of means to ends as will ensure a common satisfaction. An autocratic sultan may govern without science if his whim is law. A plutocrat party may choose to ignore science, if it is heedless whether its pretended solutions of social problems that may win political triumphs ultimately succeed or fail. **But** no Labor party can hope to maintain its position unless its proposals are, in fact, the outcome of the best political science of its time; or to fulfil its purpose unless that science is continually wresting new fields from human ignorance. Hence, although the purpose of the Labor party must, by the law of its being, remain for all time unchanged, its policy and its programme will, we hope, undergo a perpetual development, as knowledge grows, and as new phases of the social problem present themselves, in a continually finer adjustment of our measures to our ends. **If** law is the mother of freedom, science, to the Labor party, must be the parent of law.



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