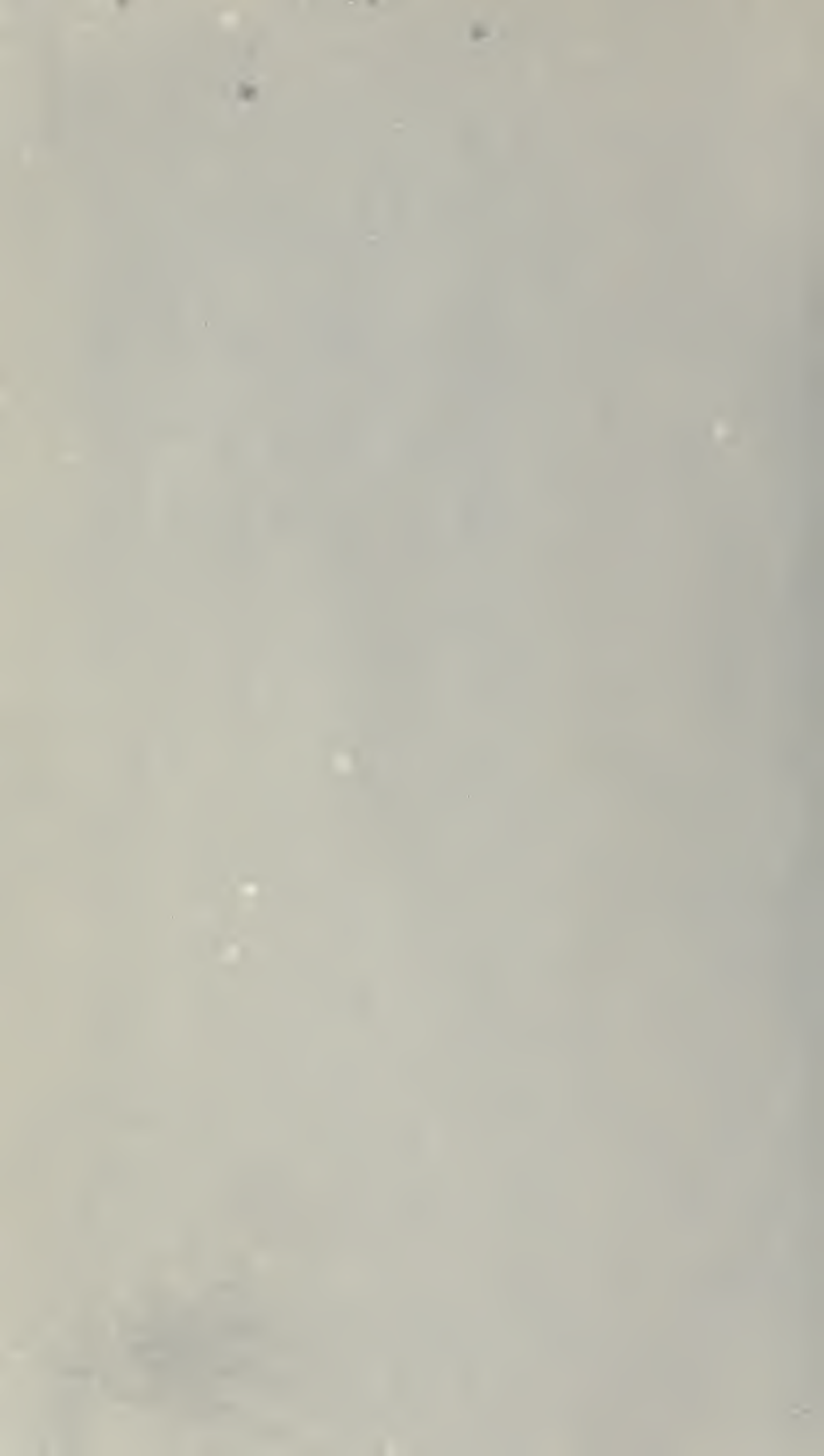
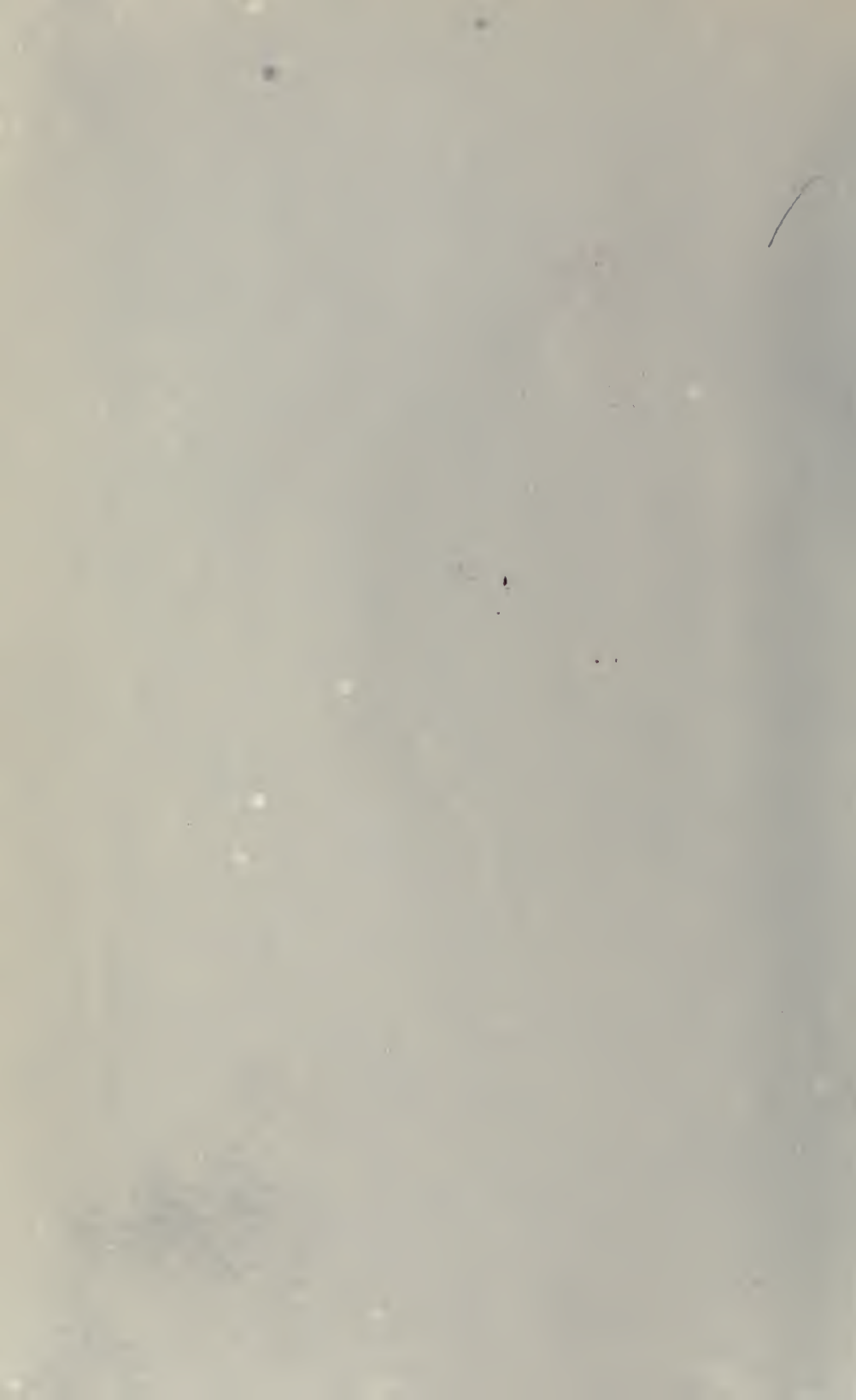


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Proceedings

OF THE FIFTH BIENNIAL CON-
VENTION OF THE Amalgamated
Clothing Workers of America, HELD
IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY 8
TO 13, 1922.





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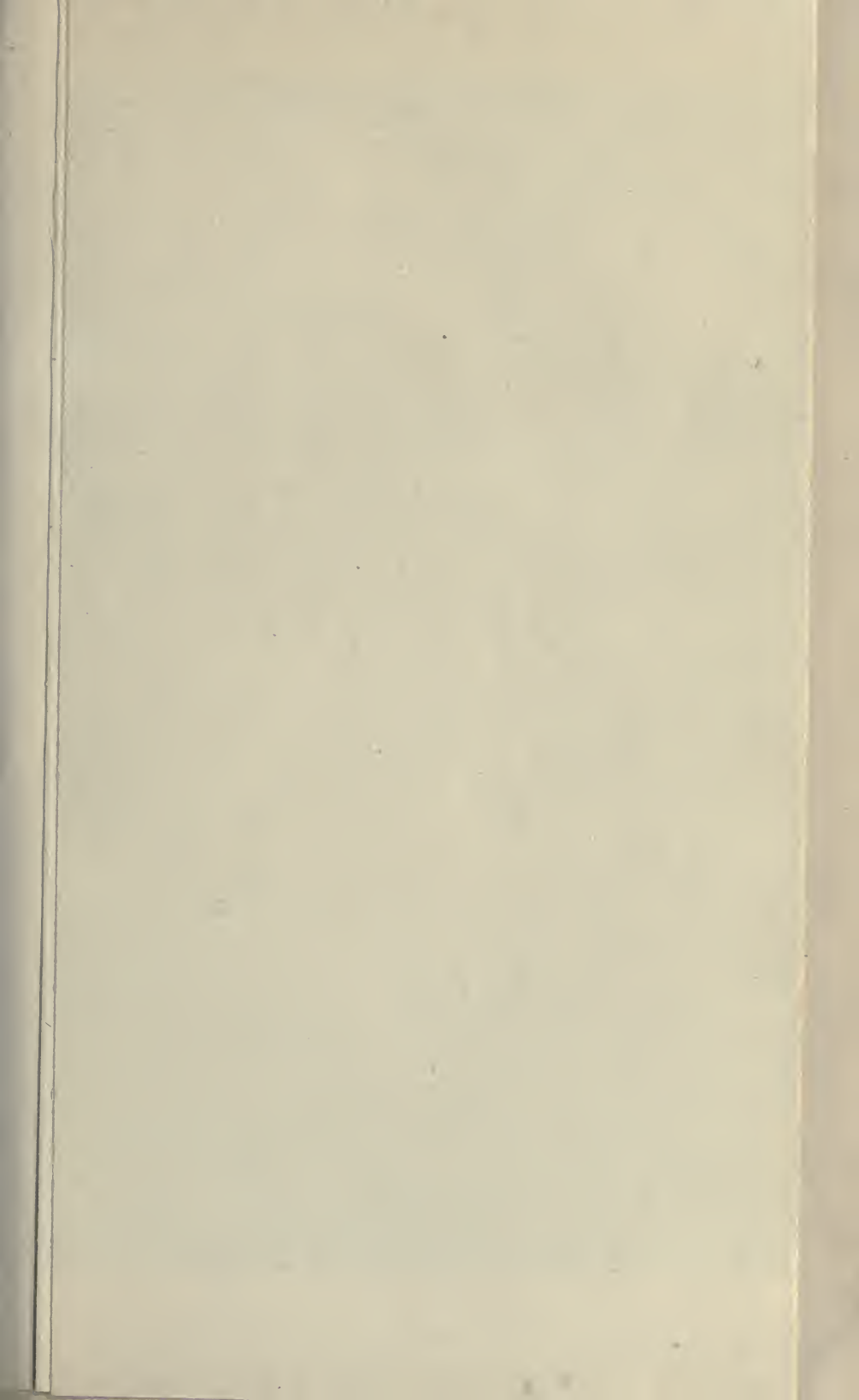
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Call for Fifth Biennial Convention

NEW YORK, March 8, 1922.

TO THE JOINT BOARDS AND LOCAL UNIONS OF THE
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA,

Greeting:—

The time is near for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to meet in International Convention to deal with problems affecting its membership. The FIFTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION will open Monday, May 8, 1922, 10 a. m., at Ashland Auditorium, Chicago, Illinois. You are herewith called upon to select your representatives.

The American labor movement is being fought more violently today than ever before. Those who are seeking to crush it are more powerful now than they ever were. Never was the "open shop" cannonading so fierce as during the past two years. It has been relentless, savage, and brutal.

To the Amalgamated the period following the last convention has been in a special sense one of storm and stress. The organization was marked for destruction by the "open shop" forces in the industry, the legislature, and everywhere else. The Amalgamated has sustained its full share of the fire upon the labor movement. The inspiring story of the struggle for the life of our organization and its happy outcome are well known to you. Our victory has been a source of encouragement to other workers in their resistance to the onslaught of the enemy.

The program of the "open shoppers" today is: "Destroy the labor unions; reduce them to impotence where they cannot be destroyed; cut wages to the bone; force down the American standard of living, and abolish all improvements achieved by the workers of America." The attack along those lines is still unabating.

Fortunately, organized labor is rallying for its own defense. It is beginning to come back. There is a growing realization of the need of greater industrial unity and also of political action. The future holds great possibilities for the American labor movement.

We are coming to this Convention with our banner waving as proudly as ever over the invincible Amalgamated Army.

The things that the Amalgamated can point to with particular pride in its record of the past two years include: The winning of the life-and-death lock-out struggle, the most bitterly fought struggle, and the first one to be won by labor, in the present period of industrial depression; the raising of a \$2,000,000 fund to sustain the lockout fight; and despite terrible strain and great unemployment, the collection of nearly \$170,000 for the relief of the Russian famine victims. We are coming to this Convention with greater confidence in our united power.

This official call for the Convention is sent to you in conformity with Article III, Sections 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the constitution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. A copy of those sections is herewith enclosed.

Accordingly, you are asked to call a special meeting of your local organization and elect delegates and alternates to the FIFTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Your organization is entitled to _____ delegates.

Official credentials are herewith enclosed.

The Amalgamated is coping with big problems today and will be called upon to deal with even bigger problems in the future. With its collective wisdom and courage the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America will be capable of rising to any situation. Let our FIFTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION add new strength to the Amalgamated and the labor movement generally.

With best wishes for a successful convention and cheers for the growing spirit of working class solidarity,

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

REPORT OF
THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
TO THE FIFTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS
OF AMERICA

I.

Delegates and Fellow Members:

We are happy to gather for our Fifth Biennial meeting in a city that is so truly representative of the progress and the achievements of our organization. When we first raised the banner of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America our organization in Chicago was numerically small, though its influence was greater than the size of its membership. Today the jurisdiction of the organization extends to all who are employed at the making of men's clothing in the city of Chicago. The dramatic story of the rise of the Chicago organization is recorded in our reports to the previous conventions.

The starving multitudes of 1910, struggling with empty pockets and empty stomachs against industrial tyranny, have given place to a model and powerful organization of Chicago clothing workers. They who stood alone and helpless twelve years ago, because their fellow clothing workers in other cities were equally disorganized, are not only assured local protection against industrial wrong, but they have within the past two years contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars toward the support of the labor struggle in cities outside of Chicago.

The change from 1910 to 1922 brought about by the solidarity of the workers in this one industry is in itself an object lesson of the great possibilities of that conscious self-elevation which must inevitably lead to self-emancipation.

Between 1910 and this day several great industrial battles have been fought in Chicago. Each one of them was a milepost, marking the road covered and the ground gained. Our members suffered intensely. Some were killed. More were wounded. Hosts were indicted, arrested, slandered, libeled, and quietly—discharged.

From the high vantage point of our 1922 position we look down and back upon our seeming helplessness in those early years, with justified satisfaction. The least the victor is entitled to is to rejoice in his achievements and attainments.

That we are now doing.

The Chicago Joint Board, under whose powerful wings all workers in the industry find protection; which has merited and is enjoying the confidence and love of every worker, and keeping eternal vigilance

over the interests of the members;—this Chicago Joint Board is our host. Representatives of the organized Clothing Workers of North America, constituting the parliament of the American clothing industry, are the guests of the completely organized Clothing Workers of Chicago! That which would in 1910 have been a wild dream is today a reality. Better still, the transformation in Chicago is typical of our growth and activity throughout the country.

A gathering like ours is always an occasion for celebration, retrospection, and planning for the future. It is doubly so today because of the perilous economic and industrial conditions which confront not only the United States but the entire world.

II.

A labor organization is, in its very nature, a militant organization. It is always fighting, even at times that are considered industrially peaceful; in a strict sense it must always be prepared for open warfare, for the sword might be pressed into its hand when it is least expected. A labor organization can hold the power it has built up and the gains wrought by that power only as long as it is capable of protecting them and fearlessly meeting any challenge hurled against them.

Since our last convention, two years ago, we have been called upon to defend the right of our organization to live. Between December, 1920, and June, 1921, we fought the greatest struggle in our history and vindicated our title, to the dismay of those who assailed it. That victory was gained, and it was gained decisively; yet no one can tell how soon we may again be called upon to prove by a test of strength our right to live.

All our previous conventions were held under the stress of war conditions. Disastrous as the world war was in its destruction of life and treasure, it held out certain opportunities to the industrial workers while the frightful carnage was going on. We availed ourselves of those opportunities in our efforts to organize the clothing workers and improve their conditions. Having begun with very little at the end of 1914, we were able to report to each succeeding convention the acquisition of new territories and the raising of new and higher standards. Two years ago we had the joy of reporting to our convention the achievement of the highest immediate goal of Organized Labor in America—the forty-four-hour week. We also had the pleasure of seeing large numbers of workers in other industries following our lead. That brought our program of extensive work to a point where it must be supported by a program of intensive work. To both programs the organization is now applying its energies.

Our Boston Convention, in 1920, was the first one to be held in peace time. But in every practical sense this is the first Amalgamated convention held under conditions which may be described as the "horrors of peace." Two years ago the influence of the war

was felt universally. Today we have returned to the normal unemployment, uncertainty, and misery of peace-time capitalism.

The end of military activities was expected to bring industry to a standstill and with it the long hoped for "liquidation of labor." Accordingly, we were thrown out of the factories in New York the moment truce was signed in France, in November, 1918. But the liquidation scheme did not work in our case.

The world had never before known a post-war situation similar in magnitude and effects to the one following the recent war. Predictions failed. The breakdown of industry did not come on schedule time. After a brief suspension, short in duration but long enough to enable us to snatch from the lockout contest the forty-four-hour victory, industry resumed on an immoderate and feverish basis. The revival proved to be only a spurt, which died down in 1920.

What are the peace conditions for American labor following the war as distinguished from the peace conditions preceding the war? Briefly, the answer may be formulated in the phrase: "The war against labor."

That phrase is correct but incomplete. Capitalism has always fought labor—before, during, and since the war. Class struggle is as old as class rule. But both change in form and intensity. The class struggle in 1920 is on a different plane from the class struggle in 1914.

III.

A century and a half ago our country was a group of colonies. The then known and inhabited America was small in area and population. The people were, in the bulk, independent farmers, self-sustaining and self-respecting owners of their own homes and masters of their own means of livelihood. Property ownership was the rule rather than the exception, so that it implied no class distinction as we know it today. The country as a whole was self-sufficient with almost unlimited possibilities for expansion. President Washington's admonition to beware of foreign entanglements was a true expression of the sentiments and interests of his America.

We have a different America today. It is a great empire; greater in area and population than any other white country outside of Russia; wealthiest of all countries, and creditor of the great powers of Europe. From a nation of modest and self-respecting home owners the United States has become a nation in which the proportion of such owners is steadily diminishing. With this decrease in ownership there came a rapid increase in wealth concentration in the hands of the few.

The rise of industrialism brought the inevitable cleavage between the masters and the men; the owners of the tools of production and their users.

When capitalism was still in its early stages and the labor revolt a new and strange phenomenon, the labor movement was fought

because of its newness and strangeness. Both labor and capital were unconscious of their class characters. When workers organized it was an instinctive act of self-defense against oppression by the employers, not unlike the instinctive reaching out of the hand to ward off a blow. When the employers sought to destroy the advantage gained by the workers through their unity it was likewise an instinctive act.

The labor movement being new, its origin and character not understood, its foes were not prepared with special means for fighting it. When American judges denounced unions and strikes as criminal conspiracies against the employers, and sent to jail workers guilty of such "conspiracies," they relied for their authority upon ancient laws enacted centuries before by the privileged classes of England against the enslaved masses. That the persecution did not destroy the young labor movement was due entirely to the fact that the movement, being a natural and unavoidable result of modern industrialism, could not be destroyed unless the social system in which its roots lie were destroyed at the same time. It may be harassed, even temporarily suppressed, life may be made miserable for its advocates, but the movement goes on.

In time, as the labor movement was growing physically more powerful, labor unions were recognized as legitimate institutions, strikes were legalized, picketing was sanctioned by law, and even boycotting was tolerated. Capitalism did not abandon its warfare against labor. On the contrary, it increased it in magnitude and intensity. The military was used against organized workers; the injunction was raised to a commanding position; imprisonment, kidnapping, and deportation were included in the war tactics; and strike breaking was developed into a science. The class struggle was waged with growing ferocity. The bloodiest pages in the history of American labor were written in that period, and the greatest labor tragedies were enacted. But the workers had, at least theoretically, secured certain rights. Where they were sufficiently well organized the workers were in a position to avail themselves of those rights.

That was the era of whirlwind development for American capitalism. But side by side with the great industries and mighty trusts there were built up big organizations of labor.

The world war came. Washington's injunction to infant America against entangling alliances in Europe did not apply to America the giant. American capitalism had caught up with and outdistanced its European rivals, and had begun a dash for the spoils of the great war.

The war all but destroyed civilization in Europe. It left an appalling heritage to both victor and vanquished — ruined countries, paralyzed industries, widespread unemployment, international hatred, disease, depression, and worldwide discouragement.

In the midst of these world ruins American capitalism stands proud, haughty, self-conscious, dominating, and domineering. It has fastened its grip on world resources and world markets. It has also laid its heavy hand upon labor.

IV.

Since the war capitalism has inaugurated a crusade against labor for the purpose of "liquidating" its standard of living and robbing it of the rights conceded to it before and during the war. Labor's status is to be pushed back a century, to the point where unions and strikes were illegal and criminal conspiracies. With this difference: In the earlier days the labor movement was fought blindly as a new something which was unwelcome but not understood, and capitalism was young, weak, and inexperienced. Today capitalism understands the labor movement much better than the labor movement understands itself; is fighting it consciously, systematically and "scientifically," and has power and the benefit of long experience. Most important of all: Industrial conditions are largely against labor. With the European market unable to buy, and the American farmer unable to sell, American industry is paralyzed, while the American farmer uses his grain for fuel. Such conditions render unnecessary the "liberality" which the employers reluctantly extended to labor during the period of war time labor scarcity.

At the outset of this campaign to crush labor organizations, a reign of terror was inaugurated under the slogan of "open shop" and "American plan." Fire was opened upon the labor movement from all directions—lockouts, forced strikes, vicious publicity campaigns, injunctions against picketing and even against striking, hostile legislation to the extent of forbidding strikes and making labor organizations impossible. Under the protection of this liquid fire attack a merciless slashing of wages was inaugurated, and also the "liquidation" of labor conditions. Weak unions were destroyed; strong unions were weakened and American labor was terrorized and cowed. In unorganized industries, where the workers were unable to make any resistance, the problem of "deflating" and "liquidating" labor was easily solved. When the American standard of living was lowered in those industries because of the helplessness of the workers, the employers in the organized industries demanded the same of their employees in order to "meet the reduced purchasing power" of other workers. The lowest standard of working conditions and wages was made the determining standard to which all higher standards must be brought down. The "natural" unemployment, the legitimate fruit of the war and the iniquitous peace, was enhanced by artificial unemployment which was created for the purpose of "teaching labor its place" and making it amenable to discipline. Thus we have had the bitter experience of seeing the revival of the bread line so soon after war prosperity and an auction sale of white workers in the city of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips.

The President of the United States called many experts to a conference at the nation's capital to solve the unemployment problem. They succeeded in reducing by a few million the estimates of unemployed, but the problem of unemployment was left undisturbed.

Industrial, commercial and financial capital present a solid front against labor. Merchants and manufacturers in New York raised a \$5,000,000 anti-labor war chest. Similar action was taken everywhere. The bankers are wielding their tremendous power to force into line employers who would otherwise be willing to adjust industrial disputes by an understanding with the organization of their employees.

In that general attack the Amalgamated was marked for destruction. Our defeat would have endangered workers in other industries no less than our own members. We sustained an unceasing attack of twenty-six weeks and won against seemingly overwhelming odds. Other needle trades organizations successfully repulsed attacks, giving inspiration and encouragement to other groups of workers.

On the whole, American labor was caught unprepared and unawares. Where labor was defeated it is now rallying again. The most encouraging examples at the present time are the railroad workers and the miners. Both great armies of labor have been tricked and cheated. But they are now coming back. The alliance for the mutual protection of the workers in those basic industries, though still in its formative stage, is proof of labor's realization of the need of greater unity. It is a severe blow to the spirit of craft unionism, the best ally of labor-crushing capitalism. Attempts are also being made in the direction of independent political action by labor. Those attempts are still vague, halting, blind, but the tendency is clear—the acquisition of political power by labor for its own protection.

This is an epochal stage. We may expect to see within the next few years the most fundamental change in the forms of American labor organizations. When the present mist of confusion is dispelled we will find a rejuvenated labor movement, in form and in spirit, capable of fighting labor's battles, with a united front and a conscious purpose. However rapid the advance of the American labor movement the Amalgamated will always be found in its front ranks.

It is under these conditions that we are now meeting at our Fifth Biennial Convention. We have the pleasure of reporting to you that we have weathered every storm since we met last and the Amalgamated ship is as seaworthy today as ever.

We shall now submit to you in detail the story of the Amalgamated for the last two years.

GREAT LOCKOUT STRUGGLE IN NEW YORK

The Amalgamated entered into collective bargaining agreements with the employers in every clothing center and gladly co-operated with the agencies established under those agreements to maintain normal conditions in the industry. But all that time the enemies of the organization were secretly planning for disruption; secretly, until they were ready to come out in the open. The nation-wide anti-labor propaganda furnished the atmosphere, and the growing unemployment the opportunity, for an attempt upon the life of the Amalgamated. The general locking out of our members in New York was carried out in December, 1920, but the fight was begun much earlier. The first shot was fired by the firm of Cohen, Goldman & Co.

The firm of Cohen, Goldman & Co. had been identified with a small group of clothing manufacturers in New York, organized as the Clothing Trade Association, separate and apart from the much larger body known as the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association. The firm fought the union on all occasions and would not permit its employees to be organized. During the production of army uniforms, Professor William Z. Ripley, the federal government's administrator of labor standards for army clothing, heard complaints of the Amalgamated against the firm, and ordered the latter to comply with the rules of the War Labor Board, which gave the workers certain rights. Among other things Professor Ripley attacked the pernicious bonus system which the firm had inaugurated as a slave driving device and ordered its discontinuance.

Under pressure of industrial conditions, which were favorable to labor, the above group concluded an agreement with the Amalgamated in August, 1919. Those employers became members of the larger association, which has since been known as the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Association, and were included in the existing arrangements for the adjudication of disputes under the impartial chairmanship of Dr. William M. Leiserson. Within the association the group maintained its own identity and was known as the "preferential union shop group."

In August, 1920, the firm discharged a large number of its employees and announced that thereafter its work would go elsewhere, which was known to mean to non-union shops out of town. The firm also took that occasion to repeat all of the stereotyped anti-union slander, so familiar to all readers of the public press. In accordance with the provisions of the agreement the union brought the case before the impartial chairman, whose decision was to be final. The hearing was set for August 30. At the last minute the firm refused to appear and announced its resignation from the association.

The firm offered as a basis for its strange procedure the claim that its agreement with the union had expired August 26, 1920, and was no longer in effect.

STATEMENT BY DR. LEISERSON

In a long statement to the association, reviewing the situation, Dr. Leiserson said:

I have done all that it is in my power to do to get this case adjusted and save the market and the firm from the consequences of its rash action. But when I am told that it does not intend to submit to the jurisdiction of the impartial machinery under any circumstances, then it becomes the solemn duty of the man you chose to act as the impartial chairman for all members of your association to warn you that the entire clothing industry of New York must not be sacrificed to the purposes of this one house.

I have your resolution stating that you will take no action on the resignation of Cohen, Goldman & Co. until you receive a statement from the impartial chairman defining the status of the firm under the impartial machinery. In reply I have the following statement to make.

Cohen, Goldman & Co. have a case now pending before the impartial chairman. The firm presented its resignation in order to avoid appearance in this case. I was not notified that the firm proposed to resign until three-quarters of an hour before the time the case was to be heard, although the hearing was scheduled three days before in the regular form with the consent of the firm. Under the circumstances, of course, I must insist that the case be heard and that Cohen, Goldman & Co. can not resign in order to avoid a decision by the impartial chairman.

Dr. Leiserson further said:

On a claim that the agreement between the union and the Clothing Trade Association expired on August 26, the firm attempts to justify its refusal to appear before the impartial chairman. If that agreement expired on August 26 then I as impartial chairman should have been asked not to try cases under it and I should not today be acting as impartial chairman for all the houses in the Clothing Trade Association. I am still hearing and deciding cases under the agreement which Cohen, Goldman & Co. claim has expired, and if it has not expired for the other members it has not expired for this firm. . . .

If you accept the resignation of Cohen, Goldman & Co. you put yourselves in the position of approving the breach of faith by this house, and every other employer would be free to follow the same course whenever he has a bad case before the impartial chairman to be tried and decided.

That the action of Cohen, Goldman & Co., was no accident, and no detached event, but a deliberate move in the direction of destroying the joint machinery set up for dealing with matters arising from the relations between the employers and the union, is shown by the following significant statement in the trade journal of the employers:

Since the establishment of the impartial machinery in this market much sand has been thrown into the gears of the machine at various times, but the resignation of Cohen, Goldman & Co., because of Mr. Goldman's position as chairman of the clothing trade group and as chairman of the market committee, is likened by some to throwing a wrench into the machinery.

Though the Clothing Manufacturers' Association formally carried out the impartial chairman's decision, and reluctantly expelled

Cohen, Goldman & Co., from membership, the war party within the association was feverishly working to bring about an open state of war with the Amalgamated. That was hardly concealed. Representatives of the union did all in their power, in the trying circumstances, to prevent a clash, but the employers' war party frustrated all efforts to maintain order in the industry. Spurred on by the general crusade against organized labor and encouraged by promises of help by anti-labor forces outside of the industry, the temptation for an attack upon the Amalgamated under favorable, because depressing, industrial conditions, seemed too strong for resistance. The association decided to submit to the union seven demands with the determination not to modify them, knowing well that in the form in which they were submitted the demands could not but be rejected and a fight would ensue. In order to increase the tension and lead to a war a hectic situation was created and the tension increased by the annoying and offensive tactics of publishing the "seven points" in the newspapers, on September 25, 1920, without a word to the union. October 7, 1920, nearly two weeks later, we received the following communication:

CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, Inc.
October 6, 1920.

Mr. Sidney Hillman,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
31 Union Square,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Hillman:—

The business outlook for the coming spring season leads this association to believe that the interest of its members and the interest of the workers whom your organization represents will be best served by working out a joint program for readjusting conditions affecting the cost of production. We desire to put the New York industry on a basis that will enable the manufacturers to secure the maximum business possible in competition with other markets and thus to give their workers the maximum amount of employment which the general merchandising condition of the country will permit.

The views of the association on this problem are set forth in a resolution, a copy of which is attached.

A conference on this subject is desired. We are assuming that 2:30 Monday afternoon, October 11, at the impartial chairman's office will be convenient for you and your associates, as was indicated when I discussed the matter with you informally yesterday afternoon.

The association will be represented at these conferences by the undersigned and by Mr. Joseph H. Willits, labor manager for the New York Clothing Trade Association.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Leiserson, impartial chairman, to Mr. A. Shiplacoff, manager of the New York Joint Board, and Mr. J. P. Friedman, manager of the Cutters' Local.

Yours very truly,

(signed) B. H. Gitchell,
Market Labor Manager.

(Enclosure)

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE MARKET COMMITTEE 9/21/20
AND BY THE ASSOCIATED MEMBERSHIP 9/24/20

To keep its factories in operation and its workers employed, New York must establish conditions which will enable it to secure adequate business in competition with other clothing markets.

1. Conditions which have resulted in loss of business to the New York market and in unemployment, more severe than in any other clothing center, include:

- a) Wage 50 per cent higher in New York than in competing markets.
- b) A work system in New York without any measure of output for wages paid, as against piece work systems prevailing in competing markets.
- c) Discrimination against New York in regard to discipline and other conditions of employment, as compared with agreements between manufacturers and the union in other markets.

2. Boards of arbitration which have recently acted upon union demands in four other markets have decided to maintain the status quo with regard to wages because of the present business situation. This continues New York's handicap.

3. The attitude of the public, fostered by government and newspaper campaigns, is that of restricting purchases until there is a decided reduction in the price of clothing.

4. A material reduction in labor cost is one thing considered necessary to enable New York manufacturers to cut the wholesale price of clothing enough to attract orders.

5. Shop conditions are such that manufacturers are unable to determine unit costs in advance.

6. It is clear from opinions privately expressed that manufacturers will not purchase piece goods for the spring season unless they are able definitely to determine manufacturing costs and to offer clothing at prices which will attract business on a competitive basis.

7. Inside shops disorganized by abnormal conditions require radical reorganization if they are to live. They need greater liberty to introduce improved machinery and protect themselves against "laydowns." Discipline has been difficult to administer. They have not had the freedom in the selection of new workers essential to balanced and efficient production.

8. The hope for better business and more employment during the coming spring season lies in correcting the effect of the present high wages, low production, and bad manufacturing conditions. This should be accomplished by an increase in output, not a cut in the earning power of the workers.

9. The association, the union, and the impartial chairman, have therefore, an obvious duty to establish conditions which will permit manufacturers to get business and give the workers employment. This should be brought about by negotiations or by arbitration.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the following be submitted to the union and the impartial chairman as essential to establish competitive conditions which are fair to the New York clothing industry:

First: The right of the manufacturer to install piece work.

Second: Scales prevailing in other clothing markets to be the base rates for New York workers.

Third: The co-operation of workers in maintaining individual records of production in shops and cutting rooms.

Fourth: Individual standards of production for week workers in shops and cutting rooms.

Fifth: The right of the manufacturer to change contractors.

Sixth: Adequate freedom to discipline and hire workers and to introduce improved machinery.

Seventh: The agreements maintained by the union in other markets in which adjustment machinery is functioning successfully to be made the basis of relationship between the association and the union.

A number of conferences were held under the chairmanship of Dr. Leiserson, but the manufacturers were determined upon a break and refused to agree to anything that would avoid it. Inasmuch as war was the objective of the employers the conferences were superfluous and could have easily been dispensed with. There were, however, two factors which were responsible for the conferences. One was Mr. Gitchell and his staff, who earnestly worked for peace, and were supported by the non-war party. The other was the desire of the association to fasten upon the union responsibility for the clash. In 1918 the manufacturers openly acknowledged having locked out their employees. That affected "public opinion," which is sometimes sensitive to such an act. The public press will frankly support employers against strikers but some of it shrinks from supporting them against locked out workers. The great industrial and financial interests with which the metropolitan press is identified do not declare lockouts; at least, not in the manner the clothing manufacturers do. When they discharge individuals or groups of workers for suspicion of union sympathies, they do not shout it from the rooftops. Lockouts by employers have the dangerous tendency of prejudicing the "public mind" in favor of striking workers. This and the fact that the immediate financial interests of the great daily press do not lie in the clothing industry, made it possible for some papers to emphasize the unethical points of a lockout. In the 1918 fight the employers failed to receive the support of some of the large papers, because the latter did not approve of a lockout. The editors of those papers remembered that it was but recently that the clothing industry was rescued from the barbarous sweat shop. A very small, but highly influential, portion of the daily press in New York occasionally manifests some liberality in its attitude towards labor. The employers did not wish to repeat the mistake of 1918 when their own admission of having locked us out brought us moral support from unexpected quarters. Hence their maneuvers to force us into declaring a strike and save them from the opprobrium of a lockout. With this in mind they welcomed conferences but would not permit them to bring results. The employers' war party had decreed war and would have nothing else.

To those familiar with the New York market the promulgation of the seven points was in itself a declaration of war. To accept those points, which was the only alternative to open war, meant the surrender by the workers of all the rights and improvements secured by them through many years of struggle and suffering, and also the disbanding of the organization.

Point 1, the absolute power of the employer to install piece work at his own will and whim, without agreement with the workers, in a city where the hideous task-system is still fresh in the workers' memory, was in itself a challenge the workers could not help meeting.

Points 2 and 7 would make the market with the lowest wage scales and conditions the criterion for all other markets. Our mission would then be reversed. Instead of equalizing upward and raising the lower markets to the level of the higher ones, we would be com-

mitted to a policy of assisting the New York employers in bringing the conditions for their employees down to the lowest level they would be able to search out anywhere in the country. The union which was organized for the protection of the workers would be reduced to an exploitation auxiliary to the employers.

Points 3 and 4 supplemented Point 1.

Points 5 and 6 meant the abolition of the worker's right to his job. Rights won through many wars are not given up because of the threat of another war.

The formal conferences were held under the chairmanship of Dr. William M. Leiserson, impartial chairman in the collective bargaining machinery, between representatives of the Amalgamated and the association. At the first conference the employers presented their demands. At the second conference Dr. Leiserson proposed that there be a joint investigation of conditions in the New York market to find out if there was justification for the employers' demands. The Amalgamated representatives accepted his proposal, but the employers turned it down. At the third conference, November 8, the Amalgamated delegates gave a determined "NO" to the employers' demands.

The result of the proceedings of those conferences is contained in the following statements by President Hillman and Dr. Leiserson.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT HILLMAN

The union's position is clear. The demands presented by the employers for piece work and a change in the status of the union cannot and will not be granted by the organization. Our organization was and is ready to look into the conditions that the employers complain of, and reach an amicable and fair adjustment.

For reasons that are not quite understandable, the employers have refused and are still refusing a joint investigation, so that a report based on investigation of facts could be brought and made a subject of discussion and agreement. The employers have so far taken an arbitrary position as to the seven points presented by them.

While we do not wish to predict what the outcome may be, there is no question that the situation is very serious.

We wish, therefore, to repeat to our membership that while the organization is making and will continue to make efforts to reach a fair understanding with the employers, and while no steps for a break will be taken by our organization, they must rest assured at the same time that the organization will be found ready to maintain and protect the standards of living and conditions of work that have been gained in the industry through long struggles of our membership.

STATEMENT BY DR. LEISERSON

To the seven demands of the employers regarding which they had given notice they must have definite answer at Monday's session, the union representatives stated they would have to answer "no," because they believed the demands were not properly calculated to improve conditions in the New York market, being too general. They suggested that either a joint committee representing employers and workers should make a careful investigation and report a program that would be acceptable to both sides or else that the problems in each house be taken up by the employer and the union and such adjustments made as the conditions in each house required.

To this the employers' representatives answered that they had made a very careful investigation of conditions in the market before the seven demands were formulated, and they felt certain that without piecework and the other conditions they asked for the evils they complain of can not be remedied.

They also thought that the union's suggestions would mean that a long time elapse before an agreement could be reached, and they needed immediate action in order to know on what basis they could open their lines for the spring season. They stated, therefore, that if the union could not agree to the seven demands, the manufacturers were willing to have all seven points arbitrated by the impartial chairman.

The union representatives stated they would have to take this suggestion up with their membership, but the impartial chairman explained that he would have to decline to arbitrate what is in effect a new agreement.

He pointed out that one of the demands of the employers is that the agreements maintained by the union in other markets be made the basis of relationship between the association and the union in New York. Some of these other agreements provide for the closed shop, while others have the preferential shop, and one has a modified open shop.

For the chairman to decide by arbitration whether the industry should have one or another of these would be both impractical and unwise, for it would leave to an outsider the determination of the rights and privileges of management and workers in the industry. The other six demands are all of this same character, involving the making of a new agreement, and the chairman felt that his function is only to administer and interpret an agreement after it is made. The demands are properly subjects for negotiation, bargaining and agreement, but not arbitration.

The question of the existing agreements, which have been extended from day to day pending the negotiations, was also discussed, and it was agreed that the representatives of both parties should report back to their membership that no agreement could be reached on the employers' demands as presented and that arbitration was not possible, and the representatives should ask for instructions as to whether the extension of the existing agreements should be continued.

Here is the way the New York "Call" summed up the situation:

The employers in the men's clothing trade who have always resented the progress of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have evidently determined to try and crush this great organization.

The Amalgamated in six short years has done more to improve working conditions and increase wages than has been accomplished in all the weary years since the clothing industry was born.

Not only has it done this for its members, but it has become the spiritual and intellectual expression of the many thousands who earn their bread by helping to clothe the people of this country. It has not been contented merely to raise wages and shorten hours. It has not been contented just to improve shop conditions that its members might work amidst decent physical surroundings. Its educational activities and its weekly press have been an inspiration not only to its members but to fellow workers in other crafts.

Its sense of solidarity with other workers has been in evidence at all times. As it has grown in numbers and income, in place of becoming conservative as many unions have, it has always dared to do the thing that many big unions have feared to do.

The cry for financial help from smaller unions or from unions just as large engaged in a bitter struggle with the employers has been always answered with a generosity that has found few parallels in the history of the world's labor movement.

And all this great service to its members and to the working class in general has brought down upon it the bitter hatred of all of the sweaters of labor. It is true that some of the more enlightened employers, witnessing the manner in which it has sought to bring into the industrial struggle more efficient and decent methods, while at the same time insisting upon an ever higher standard of life for the workers by steadily increasing wages, have sought to establish and constantly encourage more friendly relations with the Amalgamated.

Other employers, however, have only yielded to the organized power of the union because they were compelled to, and have yearned for the days when they could again sweat the labor of the clothing workers to the limit of the endurance of the toilers. Have yearned for the days when they could re-establish the tyrannical methods which made them the practical dictators of the lives of the workers.

It is this group among the employers that is seeking to abolish all of the improved methods for handling labor disputes; that is submitting demands to the union that they know cannot and will not be met. Submitting these demands for the one purpose of forcing a fight with the workers at a time when they believe they will be able to crush this organization.

The arrogance of the employers in other lines has encouraged many of the employers in the men's clothing industry to adopt the same attitude toward their workers. But it needs something more than mere arrogance to crush out the kind of spirit that animates the membership of the Amalgamated.

This organization has been built from the bottom up and not from the top down. The same courage and efficiency that prevail among its general officers prevail among its entire membership. It does not seek a struggle with the employers except when its just demands are denied. If attacked it will know how to answer.

It has never been terrorized in the past. It will not be in the present or future. And it will emerge from any struggle it is compelled to wage victorious and more powerful than ever.

The Chicago "Tribune" of November 12, 1920, in an article entitled "After Profiteering—What?" said:

The Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York has announced that its shops will not be reopened until employees, who are members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union, agree to new working and wage conditions "necessary to the life of the industry."

If that industry is ill, its illness must be diagnosed as apoplexy or gout rather than anemia or malnutrition. It did not hesitate to take advantage of the misfortune of the world and double and triple its prices before it raised wages. It made enormous profits and defended itself in part by saying that it was necessary to take advantage of the fat years to lay up a store for the lean. Now the lean days are at hand. Yet we see no inclination to use the profits of the fat days to tide over present troubles.

Instead, production is cut off and thousands of workers are made idle. No doubt the individual manufacturer can take up his pencil and figure out that by stopping production for a time he will save most of his expense and allow demand to catch up with supply, after which he can renew operations at recent artificial prices. He is playing with economic laws more powerful and more dangerous than himself. If all manufacturers were to adopt that policy, they would find when they came to renew operations that no one had the money with which to buy. It is a policy ruinous to general prosperity.

If these manufacturers would accept a loss as they seized upon a profit, and continue in operation, they would be able to force lower price levels through wholesalers and retailers to consumers, and eventu-

ally bring about re-adjustment on a sound basis. Improved demand would take care of the increased supply. Eventually their employees would accept new arrangements and all would be comparatively well. Their efforts to play the buying boycott against the unions and so to break both is in line with their rankest profiteering of war days and post-war days. They prove themselves not only entirely selfish but a menace to a necessary general readjustment. It is to be hoped that the New York banks which have influence in our readjustment problems will look to the bottom of the business methods involved.

On November 10 the association decided to stand by its seven demands. It held firm to its refusal of a joint investigation.

On November 11 the firm of Heidelberg & Wolf, one of the Cohen, Goldman & Co. group, announced to its employees that thereafter it would put into force a forty-eight-hour week and piece work. The workers refused to submit and a strike resulted.

The action of Heidelberg & Wolf was a maneuver of the "war party" to hasten difficulties and give that group in the Manufacturers' Association control. Many of the members in the employers' organization and Mr. Gitchell, market labor manager and his staff, were not supporters of the "war party" policy and favored an adjustment through negotiation. The union representatives, on their part, continued their meetings with Mr. Gitchell and a committee of manufacturers, representing the employers, despite the overt acts of certain of the manufacturers anxious for trouble. If there was any chance, however slight, of reaching a workable understanding, without a strike or lockout, the union did not intend to permit the opportunity to go by default.

At a conference at the Hotel Commodore on November 14, 1920, a basis for an understanding was reached. There were present at this conference President Hillman, Dr. Leiserson the impartial chairman, and Mr. Gitchell and several of the important manufacturers in the New York market as representatives of the employers' association. The following memorandum was agreed upon:

1. The union shall assume responsibility for the production of its members.
2. Labor costs shall be reduced as necessary to enable New York manufacturers to do business.
3. Adjustment of amount of reduction in cost to be made between each employer and a committee of his workers aided by representatives of the union and the association.
4. Disagreements shall be referred to the market labor manager and the general president for settlement. All cases so referred shall be settled by them.
5. Settlements made shall be enforced by the impartial chairman.

An agreement for continuance of peaceful relations in the New York market had apparently been reached. It is significant that the agreement reached in June, 1921, at the end of the twenty-six weeks' lockout, gave the manufacturers only that which the union had already agreed to in the memorandum of November 14, 1920, three weeks before the beginning of the lockout.

But those manufacturers in the "war party" bent upon smashing, if possible, the Amalgamated wanted no agreement. They had

determined upon war, and while Mr. Gitchell and their other representatives were in conference with the union and coming to an understanding, they were lining up votes in the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Association to overthrow Mr. Gitchell and the policy of those manufacturers who favored continuance of peaceful relations with the union.

The "war party" assembled a majority of those present at the meeting of the manufacturers' association on November 18, and Mr. Gitchell and his staff were forced to resign to make way for a war administration.

Two further conferences, one on November 19 and another on November 26, followed. During this period the group in the manufacturers' association who favored war were attempting to commit the other members to a war program. On November 29 it was clear that the "war party" had prevailed. On that day the association retained the union-baiting Harry A. Gordon as its attorney. Two days previously he had injected himself into the situation. At first the nature of his connection with the manufacturers' association was not given out. But with knowledge of Gordon's pernicious activities in other branches of the needle trades, particularly in the waist and dress industry, the purpose of his appearing on the scene was clear.

Gordon's replacing Gitchell could have but one meaning: War. This lawyer was called in to perform the task in which another and abler union-smashing lawyer had failed two years back.

The next day, November 30, the association adopted the following resolution, a copy of which was sent to us December 2:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE MARKET COMMITTEE
of the
CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, Inc.,
AT A MEETING HELD ON THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 30, 1920.

Resolved that the association continue the conferences with the union for the purpose of fixing conditions of labor, provided the union agrees on or before December 6, 1920, that all workers should individually be responsible for a daily standard of production, to be agreed on and calculated upon base rates prevailing in other competitive markets; and that in the event of the failure of any worker to produce such standard of production, the employer shall have the right to reduce wages pro rata, or to discharge the worker substantially underproducing.

Be it further resolved that in the event the association fails to receive an affirmative reply to the above proposal within the time fixed, then the association put into effect the proposal aforesaid.

Certified by (Signed) IRVING CRANE

Secretary of the Clothing Manufacturers'
Association of New York, Inc.

Shortly after the receipt of the above the following letter arrived:

CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, Inc.
and
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CLOTHIERS
Room 1207, 752 Broadway, New York

December 2, 1920.

Mr. Sidney Hillman, President,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
31 Union Square, New York City.

Dear Sir:—

A few minutes ago, I sent you a copy of the resolution which I stated was passed at the meeting of the market committee of the association last night.

On looking over the copy retained by me, I find the following appearing thereon:—

"Be it further resolved that in the event the association fails to receive an affirmative reply to the above proposal within the time fixed, then the association put into effect the proposal aforesaid."

The above should not have been on the resolution sent you, as it was one of the many resolutions considered at the meeting, and was put in the communication sent you by error. This was caused in my haste to get the resolution to you, and confusion of my notes.

The only resolution that was passed is the one I am enclosing to you marked "Official Corrected Copy."

Truly yours.

(Signed) IRVING CRANE

Secretary of the Clothing Manufacturers'
Association of New York, Inc.

December 2, 1920.

CORRECTED OFFICIAL COPY
RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE MARKET COMMITTEE
of the

CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, Inc.,
AT A MEETING HELD ON THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 30, 1920.

Resolved that the association continue the conferences with the union for the purpose of fixing conditions of labor, provided the union agrees on or before December 6, 1920, that all workers shall individually be responsible for a daily standard of production, to be agreed on and calculated upon base rates prevailing in other competitive markets; and that in the event of the failure of any worker to produce such standard of production, the employer shall have the right to reduce wages pro-rata, or to discharge the worker substantially underproducing.

(Signed) IRVING CRANE,

Certified by

Secretary of the Clothing Manufacturers'
Association of New York, Inc.

Apparently the concluding paragraph of the resolution, which was an open lockout announcement, was not intended for the union and the public. It was to remain the secret of the association until it would be ready to spring the "surprise."

The association magnanimously condescended to continue the conferences with us if we agreed to accept unconditionally the seven points we had rejected. After such unconditional acceptance of our own death warrant, what was left to confer about? Perhaps the text of the obituary notice.

On December 3, President Hillman sent the following reply to the Clothing Manufacturers' Association:

I desire to acknowledge receipt of a copy of the resolution of the market committee of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association, dated December 2, 1920. Inasmuch as an answer is requested by December 6, I hasten to make prompt reply.

The attitude assumed by the association, as formally presented in your resolution of December 2, is a re-affirmation of your original demands, and is now presented in the form of an ultimatum. That resolution contained a paragraph which, I was later informed, was not intended to be embodied in the original resolution. Since it has reached our attention, it would be impossible for us not to take cognizance of it. This paragraph reads:

"Be it further resolved that in the event the association fails to receive an affirmative reply to the above proposal within the time fixed, then the association put into effect the proposal aforesaid."

This not only defines your position but also advises us that even before we make reply to your resolution you have already determined to take action against our membership on this Monday coming. It is because of this that we feel that your attitude foreshadows events of the utmost gravity to thousands of the workers and their dependents, to the clothing industry of New York, and—by no means least in importance—to the entire community of New York. I am, therefore, most anxious that no possible misunderstanding as to our position should in the slightest obstruct a peaceful settlement of our controversy. It is therefore well for the sake of clarity to restate the positions of both our organizations.

You assume the position that you will not negotiate with us unless we concede to you piecework, a reduction in wages, and unlimited power to discharge workers. You take the stand that these matters are no longer a matter for negotiation in conference. These concessions you make a condition for further negotiations and conferences. Your resolution now asserts the position heretofore taken by your association, and which is violative of the practice and principle of collective bargaining, under which we have been operating, in the following respects:

1. Instead of a joint determination of the facts, you stand on a one-sided claim as to what the facts are and upon such one-sided, untested data you wish to impose upon the union a piece-rate system. The distinction is fundamental: The union says, "Let us together study and establish the facts, and as a result determine together how production can best be furthered"; the association says, "We know all about the facts, and you have to take our facts, and also take our conclusion from these facts, namely, that piece-work is the only cure." Since production is the common concern, only by joint effort can we secure it. The association insists on imposing its arbitrary will and holding the union to its wilful decision.

2. At the same time the association likewise insists on lowering the workers' hard-won standards in an industry still vivid in its memory of the sweatshop by cutting wages.

The union has been and is ready at this time to go into conference for the purpose of ascertaining proper production and to assume the responsibility for the maintenance in future of such production standards as will be jointly agreed to.

The organization is fully alive to the competitive nature of the industry and is ready to do its part in assisting to remedy any unsatisfactory condition prevailing in this market.

The union does not control production, the responsibility for proper production and costs rests by no means solely, or even primarily, upon the union. The union is, however, conscious of its duties and responsibilities in dealing with problems of the industry.

Therefore, the union has accepted the suggestion of the impartial chairman for a joint committee to be appointed and charged with the duty of ascertaining existing conditions, determining the extent to which

production can be increased and the means by which these ends can be secured. The union has heretofore undertaken and does now undertake to secure the enforcement of whatever production program a joint committee should work out. This surely is the essence of collective bargaining to which your association is committed.

Let us together explore the possibilities for bettering production without trying to resort to the old brutal way of cutting wages as soon as there is a business decline. To submit to less is to submit to a reversion of force and anarchy in industry instead of proceeding on the road of law and order in industry. This is the issue—clear and simple. The issue is so fundamental that we shall submit it to the responsible judgment of those most immediately and most seriously affected—the membership of our organization. To this end, meetings of our members have been called for Monday evening at which they will definitely formulate their answer to your ultimatum.

The spirit of the Amalgamated was aroused. It put on its war paint. A series of meetings was called for discussion and action. The board of directors and the joint board staff met on December 3; the joint board and the local executive boards on the 4th; the shop chairmen of the clothing industry in the city gathered on the 5th and on December 6 the general membership made its voice heard at sixteen great, crowded, and enthusiastic mass meetings. In each case the situation as created by the bellicose tactics of the employers was fully discussed. And in each case the keynote of the discussion was: "We stand for peace, but if the employers insist on war they shall have it." The members understood clearly that the action of the employers was due only to the industrial depression, to the increasing unemployment, and the encouragement they were given by all enemies of labor. "The employers imagine that they can destroy the Amalgamated and they are trying to do it. If they succeed their victory will be followed by the employers in other industries." That could not be permitted.

At each one of the sixteen membership meetings the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, A series of conferences have been held between our representatives and the representatives of the Manufacturers' Association for the purpose of dealing with problems of the clothing industry; and

Whereas, The employers have put forward new propositions aiming at the destruction of the conditions under which we have been working; and

Whereas, Our representatives in answer proposed that all such new propositions should be investigated by a joint committee representing both sides of the controversy; and

Whereas, The employers have rejected this proposition both from our representatives and from the impartial chairman and insisted upon the enforcement of their own arbitrary will; and

Whereas, The last act of the Manufacturers' Association was to send an ultimatum to our organization announcing that beginning with December 6 piece work will be established in place of week-work, wages will be reduced, and all safeguards against unjust discharge of workers will be abolished; be it therefore

Resolved, That we, the members of the New York Joint Board, A. C. W. of A., in mass meeting assembled on Monday, December 6, 1920, strongly and unqualifiedly reject the ultimatum of our employers; and be it further

Resolved, That we heartily endorse the attitude of our representatives in the negotiations held thus far between themselves and the representatives of the association; and be it further

Resolved, That whereas we are ready to continue friendly relations with all employers desiring peace in the industry, we stand ready to use our organized power to resist any attempt to lower our economic conditions or to destroy any of the rights we have acquired by years of struggle and that we will fight to the utmost in defense of these just rights and the life of our organization; and be it finally

Resolved, That we pledge to the joint board and all our representatives our fullest support in dealing with the present situation; and in the event that the employers should force a struggle upon us we pledge our all in the efforts to bring this struggle to a successful conclusion.

ULTIMATUM REJECTED; CHALLENGE ACCEPTED

The following appeared in *Advance*, December 10, 1920:

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has received the following ultimatum and challenge from the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Association: Not later than December 6, 1920, you must accept piece work, reduction in wages, individual bargaining between employers and workers, and the unlimited and arbitrary power of the employer to discharge his employees; accept these or fight a lockout.

Meetings were held by the board of directors, joint board and local executive boards, shop chairmen, and finally by the general membership. At each meeting the ultimatum was unanimously rejected and the challenge just as unanimously accepted.

The employers now have our answer. If they are determined to force the industry back from 1920 to 1910 it is for them to make the next move. They will find us ready, for we have not only rejected the ultimatum but we have also accepted the challenge.

As long as the employers were in a position to keep us from organizing by the exercise of their autocratic and oppressive power we were charged with being unorganizable, pressing down wages, and reducing the American standard of living. It was those charges against us that served as a basis for the demand to shut the gates of this country against the nationalities from which the clothing manufacturers had drafted the workers for their factories.

After decades of bitter struggle we have succeeded in abolishing the sweatshop conditions which had been forcibly imposed upon us. We have organized ourselves and Americanized the clothing industry. It is the workers in the clothing industry, not the employers, who have humanized conditions in the industry, and raised the latter to a civilized level.

We, the clothing workers, freed ourselves from the stigma of an un-American standard of living, and we shall not permit the employers to force us back under it.

The one cardinal principle of American trade unionism, the one principle which no enemy of labor dares to assail openly, is that of collective bargaining. It has the official sanction and support of the United States government. It took us many years of struggle and hardship to establish this sane and perfectly legitimate principle in the clothing industry. Now the New York employers say in their ultimatum and challenge that they will replace collective bargaining by individual bargaining.

They say "that all workers should INDIVIDUALLY be responsible for a daily standard of production." Inasmuch as the union is denied the right to participate in the determination of the "standard of production" this will be determined by the employers with each worker individually; in other words, by the employer in conference with himself.

Having abolished the central principle of American trade unionism, collective bargaining, the employers proceed to the next one, and make it unmistakably clear in their ultimatum and challenge.

The policy of trade unionism is to raise the poorer paid workers to the level of the better paid and the poorer paid groups of workers to the level of the better paid. The manufacturers have "resolved" to reverse this procedure and to have the lowest paid markets determine the wages for the industry in all markets. That is the only meaning of their resolution that wages in New York be "calculated upon base rates prevailing in other competitive markets." If that ultimatum and challenge are enforced all hope of the workers ever improving their conditions will be gone forever. The market with the best working conditions will have to come down to the market with the worst conditions. As some market, somewhere, will always be worse than the rest, it will mean steady and continuous demoralization.

The American trade union principle of no reduction in wages is thus transformed into a principle of steady reduction in wages. In order to make their meaning perfectly clear the employers say expressly in their ultimatum and challenge: "The employer shall have the right to reduce wages pro rata, or to discharge the worker substantially under-producing."

After the employer has exercised his autocratic power to determine by ukase the daily standard of production for the individual worker he, the same employer, will constitute himself a jury to determine whether the worker has lived up to his DAILY standard of production, and will then assume the duties of a judge to pronounce judgment.

There will be two kinds of punishment: (1) Reduction in wages, or partial starvation, and (2) discharge, or complete starvation. The employer in his great clemency will decide which of the two punishments will do the worker the greater good.

* * *

New York has been a week work market for many years. The employers initiated week work. But with it went the cruel task system. When we managed to organize ourselves we eliminated the task evil and continued the week work system. Now the employers wish to force upon us again the slave driving and health wrecking task system. Our answer is NO; WE SHALL NOT PERMIT IT.

Our convention in Boston, last May, accepted the principle of week work, in the interest of the workers' health, and also the principle of standards of production, in the determination of which the organization should participate.

The employers now announce that they will themselves fix daily standards of production for each individual worker.

Our answer is: NO; WE SHALL NOT ACCEPT THEM.

We have proclaimed the principle of a progressive raising of our standard of living; hence reductions in wages are impossible. The employers say, There will be permanent reductions in wages in order to meet each new competitive market with still lower wages, which will be discovered whenever necessary.

Our answer is: NO; WE SHALL NOT SUBMIT TO STARVATION.

For many years we were helpless. The employer had it in his power to penalize each one of us, by discharging him from employment, for union activity, for refusing to submit to oppressive treatment on his part, or for no reason at all. The employer owed no explanation to us for depriving us of our opportunity to feed and shelter our families. Through the union we have restricted that arbitrary power. One of our most precious achievements is the protection of our right to work, the protection of our right to a hearing if our discharge is demanded by the employer.

Now the employers are proclaiming their autocratic power to crucify us at will.

Our answer is: NO; WE SHALL FIGHT TO THE LAST DITCH IN DEFENSE OF OUR RIGHT TO THE JOB.

Our answer to the ultimatum is: NO.

Our answer to the challenge is: YES.

We want peace. We want to adjust differences with the employers by orderly negotiation. But if they decree a lockout and force a struggle upon us, they shall find us marching upon the battlefield with songs and cheers.

We won two years ago in similar circumstances; we shall win again today.

We are confident in our cause. We are confident in our powers. We are confident in our victory!

The following letter was sent to the association by President Hillman conveying the reply of the membership:

December 7, 1920.

Mr. Irving Crane, Secretary,
Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York, Inc.,
752 Broadway, New York City.

On December 2, our organization addressed a letter to the Clothing Manufacturers' Association in reply to your ultimatum.

Our position as then defined has now been ratified by a referendum of our 65,000 members in mass meetings. That letter is now official as the reply of our organization.

We believe that this is no time to scrap all of the machinery of government for the industry which has worked so successfully for ten years in other markets and until now in Greater New York.

We believe that to accede to your ultimatum means not only a return to the old status of helplessness of the workers but also a confession that government in industry is impossible. We do not believe a resort to chaos is the only way out.

We still stand, as set forth in our letter, on the impartial chairman's suggestion of "a joint committee to be appointed and charged with the duty of ascertaining existing conditions, determining the extent to which production can be increased, and the means by which these ends can be secured."

We still hope that you will see the great harm which must result to the industry from your course of action. As before, we stand ready for negotiation and speedy adjudication of all problems of the industry.

On December 6, when our membership rejected the ultimatum and accepted the challenge, the market committee of the association adopted the following lockout resolution:

LOCKOUT RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE MARKET COMMITTEE

That a resolution be passed that in view of existing conditions and the union's refusal to accept the proposal contained in the resolution of the market committee passed on December 2, 1920, that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union can no longer be recognized as representing the workers in the New York clothing market; that all intercourse between the association and the union be severed; that it be officially declared that the impartial chairman has ceased to function in the local market, and is without authority to act for or speak on behalf of the market, that all fraternizing between any member of the association or any of the employees of the association and any of the union officials or representatives, be declared to be contrary to the best interests of the association and its membership.

That a committee be immediately appointed with authority to formulate a plan of work, whereby each worker will be held responsible for a daily standard of production and paid upon basis permitting competition with other markets.

The above was followed by a letter from the association to President Hillman. Here is the letter:

CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, Inc.
December 7, 1920.

Mr. Sidney Hillman,

President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
31 Union Square, New York City.

Dear Sir:—

Your letter of December 3 in no sense meets squarely the issue which our letter of December 2 has presented to you. The association has formulated in the simplest possible terms a remedy for the deplorable conditions in which the clothing market in New York City finds itself, a condition which unless immediately relieved spells ruin for both employers and workers.

Instead of a categorical answer, you embark upon generalities and platitudinous discussions, as if the question of collective bargaining and the inauguration of oppressive working conditions were the issue. Your communication assumes the tone of conciliation and sweet reasonableness, in face of a past record and policy of aggressive militancy. Your communication placed side by side with the issue of the *Advance*, your official organ and publication of the same date, would convince any unprejudiced mind that little reliance can be placed upon your glittering generalities about co-operating with manufacturers.

The industry has reached a stage where talk and "exploration," a term used by you, which unconsciously betrays your attitude of mind, can serve no useful purpose. We have been talking and exploring since August 26 last, without avail.

That the public has justly refused to buy clothing at war prices and that the prices of manufactured stocks have been slaughtered and manufacturers have taken enormous losses, is a matter of common knowledge and needs no investigation or exploration. That for the coming season clothing must be produced at reduced prices to meet the public's demand is also self evident and needs no investigation or exploration. That the future prospects of profits to manufacturers have dwindled, is generally conceded.

That to make possible the sale of clothing at reduced prices the cost of production must be reduced, needs no exploration or investigation. That the labor unit cost of production in the New York market is prohibitively higher than in any other center, you would never question except for purposes of delay.

To a candid mind, all the germane facts are established. All that remains is the method which will bring business to the employers and work to the workers.

Our proposal that a standard of production shall be formulated, that each worker shall be required to produce and be paid in accordance with that standard, and upon a basis permissive of competition with other markets where union standards now prevail, is not our arbitrary demand, as you charge, but is the natural and inevitable solution to the problem confronting us. The undisputed facts irresistibly compel the adoption of this plan of work if the New York market is to be saved.

A most careful perusal of your last communication reveals to us that in no appreciable way do you propose to meet this problem, save by an evasive plan for delay, disguised under an appeal for further investigation and exploration.

We are compelled to construe your letter as a rejection of our proposal, and shall act accordingly.

Yours truly,

CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, Inc.,
By (Signed) WILLIAM A. BANDLER, President.

On December 8, 1920, President Hillman replied:

Your letter of December 7 charging us with "generalities and platitudinous discussions" while we were making strenuous efforts to get your association to agree to our proposition to deal with the problems of our industry by the civilized methods of negotiation, investigation and agreement by mutual understanding, moves me to ask what can be the purpose of the letter.

Words of this character cannot be expected to deceive the workers. When our workers find themselves confronted with locked factory doors and no work offered except under oppressive conditions and all the government of collective bargaining smashed by you, the union declared to be no longer recognized by you, the arbitration machinery, the impartial chairman thrown out by you—then our 65,000 workers see facts. Your words about collective bargaining do not deceive them; they recognize the "inauguration of oppressive working conditions" when they see it.

Nor can such words be expected to deceive the public. Perhaps it is the purpose to make the public believe that the prices people had to pay for clothes were due to labor costs. But that was the very question—the actual cost of a suit of clothes—that the union proposed should be determined, immediately, by a joint investigation, the union and the manufacturers co-operating. Rather than put these facts before the people who ask what clothes really do cost to make, you destroyed the machinery for ascertaining these facts and now we are locked out and the great drive is on to try to destroy the union.

To urge on you for ten weeks, as the union did, the proposition to determine jointly the exact conditions in the industry, was not to talk "generalities." It was a concrete proposal which you try to evade at last by a resort to force.

The lockout began on December 8, when the following firms locked out their employees, approximately 16,000 in number: J. Friedman Co., "Big Six Rosenthal," Schwartz & Jaffee, Bashwitz Bros., Hayes & Levy, and Berger, Raphael & Weil. That was followed by the discharge of union members in other houses until the lockout extended to the entire field of the association's jurisdiction.

It proved to be the longest and most bitterly fought struggle in the clothing industry. A veritable storm of slanderous and libelous publicity was let loose by the association, charging the union with all crimes on the calendar and many more. In addition to that there were more than the usual number of arrests, assaults on strikers by strong arm men, and court cases, including dissolution and damage suits. There were also threatened state and federal investigations, neither of which materialized.

The union had its picket, strike, and all other committees properly organized and well functioning.

On December 13 the first great picketing demonstration was held.

A LETTER THAT SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

PHONE SPRING 6700

**MANUFACTURERS INDUSTRIAL ASS'N
LABOR ADJUSTERS****WE FURNISH CAPABLE AND RELIABLE GUARDS FOR THE
PROTECTION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY****673 Broadway**

NEW YORK, Dec. 14, 1920 102

gentlemen:-

We respectfully submit for your consideration the following facts, which partially show our expert methods of handling strikes and lock-outs.

We are in a position to recruit and furnish you with any number of operators, basters, finishers, pressers and cutters, as you may require to take the places of those who do not remain loyal to you. Not professional strike breakers, but experienced men and women. We can deliver same to you in sufficient numbers daily, to keep your plant in operation at a regular scale of wages arranged between us.

We also furnish experienced first class guards with police military experience and accustomed to strike duty, to preserve peace, and protect plant, life and property.

We have handled and have been associated with many strikes throughout the country of every industry and brought same to a successful issue for our clients.

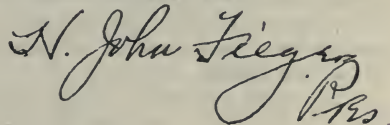
Our vast and varied experience has taught us that a strike is only a matter of testing their strength and stability, for much greater demands in the future. On the other hand at the small cost that may be arranged between us, we not only furnish non-union help but protect and operate your plant under open shop conditions.

If interested in our proposition our representative will be pleased to call upon you and more fully explain matters.

Thanking you in advance for any courtesy which you may extend us, and hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience, we remain

Very truly yours,

MANUFACTURERS INDUSTRIAL ASS'N

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "N. John Siegen" followed by "Pres." written in a smaller, more compact cursive style.

Herewith is a photographic reproduction of an advertisement which appeared in a New York daily newspaper on Sunday, December 12:

GROceries SALE
 as sure the; combination. B 362 World.

GUARDS-GUARDS.

300 strong, able bodied men to act as guards.
 Apply between 1 P. M. and 5 P. M. to-day,
 Sunday, Val O'Toole Detective Agency, branch
 office, 61 D, 11th st.

GUNSMITH all
 Bros. & Co., 96 Chambers st.
 H. B. ROBERTS - Expert

When asked about this advertisement the president of the Manufacturers Association denied all knowledge of it.

However, when men applied for the places, they were informed that they were to be placed in factories where Amalgamated members were locked out. On the other hand, guards who were found in some of these shops admitted that they had been hired through the agency mentioned in the advertisement.

The above letter and advertisement convey some idea of the methods employed for the destruction of the union and the inauguration of the open sweat shop.

As the lockout war developed the employers neglected the "seven points" and promulgated new "principles." The Amalgamated was to be destroyed, not because it makes industrial slavery impossible, but because it is "un-American." The following article from *Advance* of December 17, 1922, deals with those "principles":

THE LOCK-OUT AND ITS "PRINCIPLES"

At last the New York clothing manufacturers have broken the suspense and inaugurated the long promised lockout. The main issue of the lockout has always been clear: RETURN TO THE SWEATSHOP.

But there are also several subsidiary "principles," which the employers had kept concealed, like silent partners, until the lockout was begun.

The main issue, sweatshop, is for home consumption, for the employers and the workers; the "principles" are for public consumption.

So far only three "principles" have been disclosed by the employers' association. More will be exhibited as soon as the "legal adviser" whips them into shape.

The first "principle" deals with the preamble to the constitution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The members of the

association and their "legal adviser," who still remember their trip across the Atlantic on the Mayflower, have pronounced our preamble un-American. Another legal adviser made the same pronouncement two years ago and undertook to prove that because of that preamble we were not entitled to the forty-four-hour week. But we having won on the forty-four-hour week, the decision applied also to the preamble. The employers then entered into an agreement with us. They now again find our preamble objectionable to them. They will, of course, accept it again before we return to work.

Perhaps someone might inform the employers that it has never been the intention of the Amalgamated to solicit for its preamble the approval of the employers; that the approval of the workers is quite sufficient and satisfactory.

"Principle" number two is "Sovietism." Participation of the Amalgamated in determining conditions of labor is a Sovietization of the industry. The Pilgrim Fathers of the clothing industry are shocked by such a horror. Again the legal adviser of the association is displaying a woeful lack of originality. This is only a poor repetition of the performance of two years ago, when the employers sustained the same sort of a shock. They revived, however, in time to place their seal of approval upon that Sovietization in order to have us, "un-Americans," return to work.

"Principle" number three probably has some merit of originality, though we are not entirely sure of it.

Whether it was by force of habit, or inclination, or because of some other and similar reason, the mind of the association's legal adviser just naturally turned to the subject of graft.

As a real Puritan his heart simply bled at the sight of the Amalgamated being so honey-combed with graft. Accordingly he announced through the public press that he would ask Governorelect Miller to order an investigation.

O, horror of horrors!

There is but one consolation: The decision on the main issue, the sweat shop, will also decide all other issues, or "principles." When the employers find that they must ask us to come back to work on union conditions, as they did two years ago, they will, again as they did two years ago, suspend the "principles" until the next lockout, which will come without fail in the next period of unemployment.

We may add, however, that we shall very much enjoy a graft investigation. But people say that the saint of the manufacturers' association, who hates graft like poison, may shrink from such an unclean thing and neglect the investigation.

LOCKOUT EXTENDED TO OTHER CITIES

The New York employers made strenuous efforts to make the lockout country wide. In that they failed but they succeeded in enlisting the support of the employers in Boston, and towards the end of the year also in the smaller plants in Baltimore. Henry Sonneborn & Co. and others refused to join the contract-breaking employers.

Boston anticipated New York by one day. On December 7 the New York newspapers announced with big display heads that the Clothing Manufacturers' Association in Boston decided to break its agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The employers' trade paper in New York made this comment on the action of the Boston manufacturers:

"They (the employers) take the position that after being idle for several weeks, as many have been already, the workers will jump at the opportunity to obtain employment, whether it is under union conditions or not.

"When work is resumed it is understood that the shops will be operated on a forty-eight hour per week basis, with a reduction of wages amounting to about 10 per cent."

GREAT LOCKOUT RESISTANCE FUND

The General Officers called a meeting of the General Executive Board to deal with the colossal task.

The board met in New York, December 18 and 19. The problems confronting the organization were fully discussed. It was unanimously decided to issue a call to the membership for an International Lockout Resistance Fund of \$1,000,000. The following call was sent out to the local organizations:

BUGLE CALL TO AMALGAMATED HOSTS

To the Members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
Greeting!

The enemy has again opened fire upon our organization and we must meet and defeat him.

Your General Executive Board is, therefore, calling upon you to rise, form your ranks behind the Amalgamated standard, which has always been the symbol of successful struggle for a just cause, and give the enemy such battle as to crush his vicious conspiracy against us.

New York is today the battleground, which may soon be extended to other markets. The Boston Clothing Manufacturers' Association has already announced its alignment with our enemies in New York. Efforts are being made by the New York employers and their mercenaries to throw the entire clothing industry in America into a state of strife, chaos, and disorder.

A conspiracy is now on foot to destroy our organization and to reestablish the slavery of former days. Our answer to that is: "THEY SHALL NOT PASS!"

Ten years ago the men's clothing industry was notoriously a sweatshop industry. At that time the grievances against us were that we were "unorganized and pressing down wages and working conditions"; today the grievances against us are that we are powerfully organized, have a decent and living wage and the forty-four-hour week. The complaints of the past, which came from workers, were our disgrace; the complaints of today, which are coming from greedy and unscrupulous employers, are our pride.

The New York employers, though growing steadily richer and piling up ever greater wealth in spite of our better working conditions, have been longing for the return of the days of the industrial Pharaohs, when their arbitrary rule was supreme and absolute.

They attempted to turn back the clock of progress in 1918, when they instituted the lockout on the very day that the world was celebrating the end of a terrible war.

We were then far below our present conditions in numbers, funds, and experience. We accepted the challenge and came out of the struggle with flying colors.

When the lockout contest was over, the New York clothing manufacturers entered into an agreement with our organization and established joint machinery for the adjudication of disputes similar to the machinery in other markets.

The New York clothing manufacturers "honestly believed" in the agreement just as long as orders for garments were coming in and

the labor of our members was needed to convert those orders into profits, huge profits.

In the widespread unemployment, which is now the curse of all the civilized world, the New York employers have found an opportunity to renew their attempt to revive sweatshopism.

They have suddenly ceased to "believe" in the agreement whose sacredness they were tireless in proclaiming as long as they needed the toil of our members for their profiteering purposes.

They shamelessly repudiated the agreement which they had entered into with us in "good faith" when "good faith" was essential for the unhampered flow of the golden stream of profit.

Their first act in exercising the unlimited and absolute power of discharge was the dismissal of the impartial chairman, the very man upon whom they had depended for the proper enforcement of the agreement while they were in need of our members' labor-power for the steady production of profits, profits, and more profits.

They destroyed the joint machinery for the adjustment of industrial disputes, the very machinery which they had been exploiting to keep the wheels of the clothing industry moving while grievances were being adjusted, because that meant an uninterrupted flow of precious and sacred profits.

The New York employers announced their decision to—

Disinter the dead and buried task system of the ancient sweat shop days, the memory of which system has been the horror of every New York clothing worker who had had the misfortune of being caught by it;

Re-establish individual bargaining between employer and worker in place of the system of collective bargaining which required the employer to deal with the union for all workers collectively;

Reduce wages by the arbitrary will of the employer and bring the clothing workers back to the former condition of starving while working;

Re-establish the ancient despotism of the unlimited and absolute power of the employer to deprive the worker of his right to work and feed his family.

In accordance with its universally recognized aspiration to maintain order in the industry our organization did all that could honorably be done to prevent a conflict, but the employers were determined to have it. They rejected our proposition for a joint investigation of conditions which afforded an opportunity to avoid a clash. On December 2, 1920, the manufacturers handed us an ultimatum to the effect that unless we "voluntarily" renounced all our rights, reduced wages and destroyed our organization by December 6, 1920, they would institute a lockout to bring that about. **THE CHOICE BETWEEN SELF-DESTRUCTION AND SELF-DEFENSE** was submitted to our membership at a number of large mass meetings on December 6. The ultimatum was unanimously rejected and the challenge just as unanimously accepted. The members' reply to the challenge was substantially as follows: "We desire to maintain peace and order in the New York clothing market. We have them in other markets and should also have them in New York. But if the New York employers insist on testing our strength again we are ready for that, too. If the employers attack our organization we shall hit back hard enough to make their fur fly."

On December 8, 1920, the lockout began with 16,000 workers and has since been steadily extending.

Immediately advertisements made their appearance in the papers for hundreds of strong arm guards.

Immediately, also, the cry of graft was raised by the employers' hired agent against our organization, as if the lockout had been enacted for the purpose of the elimination of graft.

Our members will recall the raids and persecution of our organization in Chicago last year upon the cry of graft and extortion. While the conspirators failed completely in their real purpose, the destruction of the organization, they did succeed in securing libelous and slanderous publicity which caught the minds of many people. That was easily brought about by the capitalist press giving the widest and loudest publicity to the wild charges of graft, and keeping silent when the charges proved to be malicious fabrications.

Depending upon the support of this anti-labor journalism and proceeding upon the principle of calumniating because some part of the slander is bound to remain in the minds of the readers, the individual who has been hired by the clothing manufacturers to destroy the union turned to the favorite topic of men of his caliber—graft. He informed the public that the Amalgamated was a graft-ridden organization and that he would call upon the governor of the state of New York to order an investigation and would also submit evidence to the grand jury. In spite of our demand that this be done at once, no call has so far been made upon the governor, nor has any evidence been placed before the grand jury, as far as we know. But the graft charge is maliciously repeated and gladly published by the anti-labor press every time it is repeated.

At the time of this writing the emissaries of the New York clothing manufacturers are busy extending their conspiracy to the entire clothing industry in the United States. Desperate efforts are being made to induce the manufacturers in all other markets to bring the industry to a complete tie-up. The conspiring emissaries hope to achieve a double purpose: fleece the consumer by forcing up prices because of no production, and reduce wages by making unemployment absolutely universal.

The General Executive Board at its session in New York, December 19, 1920, discussed the situation at great length.

At present there is active warfare carried on against us by the employers in New York only. The belligerent attitude of the employers in Boston makes a struggle there probable, though there is hope of being spared one as long as the employers have not yet forced it upon us.

There is no telling to what other markets the conspiracy may be extended, perhaps before this call will have reached you.

We must be ready for all emergencies. We must be in a position to conduct the fight that is already on and we must be prepared to meet any situation, industrial, economic, or legal, as soon as and wherever it may arise. For that purpose a large fund is imperative. The General Executive Board has, therefore, unanimously decided to call upon the Amalgamated membership in the United States and Canada to raise an INTERNATIONAL LOCKOUT RESISTANCE FUND OF ONE MILLION DOLLARS.

This fund shall be raised by an assessment amounting to 10 per cent of each member's wages, to be paid until the amount of one million dollars is raised. It was understood, however, that each market may arrange for the collection of its own quota in the manner which may in its judgment be most effective.

This clarion call for the creation of a great RESISTANCE FUND is now going out to every member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

We who have succeeded in organizing the most oppressed and exploited of all workers; who have abolished the horrors of the sweat shop; who did not shrink from the lockout struggle of two years ago; who were the first to inaugurate the forty-four-hour week; who were so liberal, enthusiastic, and class conscious as to give the record breaking amount of \$100,000 as a contribution to the striking steel workers; we shall set a new high standard for working class solidarity by raising

ONE MILLION DOLLARS for resistance to the onslaught of a conspiracy against our organization; ONE MILLION DOLLARS for the defense of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the only hope of the workers in this industry.

Take up the collection of this assessment at once, with vigor and energy, and send your remittances to the undersigned as speedily as possible.

Long live the solidarity of the working class!

Long live the Amalgamated fighting army.

Let our slogan be: A MILLION DOLLARS, AND AS MUCH MORE AS MAY BE NECESSARY FOR VICTORY!

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, A. C. W. of A.,
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Lockout Resistance Fund was in itself an inspiring demonstration. We issued the call with perfect confidence that the membership would respond with loyalty and enthusiasm. They had done it in the past. There was no doubt about their doing it this time. But the amount of ONE MILLION DOLLARS caused many a smile. "Clothing workers and a million dollars!" "The Amalgamated is a serious organization; how did it come to make itself so ridiculous?" "True, the sweat shop is abolished, but the clothing workers are still wage workers with a limited income. And so much unemployment. And the largest market entirely out of the reckoning for collection purposes." The employers smiled the broadest smiles. While we were asking for a million dollars, the employers' spokesman was assuring the public that the workers would soon return to the shops on the employers' open sweat shop condition because the little savings some of them still had would quickly melt away.

A million dollars! The Amalgamated was "bluffing." That we were not bluffing, and that our confidence was warranted, was proven by the results. Nor were we gambling. We knew our membership and knew what we could expect of it. Those who thought otherwise did not know our membership.

It seemed strange for clothing workers to speak of a million dollars. But truth is often stranger than fiction. The organized clothing workers did more than was asked of them: THEY DOUBLED THE MILLION DOLLAR FUND. When that was done our enemies ceased smiling. Then it was our friends' turn to smile. But that was a smile of happiness. "He who smiles last smiles best."

The \$2,000,000 demonstration of our membership only shows what organized workers can do if imbued with the proper spirit.

It is not generally known that our New York organization had no war chest when the lockout attack was made. It was the great Resistance Fund that enabled New York, Boston, and Baltimore to hold out until victory was achieved.

On January 3, 1921, the first check for \$50,000 came from Chicago. From that day on the flow of contributions kept up until the aggregate sum reached the amazing total of \$2,000,000.

Next to New York, which the employers had considered as unable to raise any amount of money, Chicago occupies the most conspicuous place.

“THE PUBLIC ON STRIKE” HOAX

Since the war the favorite cry of all open shoppers and wage reducers has been: “The public is on strike; it refuses to buy unless prices come down.” During the war the prices were the highest. It would seem that that was a good occasion for a strike by the public. At that time the employers kept on raising prices. It was strange that the “public” should “go on strike” while prices were coming down. Stranger still that the reduction of the purchasing power of the workers, a rather substantial portion of the “public,” by reduction of wages, should stimulate buying. Plain mortals believe that workers who earn more buy more, and those who earn little make very poor customers. Wage reductions increase profits and reduce purchasing power. It is not true that the public refuses to buy unless workers are paid starvation wages.

The excuse for the demand of wage reductions by the New York employers was false not only for the reason given above but it was proven false out of their own mouths, as may be seen by the following from *Advance* of January 21, 1921:

A well known New York clothing manufacturing firm, a leader in the present lockout struggle for the re-establishment of sweat-shop slavery, sent out a circular letter to its customers, dated January 7, 1921.

In the letter the customer is informed by the firm that “In our endeavor to bring about lower production costs in conformity with the lowered cost of materials and the just demand by the consumer and retailer, our output is being temporarily curtailed.”

The letter continues: “SO WE KINDLY ASK YOU TO SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS BY DELAYING THE PLACING OF YOUR ORDERS FOR SPRING MERCHANDISE.”

There is no doubt but that other lockout employers have sent out similar letters to their customers.

In the press the manufacturers are bamboozling the people by telling them that the public is on strike, that it refuses to buy, and in order to make it buy the workers must cut their wages and break up their organization. In their private letters the same employers plead with the retail merchants: DON'T BUY! DELAY YOUR ORDERS SO THAT WE MAY STARVE THE WORKERS AND FLEECE THE PUBLIC.

THE IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

When the New York employers proclaimed the revival of their unlimited and arbitrary power of sweat shop days to “hire and fire,” they exercised that power first of all against the impartial chairman. He was “fired” and the impartial chairman machinery scrapped.

In the month of January, 1921, Dr. Leiserson gave out the following:

REPORT TO THE PUBLIC

The most important fact about the war in the men's clothing industry of New York City, which threatens to involve also all the other needle trades, is that it is a wholly unnecessary war. When negotiations were broken off and war was declared, the manufacturers' association and the union were not far apart in the things that they wanted.

The basic issue which divided them was a question of fact which could easily have been settled by investigation or arbitration and not a question of principle or right which could not be compromised.

The employers wanted their labor costs reduced in order to enable them to compete with other clothing markets and to attract business in New York. The union proposed a joint investigating committee to find out what the labor costs actually were, to determine what a proper labor cost would be and to make such adjustments as might be necessary to reduce labor costs to this proper basis.

In this issue no fair-minded person who has the interests of the community and the industry as a whole at heart can find anything which may not be settled by negotiation and adjustment. Moreover a majority of the employers in the manufacturers' association as well as the union and its officials were anxious to avoid a strike or lockout and desired to continue peaceful relations. Under such circumstances a labor war such as is now going on with all that it involves for the community and the industry has no justification.

Who Was Responsible

Then why did the break come, and who was responsible for foisting upon the industry and the city of New York the present bitter labor war?

In order to answer this question and to present the proof of our statements, it is necessary to detail somewhat the history of the relations existing between the manufacturers and the union of clothing workers as well as the negotiations which led up to the present lockout or strike, which ever you may choose to call it.

Two trade agreements existed in the clothing industry up to the time of the break. One of those was a preferential union shop agreement which dated until August 26, 1920, but was extended from day to day by mutual consent until a new agreement should be made. This agreement was between the union and a small group of employers known as the New York Clothing Trade Association. The other agreement provided for the closed shop. It was in the form of a report made by an advisory board consisting of Professor W. Z. Ripley of Harvard, Louis Marshall, and Felix Frankfurter, which had been accepted by the union and the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York, a larger organization of employers. The two employers' associations were merged toward the end of 1919 and the labor agreements were administered under the general direction of a joint market committee of fourteen members. The report of the advisory board contained no date of expiration but it was understood that after due notice either side might withdraw or open negotiations for a new agreement.

Agreements Provided Arbitration

Aside from the preferential and the closed shop there was very little practical difference between the two agreements. Both of them provided that all disputes which could not be adjusted should be arbitrated by an impartial chairman acting for both agreements. A staff of labor managers was employed by both associations under the direction of the market committee to adjust disputes with business agents and managers of the union and to argue cases before the impartial chairman. Approximately 40,000 clothing workers and over 100 firms were covered by these agreements.

After these agreements were entered into, the clothing industry experienced an unprecedented period of prosperity. The supply of labor was not equal to the demand and individual workers took advantage of the situation to ask for continual increases in wages. The employers, too, were bidding workers away from each other and offering unheard-of wages to get help. The agreements with the union tended to stabilize conditions, for they fixed the wages that all employers were supposed to pay. In spite of the agreements, however, employers continued to steal help from each other by offering higher and higher wages and

employees made individual bargains to get more money than had been agreed by collective bargaining. The manufacturers' association ordered its members not to pay any higher wages than the agreement required but it could not control the individual manufacturers who were willing to pay almost any price to get help, for it was easy then to pass the cost on to the consumer. The former president of the Clothing Trade Association, then chairman of the market committee, himself, after the manufacturers had solemnly pledged themselves to stop the skyrocketing of wages opened a new shop in which he paid workers \$5 a week above the prevailing rates.

The union was put in the embarrassing position of holding down wages, and it actually forced some members to return to jobs paying \$5 and \$10 a week less than other employers had offered them. But some local unions supported the individual members, and without the active co-operation of all the employers this attempt at stabilizing the industry and holding labor costs in bounds could not succeed. The union was therefore unable to control its members, except in the case of the cutters who have been held down to the scale of \$51 a week agreed upon while other workers of no more skill have been paid as much as \$70 and \$80 a week.

Cut-Throat Methods Raised Costs

It was this condition of cut-throat competition among the employers and individual bargains by members of the union that raised the labor costs of manufacturing clothing in the New York market. For this condition the manufacturers are responsible as much as the workers and perhaps a little more than the union. Most of the manufacturers have been fair enough to realize this and in private conversations they frequently blame themselves as much as the union for the demoralized condition of the New York clothing market.

When, therefore, the manufacturers' association took up the matter of improving manufacturing conditions at a membership meeting on September 24, 1920, it had no idea of breaking with the union. On the contrary, the resolutions adopted assumed that the co-operation of the union would be necessary to establish and maintain proper manufacturing conditions in the New York market.

"The association, the union and the impartial chairman have [the] obvious duty to establish conditions which will permit manufacturers to get business and give the workers employment. This should be brought about by negotiations and by arbitration."

"The hope for better business and more employment . . . lies in correcting the effect of the present high wages, low production, and bad manufacturing conditions. This should be accomplished by an increase of output, not a cut in the earning powers of the workers."

Union Here to Stay

Most of the clothing manufacturers of New York know that they will always have a union to deal with in their shops. Whatever may be true in other industries, in the New York clothing market the union is a permanent factor. The sweatshop conditions of the past and the system of shifting to the shoulders of small contractors the main problems of manufacturing (about 2/3 of all New York work is still done in contract shops) has made it impossible for employers to govern the shops without the consent of the workers. Oppression, abuse and mismanagement have solidified the workers so that the employers can not get production or maintain discipline without coming to an understanding with the employees' organizations. Moreover, the men who operate the contract shops are often quite irresponsible and in many cases the manufacturers have had to appeal to the union to force the contractors to deliver the work they have contracted to do.

The resolutions of September 24 were intended to explain why the manufacturers made demands upon the union. That the employers were seeking not a change in their relationship with the union, but reduction of labor costs is shown by a paragraph from the same resolutions:

"A material reduction in labor cost is the one thing considered necessary to enable New York manufacturers to cut the wholesale price of clothing enough to attract orders."

The Employers' Demands

The actual demands made by the employers on the union, however, went further than this and tended to confuse the issue. The demands were as follows:

- "1. The right of the manufacturer to install piece work.
- "2. Scales prevailing in other clothing markets to be the base rates for New York clothing workers.
- "3. The co-operation of workers in maintaining individual records of production in shops and cutting rooms.
- "4. Individual standards of production for week workers in shops and cutting rooms.
- "5. The right of the manufacturer to change contractors.
- "6. Adequate freedom to discipline and hire workers and to introduce improved machinery.
- "7. The agreements maintained by the union in other markets in which adjustment machinery is functioning successfully to be made the basis of relationship between the association and the union."

Union's Answer to Demands

The union's answer to these demands was that they were not properly calculated to bring about the reduced costs desired, that by granting them the union would be assuming full responsibility for the high costs and low production when the employers were equally to blame and further these demands if granted would return arbitrary power to the employer which would enable him to lower the standards of well-being of the workers and bring back again the sweatshop conditions which the union had abolished only after years of struggle. The union on those grounds rejected the seven propositions of the employers and proposed that a joint committee representing both the employers and wage earners investigate conditions in the market and determine what is a proper labor cost. This proposition was in turn rejected by the employers and they offered to submit the seven demands to arbitration.

The impartial chairman thereupon expressed the opinion that the seven demands asked for more than merely a reduction in labor costs. They involved the asking of an entirely new agreement for the market. This was not properly a subject for arbitration as it would be leaving to an outsider the determination of questions of shop control and the rights and privileges of the management and the workers in the shop. Since the employers had previously stated that the main question was reduction of labor costs and the parties could not agree on the seven demands as a means of such reduction, they should continue negotiations and find some other method of reducing costs. As a step in this direction the chairman suggested that each house or group of houses should present a definite proposition as to what they considered a proper labor cost for the kind of clothes they make, and then a committee representing both sides might investigate these proposed costs and thus arrive at a new basis of agreement, or the proposed costs might be arbitrated. This suggestion was rejected by the employers on the grounds that it would involve unnecessary delay.

An attempt was made, however, by Major Gitchell, chief of the staff of labor managers who represented the employers, and Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union, to

reach an adjustment on the basis of reducing costs by increasing production. At an informal conference held in the Commodore Hotel on Sunday, November 14, 1920, at which the impartial chairman was present, a plan was worked out by which production in various shops might be increased from 10 to 40 per cent and Major Gitchell was to present this to the employers while Mr. Hillman would take it up with the union membership. Two employers were also present at this conference and they expressed themselves as satisfied that the plan could be successfully worked out. Apparently the negotiations were moving toward a peaceful adjustment with perhaps settlement of some disputed points by arbitration.

Employers Side-Track Plan

Just as this plan was about to be presented to the membership of the union and the manufacturers' association for approval, it was side-tracked by a new movement which suddenly appeared in the market committee of the employers' association. This movement was engineered from the outside and only a few of the fourteen members of the market committee were won over to it. They, however, took advantage of some dissatisfaction with Major Gitchell to have the entire staff of labor managers who were representing the employers discharged, so they, with the assistance of an outside lawyer, could get control of the manufacturers' association and thus prevent any peaceful settlement from being made. In this plan as we shall see they succeeded completely and on them and their lawyer, Mr. Harry A. Gordon, whom they forced in as counsel for the association, must rest the responsibility for having prevented a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

Causes of Dissatisfaction

Of course the manufacturers had many causes of dissatisfaction. So did the workers. Costs were too high in many plants and production was too low. Discipline in the shops was often not what it should be. Union officials, labor managers and the impartial chairman were not acting as efficiently as in other clothing markets. But every one engaged in the negotiations knew that the union alone was not responsible for these conditions. The manufacturers are equally to blame and the differences in labor relations between New York and the other markets are to be explained by the different history of clothing manufacturing in New York.

The unsatisfactory conditions therefore cannot be given as the causes of the present lock-out and strike. In this statement we are not passing on the merits of the employers' demands or the union's answer. We are pointing out only that an agreement could have been reached on the matter of improving conditions, and a few people succeeded in preventing such an agreement. The employers recognized in their own resolutions quoted above that they and the union must work together to improve conditions and the union admitted the need of improvement. The small group who maneuvered to bring about a break alone must be held responsible for the present war in the industry.

Manufacturers Deliberately Misled

Mr. Hillman, president of the union, warned both the impartial chairman and Dr. W. E. Hotchkiss, director of the National Industrial Federation of Clothing Manufacturers that certain employers were deliberately working to prevent a peaceful settlement and to precipitate a strike to suit their own purposes; that they were misleading both Dr. Hotchkiss and the impartial chairman and by misrepresentation and withholding facts were getting control of the manufacturers' association in preparation for making war on the union. Neither Dr. Hotchkiss nor the impartial chairman would believe that any of the manufacturers in question were guilty of such duplicity until later events proved Mr. Hillman's statements to be true. Had the impartial chairman believed

that this small group of manufacturers were deliberately misleading both him and the membership of the employers' association who wanted peace, the break might have been prevented. But because they trusted these men, the small war party was given the opportunity to accomplish its purposes.

To understand how false to their trust these few men were, we must go back to October 8, 1920, when the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York by unanimous vote adopted the following resolution expelling a firm for having violated its obligations under the agreement.

"Whereas, The impartial chairman has ruled that the firm of Cohen, Goldman & Co. had a case pending before the impartial chairman; and

"Whereas, They have declined to appear at a hearing on this case, and have, therefore, in the eyes of the impartial chairman, violated the agreement; and

"Whereas, This Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York, Inc., fully agrees with the position of the impartial chairman that the agreement now existing between the New York Clothing Trade Association and the union is as binding on Cohen, Goldman & Co. as on all other members of that association; and

"Whereas, The Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York, Inc., also considers that the firm of Cohen, Goldman & Co. has violated its obligations and by failing to keep faith with the union and the impartial chairman has cast doubt on the good faith of all the other members of the association, therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, the board of directors of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York, Inc., emphatically condemn the action of Cohen, Goldman & Co., and that the firm of Cohen, Goldman & Company be and hereby is expelled from the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York, Inc."

Trick to Get Control

When the board of directors of the manufacturers' association went on record condemning the breach of faith by one of their members, this condemnation was accepted in good faith by the impartial chairman. The few members of the market committee, whom we now know to be the instigators of the break, however, publicly voted for the resolution to expel the guilty firm for the purpose of getting control of the manufacturers' association, and determining its labor policies. The great body of employers who make up the membership of the manufacturers' association knew nothing of these private conferences, and they trusted that every member of the market committee was in good faith attempting to reach an amicable agreement with the union. All but the few members of the market committee whom we have mentioned were honestly carrying out this policy and as long as the labor managers were handling the negotiations with the union, the attempts to reach an amicable adjustment were being carried out in good faith.

The opportunity to get rid of the labor managers, and thereby give control of the labor policy of the association to the group that wanted a strike came when Major Gitchell stated he was not prepared to make a full report to the market committee of the conference which had worked out the plan of increasing production from 10 to 40 per cent. Previous to this, criticisms made by the impartial chairman to help the labor managers in their work were used by this group to stir up feeling against the labor managers, and when Major Gitchell failed to report about the conference, they were able to get the resolution adopted, accepting the resignations of the entire staff of labor managers.

At about the same time, Dr. Hotchkiss and the impartial chairman, acting on the assumption that the market committee would honestly carry out the wishes of the employers for a peaceful settlement, advised the committee that the best way to arrive at a new basis for settlement would be for a committee of manufacturers to negotiate directly with the representatives of the union, and let the labor managers merely act

as advisors instead of conducting the negotiations, as they have been doing. This was done, but the way was then clear for the war group to get control of the negotiation committee of the employers, for one of this group appointed the committee.

Anti-Union Lawyer Brought In

Considerable opposition to this move arose among the employers, for they began to suspect they might be led into a fight with the union. This opposition was appeased by a resolution, in which words were inserted expressly pledging the association to continue negotiations with the union. At the same time, however, Harry A. Gordon, the lawyer picked by the group to lead the fight with the union, was brought into the situation to agitate among the employers and line them up back of the small group who were planning the break.

Rumors of the employment of this lawyer as counsel for the employers' association had been afloat for some days, and every one familiar with the industry knew that this man would direct the employers to only one result—a break with the union, and a strike or a lockout. When Dr. Hotchkiss heard of this rumor, he immediately addressed a letter to Mr. Wm. Bandler, president of the manufacturers' association, warning the association that the success of the negotiations would be endangered by the employment of Mr. Gordon as counsel, definitely advising against it, and stating plainly that he could not be associated with such counsel. Mr. Bandler has publicly denied that he received such a letter. Nevertheless, ample proof is available that he did receive the letter on November 20. Two men with whom Mr. Bandler discussed its contents so informed the impartial chairman, and asked the latter's opinion of the position taken by Mr. Hotchkiss in his letter. If necessary, a copy of this letter can be produced.

Nothing can illustrate better the methods by which both the public and the members of the manufacturers' association have been deceived and misled by the small group responsible for the strike than this published denial of receiving Dr. Hotchkiss' letter, definitely advising against the employment of the lawyer who would lead them into a fight with the union.

Lawyer's Employment Denied

It was even denied at first that this lawyer had been engaged as counsel for the association. A statement was made that he merely happened to be present at a membership meeting of the association, by invitation of some members, and while there he was asked to address the meeting. This is probably what happened, and it shows the back-door methods used by the war group to get their lawyer into the situation, to change the labor policy of the association from peace to war.

The employment of Mr. Gordon as counsel was not sought by the market committee. He was imposed on the committee by the small group. He is an eloquent agitator, and just as the I. W. W. agitator seizes upon the disagreeable things in the wage earners' life to stir up discontent, so he seized upon the irritations caused by union members and business agents in the shops, to stir up discontent and class feeling among the employers. The shortage of labor had turned the tables and given the worker the upper hand. In many cases employees abused their power just as many employers had previously done. The very purpose of Dr. Ripley, Louis Marshall, and Felix Frankfurter in recommending the adjustment and arbitration machinery which was established on their advice was to remove these irritations and thus avoid strife and maintain peace in the industry. But Mr. Gordon emphasized the irritations, harped on them as inevitable consequences of dealing with a union, just as the I. W. W. agitator harps on evils as the inevitable consequences of capitalism; and by these methods he stirred

up enough feeling among the employers so that his employment as counsel and director of the labor policy of the association was approved.

Nevertheless, the majority of the manufacturers do not approve of his methods even now. Most of the manufacturers, however, fear to express their opinions openly and do not want to be put in the position of breaking up the association by appearing to oppose the plans of the leaders who have gotten control.

Willingness to Negotiate Disregarded

The method by which this lawyer and the small group back of him brought about the strike and lockout was to disregard the willingness of both the union and the manufacturers to negotiate jointly for increased production and reduced costs. They presented an ultimatum to the union demanding the adoption of what was in effect the seven original demands. Most of the manufacturers knew that the union would not accept this proposition, but they supported it thinking that if it was rejected again, the words which had been inserted in the resolution, "that the association continue conferences with the union," would bind their counsel and committee to use the existing adjustment machinery to work out a plan of reducing labor costs which would be acceptable to both parties.

When the union membership rejected this proposition, however, a statement was immediately issued breaking off all relations with the union, and declaring that henceforth the employers would deal directly with their employees. Once this statement was made public the manufacturers were compelled to support the leaders who had forced them into a fight with the union. For to back out at this time would have been a sign of weakness and would have prevented a proper peaceful settlement any way. Thus were the employers who wanted peace in the industry forced into a conflict which they did not want.

The union contends that the breaking off of relations by the employers constituted a breach of contract. But the impartial chairman is of the opinion that the manufacturers were within their legal rights when they broke off relations. The preferential shop agreement had been renewed from day to day pending the result of the negotiations, and the closed shop agreement although without an expiration date could be terminated by either party on giving due notice. The period during which the negotiations were carried on must be considered as due notice of a desire to change the agreements. The employers were therefore free to refuse to renew the old agreements if they so desired, and no charge of breach of faith may justly be brought against them.

Indeed, as we have seen, the vast majority of the employers had no desire to give up the agreements. They were forced into a fight with the union by the small group in the market committee and their lawyer. A just public opinion will condemn these men for having deliberately planned and forced on the community a bitter labor war which neither the employers nor the wage-earners wanted, which is engendering hate and strife among a large mass of our population, and the cost of which the public will ultimately have to pay either in higher prices of clothing made in New York or in the elimination of New York City as a leading clothing market.

Peace in Other Markets

These then are the facts in the situation. Meanwhile the strike goes on with the inevitable consequences of violence, disorder, and partisan efforts to secure public sympathy practiced by both sides. While this war is going on in New York the employers and the same union of clothing workers in Chicago and Rochester are working in harmony, maintaining peace and producing clothes efficiently by means of the same adjustment machinery which has been discarded in New York.

However necessary strikes and lockouts may be at times to settle labor disputes, in this case the fact that both parties agree that labor

costs need to be reduced, and disagree only as to the method of securing the desired result, makes this conflict entirely unnecessary. And this useless strike becomes almost criminal when neither the employers nor the wage-earners wanted it, have nothing to gain but everything to lose by it, and were betrayed into it by a very small group of self-seeking men.

Duty of the Public

The duty of the public in a case like this seems clear. It should insist on a thorough airing of the facts, the expulsion from the situation of the agitators, the lawyer and the group who brought on the strike. It should see to it that negotiations are resumed on the basis of the original issue of decreasing labor costs. This can easily be brought about if the authorities and the newspapers, the official and recognized representatives of the public to whom this report is submitted, will bring the pressure of public opinion to bear on both parties to take this action.

Without such pressure the employers who were unwillingly led into the conflict cannot be expected to oust the outside lawyer and the small group who are misleading them. As long as the strike is on they feel in honor bound to back up their leaders. Once the facts are brought to light, however, as to the methods by which these leaders have obtained control of the employers' association and the responsibility is clearly fixed on the guilty parties, then the employers will get rid of the agitators, settle their dispute peacefully with the union of their employees, and relieve the community of disorder and violence and the consumer of clothing of the burden of a costly and unnecessary strike.

The report failed to receive the approval of the employers' lawyer. He threatened to sue Dr. Leiserson for libel, but for reasons best known to himself he did not do so.

THE OPEN SHOP

The issues of the lockout fight against the Amalgamated in 1920-21 were substantially the same as those of the lockout fight of 1918-19. The difference between the issues before the opening of active hostilities and those during the fight was only in the formulation, as the language of negotiation always differs from that of warfare. The objective was the same—the destruction of the Amalgamated.

The great and all embracing post-war anti-labor issue was then, and is still, the "open shop." All others flow from that main issue.

The phrase "open shop" was coined for use in the same manner as the phrases "open diplomacy," "open covenants," "democracy," and the rest. The "open shop" is intended to convey the idea of "freedom" in contrast with the "un-freedom" of the "closed shop."

The "open shop" today stands for infinitely more than the literal meaning of the term. It is the very embodiment of the present class struggle. It means more than low wages, or long hours, or other oppressive working conditions; it stands for the rightlessness of the workers as a "PRINCIPLE." Even in this sense it has a different meaning today from what it had before the war. When President Roosevelt assumed its championship, "open shop" meant the exclusion of the union from influence in the plant. The employers must be the sole authority to determine working conditions. The "open shop" was to protect the employers from "unreasonable" demands for the workers. The mission of the "open shop" today is to "pro-

tect the country" from "radicalism," "Sovietism," and the like. Before the war it was an industrial issue only; today it is also a political issue. State legislatures enact "open shop" laws. President Harding, in his December, 1921, message to Congress, asked for federal legislation in the same direction. To give it the glamor of "patriotism," the "open shop" has been dubbed the "American plan." Like attenuated Democracy, Open Shop covers a multitude of crimes.

The "open shop" crusade against American labor is led and supported by the most powerful employers' organizations in this country with vast political influence and unlimited financial resources. The National Manufacturers' Association and the United States Chamber of Commerce are among the leading spirits of the movement. Almost each state and each industry has its own organization for the promotion of the "open shop" propaganda. Literature is published by the ton. Full-page advertisements, couched in "patriotic" language, are published in the daily press throughout the country spreading hatred and bitterness toward the labor movement. "Open shop" propaganda is printed in the newspapers, preached from the pulpits, and in various subtle ways insidiously instilled into the people's minds and hearts. Very often the language used is vitriolic and incendiary. Sometimes it is "liberal." Here is a specimen of the latter kind. The "Minnesota Banker" of December 16, 1920, published a frank article, headed: "Labor Must Be Locked Out and Licked". The underscoring is ours. Herewith the article:

The open shop movement, now well under way all over the United States, is deemed by its proponents as the prime means of bringing about lowered labor costs and with them increased production. When such a gigantic force in the industry of the country as the Bethlehem Steel Company openly announces its aid for this movement, even to the extent of refusing to sell its product to manufacturers not favoring the open shop idea, it is at once evident what vast momentum the open shop movement is obtaining. There is no question as to the economic value of the open shop. But, at the same time, those who are pushing it must be most careful in their methods. The open shop movement is a powder magazine. A carelessly thrown match might start a nationwide conflagration. The closed shop is zealously fought for by the radical wing of labor organization. The open shop can be the most readily brought about by the elimination of this element as a power in organized labor. The conservative labor man is one to whom sound argument and sound horse sense appeal. He is the hope of the open shop proponent and upon him, in the final analysis, will rest the matter of accepting the idea philosophically, in the right spirit, without disrupting the entire industrial situation by means of disastrous strikes and lockouts. The open shop argument must be addressed, therefore, to the better sense and judgment of the conservative in organized labor. He must be won over to the soundness of the proposition. This is the ideal thing to do and it can be done in many parts of the country. In others, where the radical element is too strongly entrenched, there is, of course, but one final thing to do, and that is to **BEAT THEM BY FORCE. THEY MUST BE LOCKED OUT AND LICKED** until the conservatives see the light and realize that the rights of capital must be considered. This harsher method, however, should not be employed until all other plans have failed.

The article coincided with the lockout of our members in New York, very likely inspired by it.

The present "open shop" propaganda is a challenge to the American labor movement. The lockout in New York was the opening shot. It was the beginning of a nationwide program. Boasts were openly made in New York that the costs of the big fight against the Amalgamated were paid by parties outside of the industry.

THE SPY SYSTEM

The "open shop" war against labor carries with it the criminal industrial spy system, which is a blot on American institutions. The spy system has itself become a huge and growing industry. One agency is reported to have paid hundreds of thousands of dollars as its yearly income tax. Many agencies are thriving, prospering, and accumulating great wealth. Spying upon a worker to search out his feelings and sympathies in the matter of labor organization is in itself so revolting that the employers are compelled openly to deny the practice while secretly maintaining it. The most pernicious and dangerous activities of the system are those of PROVOKING.

In the last century the *agent provocateur* was an established institution in those European countries where active opposition arose against political oppression by the monarchist regime. It was the business of the police spy to stage conspiracies and "plant" proof so that the leaders and active workers would be led to a trap, caught there, and the movement crushed. The American industrial rulers borrowed that bloody leaf from European political despotism. In the seventies of the last century the industrial *agent provocateur* made his debut in the Pennsylvania anthracite fields, among the so called Molly Maguires, which name still bears the stigma given it by the criminal spy and provocator. The sacrifice of innocent human lives proved so pleasing to the young and ambitious industrial rulers that the noble art of PROVOKING and leading unsuspecting workers into dangerous traps was fostered. Today the *agent provocateur* is a tremendous power in American industry. Even more so than the quack physician, he creates business for himself where there is none otherwise. Taking advantage of the dissatisfaction which is always alive among unorganized workers, he initiates a revolt and gets the firm to hire him to check it. The "strike" is broken, the "organization" crushed, the "ringleaders" fired, sometimes beaten up or thrown into jail, or both. The *agent provocateur* made good, "delivered the goods," and increased the volume of his business. The "open shop" field is a veritable gold mine for the spy and *provocateur*. Here he can work both among the unorganized workers and the organized. The former are "taken care of" in the manner above described; the latter in various other ways. The agents are particularly active during strikes and lockouts. They provoke disorder and cause arrests; stir up dissatisfaction within the organization, and endanger the outcome of the struggle with the employers.

The frightful expense of maintaining the disgraceful and demoralizing system of spying and provoking is included in the operating costs and passed on to the consumers. The savings which would

be affected by the elimination of that expense and the losses caused by the criminal activities of the spy agencies would enable the establishment of large funds for the relief of the unemployed, victims of our industrial system.

There was an army of spying and provoking agents active in the ranks of our locked out members. They did all in their power to destroy the morale of those workers. They added much to the hardships of the organization. They became literary gentlemen and issued a series of leaflets which, though filled with glittering phrases and professions of loyalty to the organization, were aimed at breaking the resistance of the members to the lockout attack. At least one of those leaflets was circulated throughout the country in the hope of sabotaging the collections for the Million Dollar Fund. Each time the union scored an important victory, such as the decision in our favor of Judge Bijur in the dissolution suit, a new circular made its appearance. That all of the nefarious schemes failed to do more than make our task harder; that they did not weaken the fighting power of our organization, is clearly shown by the fact that we won out in the end.

THE PREAMBLE

In the desperate attempt upon the life of our organization the preamble to our constitutions was made an especial target.

Every student of industrial relations knows that labor organizations are not attacked by employers because of their social beliefs or expression of hopes for the future. The cause of every industrial dispute is the payroll, in its broadest sense, as it may be affected by better wages, hours, sanitary conditions, humane treatment of the workers, or other conditions; in other words, the hunt for greater profits. A labor organization with unpopular beliefs but without influence on the workers is let alone. A labor organization with the most approved reactionary program and policy will be fought to the utmost if it has the power to influence the size of the payroll. Preambles, ultimate aims, and other points, may be targets for attack in one case, as personalities may be in another, but they are only incidental to the main issue which affects the employers' dollars and cents.

The preamble to our constitution was written at a time when the labor movement was still allowed to speak freely and give expression to ultimate goals, which do not enter into the routine of the daily relations between the organization and the employers. According to the standard of ethics of those days the employers were not supposed to inquire into the workers' religious, social, and political views and sentiments, even as the workers could not if they would, and would not if they could, inquire into such views and sentiments of the employers. The Amalgamated is one of a large number of American labor organizations whose social vision goes beyond the daily routine and who are hoping for the time when labor will be freed from its present wage status. It is natural to give expression to such hopes in some official utterance. However, since the

writing of the preamble the war hysteria has suppressed that spirit of tolerance which made it possible for American citizens to hold views that were not approved by the powers that be. A construction of high treason was viciously placed upon an honest expression of a great hope. That was made the basis for a general newspaper attack and for action in the courts to dissolve the Amalgamated. In spite of the attacks, which seemed overwhelming, we insisted upon the rights of a labor organization to write its own preamble. We took the position that preambles may be made and changed, but that no self-respecting labor organization would change one iota in its preamble under compulsion of employers. We stood our ground and went into court to defend it. "Tear out your preamble," the employers told us in court, and there will be no more dispute. It seemed as if the lockout had been instituted for the purpose of freeing the Amalgamated of its preamble. We did not "tear out" the preamble, and, as all the world now knows, the Amalgamated was not dissolved, and it won the great lockout struggle.

The legal battles of our lockout contest will be discussed in this report when that phase of the big struggle is reached. Here it will suffice to state that Judge Bijur dismissed the employers' charge that the preamble to the Amalgamated constitution is treasonable and that the organization should, therefore, be dissolved. Justice Bijur's decision is given in the following article in *Advance* of April 8, entitled "The Right of a Labor Organization to Write Its Own Preamble Vindicated":

When the New York clothing manufacturers undertook the useless task of destroying the Amalgamated Clothing Workers by means of a lockout and law suits they made as their principal target the preamble to the constitution of our organization, which preamble they pronounced unlawful and treasonable. Accepting their own pronouncement as final, conclusive, and binding, they went to a court of law and asked, on that ground, for the dissolution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Inasmuch as the action for dissolution was based on nothing that is in itself illegal but on an expression by the organization of a great hope, the real issue involved was not whether the Amalgamated should be dissolved or allowed to live, but whether a labor organization has a right to give utterance to ultimate hopes and ideals, whether it has a right to write its own preamble without taking dictation from the employers.

The paragraph viewed with horror by the New York lockout employers reads as follows:

"The industrial and inter-industrial organization, built upon the solid rock of clear knowledge and class consciousness, will put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production, and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it."

It was with an air of triumph that the lockout employers pointed to the concluding words of the above paragraph as proof of the treasonable character of the Amalgamated. They were confident that the Amalgamated would be dissolved and that on April 1—the date is significant—there would be a receiver at 31 Union Square. But the court took the liberty to differ with the lockout makers. The court said in its opinion:

"Taken at its face value this extract from the preamble

as recited in the complaint, although its context is not set out, and charged by every fair standard of interpretation, particularly in an instrument of this character, I think the phrases quoted are quite innocuous. They express some ideal which it is hoped may at some time be achieved. But even if we do violence to its plain intendment and endeavor to read into the literal words a suggestion that it is hoped that the working class shall be put into actual control and possession of the instrumentalities of production rather than of merely the 'system' of production, as actually expressed, there is still absent any statement or even implication that this is to be accomplished by forcible or other unlawful means. Indeed, plaintiff's counsel do not in terms charge or claim that this expression in the preamble is, standing by itself, evidence of the unlawful purpose of the organization."

That defeat in the attempt to crucify the Amalgamated by court action proved a death blow to the scheme which seemed so promising before it was tried.

RADICALISM, BOLSHEVISM, AND SOVIETISM

Numerous were the charges made against us. They included **RADICALISM, BOLSHEVISM** and **SOVIETISM**.

What is "radicalism"? Literally, the method of going to the root of a problem. Socially and politically, "radicalism" has been defined as "the conservatism of tomorrow." The correctness of that definition has been proven by human experience. The views held by conservatives today were radical in a previous generation. To the conservative, "radicalism" is extremism; to the reactionary, it is criminality. To the beneficiaries of present day disorder and misrule "radicalism" is a menace because it refuses to accept what is as final. But "radicalism" is a very vague term. At a time like the present, when things are in a state of flux, many terms with definite meaning before the war no longer have one now. The meaning of "Socialism" was as definite as the meaning of "day." Today that term must be properly qualified in order to convey a positive idea. The same is true of "democracy" and other terms which were clear and positive in former years. "Radicalism" is at best a relative conception. Who is and who is not a "radical"? It depends on the standard applied. When a labor organization is attacked by its enemies as "radical" it means nothing at all. In the industrial world every worker who is loyal to his fellows and stands up for the workers' rights is denounced as a "radical" even though he has no understanding of the higher aims of the labor movement. In the industrial relations between employers and workers the charge of "radicalism" says nothing, means nothing, explains nothing. A progressive labor organization cannot always tell whether the charge of "radicalism" is to be accepted by it as a compliment or as a reproach. Generally speaking, "radicalism" may be accepted as a compliment in the sense that the accused is credited with the ability to think his own thoughts. War hysteria gave "radicalism" temporarily a sinister meaning and enabled the enemies of the labor movement to exploit

it in their campaign against the labor movement. In that spirit the attack of "radicalism" was made upon us in the hope of arousing prejudice against us in the newspapers and the courts.

The charge of "Bolshevism" was intended as a stronger appeal to the blindly and ignorantly prejudiced than the charge of "radicalism."

No one here has yet undertaken to define "Bolshevism" as it may apply to America. No one has yet explained what "Bolshevism" is.

In Russia the term came from a factional division within the Social Democratic Party in the Czarist days. A Bolshevik was one of the majority faction; a Menshevist, one of the minority faction. Likewise did the French Socialist Party have Majoritaires and Minoritaires. The old nomenclature continued in the Russian Socialist movement during and since the Revolution. The Bolshevik faction seized the powers of state and used them to carry out their program. When the American worker is asked whether he is in sympathy with Bolshevism, what answer can he give? If he is the ordinary newspaper headline reader, he will repeat the stories told him by certain widely read newspapers. If he is an intelligent worker, he will remember that the gruesome stories the papers tell him one day about the doings of the Bolsheviks are denied another day. The newspaper, the only source of information the American worker has on matters outside of his own immediate sphere, does not inform him on what Bolshevism is, as it fails to inform him on many matters, including important American problems. Even if sympathy with the methods and policies of workers in a foreign country were a crime—and it is not under our laws—the American worker is incapable of being guilty of such a crime because he does not know what has really happened, or is happening, in Russia. It is not his fault that he does not know. But because of the prejudice so successfully cultivated by the anti-labor press, "Bolshevism" is hurled as a crushing rock against every labor organization that stands up for the interests of the workers at home. It was for that reason that that charge was made against our organization.

Likewise with the charge of "Sovietism." There may be something undesirable in the word "radicalism," but there is nothing in the words "Bolshevism" or "Sovietism." "Soviet" is the Russian word for "council," a term used by many local and national governments. Soviet is the name for the new form of government in Russia. That is what makes the name so obnoxious to the enemies of Russia. Is the Soviet form of government better or worse than any other form? What information does the American workman get from his newspaper to enable him to draw his own conclusion? But while the information is lacking, the prejudice is there, deep rooted, widespread, and effective. Again it was an appeal to prejudice and hysteria when our enemies charged us with the undefined and unknown crime of Sovietism. Our enemies did not know then and do not know now what Sovietism is. The unpopular name was a strong card for publicity purposes and they played it.

The charge of Sovietism fed the press wires, filled the newspaper columns, enabled greedy mercenaries to draw large fees and pin-head demagogues to pose as saviors of American institutions.

INVESTIGATIONS THREATENED

Before the lockout was one week old the newspapers published sensational stories about "graft in the Amalgamated." One paper carried the following head in huge type across the whole width of its seven column front page: "CLOTHING GRAFT PROBE DEMANDED." The long stories contained not a single positive fact, but very much of irresponsible talk and characterization, holding up the Amalgamated to public scorn as a graft-ridden body, guilty of crimes similar to those revealed by the Lockwood Committee in the building trades. The announcement was made that as soon as Nathan L. Miller assumed the office of governor of New York (January 1, 1921), formal application would be made to him for a thorough investigation of the Amalgamated. The union promised to assist to the utmost in any investigation and expel those members who would be proven guilty of accepting or soliciting bribes. We do not know whether an application was made to Governor Miller, but the promised investigation never materialized. Subsequent threats of investigations by the grand juries of New York County and Kings County (Brooklyn) were likewise made for publicity purposes and character assassination.

At the height of the contest the employers added to their legal staff Archibald Stevenson of Lusk Committee fame. The gentleman had made for himself an unenviable national reputation as a defamer of the labor movement and other progressive movements. He was to give the lockout employers the benefit of his experiences in the Lusk anti-labor crusades. His appointment was to serve the double purpose of bolstering up the failing morale in the employers' camp and impressing the locked out workers with the employers' determination to destroy the Amalgamated.

Reports soon found circulation to the effect that the threats of gubernatorial, legislative, and grand jury investigations having failed, the United States Senate would be asked to institute an investigation of the Amalgamated. On April 8, after a pilgrimage of some leaders of the employers' organization to Washington, Senator Moses of New Hampshire introduced the following resolution in the Senate:

Whereas, It is a matter of public knowledge that during the last five months the manufacture of men's clothing, in the cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and other cities has been seriously hampered and curtailed by strikes, and

Whereas, the said men's clothing industry in the United States produces an annual production to the value of over \$500,000,000, the value of the product of the New York market alone being over \$200,000,000, and

Whereas it appears as the result of these industrial disturbances that the production has been limited to about 25 per cent of normal in these markets, and

Whereas these conditions constitute a vital factor in maintaining the high cost of clothing to the people of the United States,

Now, therefore, be it resolved, That the committee on Labor and Education is hereby authorized and directed through the full committee or through any sub-committee thereof to investigate as speedily as possible the conditions in the clothing industry of the United States, the working conditions therein, the causes of industrial unrest in these industries and its bearing upon the cost of clothing to the public, the purposes, objects, methods and tactics of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and its relations, if any, with other political organizations and quasi-political groups, and to make report to the Senate of such findings.

The said committee is hereby authorized to sit and act at such time and place as it may deem necessary, to require by subpoena, or otherwise, the attendance of witnesses, the production of books, papers and documents; to employ counsel, and stenographers at a cost not exceeding \$1 per printed page. The chairman of the committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses. Subpenas for witnesses shall be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or sub-committee thereof. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee or sub-committee thereof, who wilfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question heretofore authorized shall be held to the penalties provided by Section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The expenses thereof shall be paid from a contingent fund of the Senate on vouchers ordered by the chairman thereof and approved by the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

The senator also issued the following characteristic statement, in which he said, referring to the Amalgamated:

Their declaration of principles in terms provides for the organization of workers along the lines of complete industries rather than on the lines of individual trades.

I see therein a fact which not only accentuates the known differences between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the American Federation of Labor, which is a trades union body, but which goes further, because the Amalgamated is distinctly aiming at a certain adjustment of the clothing industry for the benefit of the workers. It is high time that the people of the United States began to understand what Sovietism in America means.

The following comment by the General Officers was handed to the press:

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT HILLMAN

If this resolution is aimed at the New York situation it seems remarkable to me that it was not introduced or considered several months ago, when 60,000 people were out of work here and a distinct public issue was involved. Now, however, when there are not more than 10,000 idle clothing workers in the market, the rest being employed either in settled clothing shops or temporarily in other industries, I cannot understand why anyone should be pressing for an investigation.

The union did not ask for it. It seems to me that the senators did not think of it unaided, because if they had they would have thought of it months before this. It would be interesting to know who is behind the resolution for an investigation and even more interesting to know why they seek it now rather than at the beginning of the lockout.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHLOSSBERG

We welcome any investigation that will bring out the facts.

We welcome any investigation that will let the American people know that there was peace in every clothing market where the em-

ployers didn't look for war and there was disturbance only in those markets where the employers instituted a lockout.

There has been no large strike in the clothing industry in New York, Boston, Baltimore, and other large cities. The fight in New York, Boston, and Baltimore is not a strike but a lockout. The employers started it and the employers are entirely responsible for it.

At the present time the lockout is nearly over. The union has been victorious in maintaining the union shop and union conditions in most clothing factories involved in the fight and the workers have gone back to work under union agreements. The only restriction of output at the present time is not due to labor, but to a small group of manufacturers, which began the great lockout at a time of unemployment when no orders were available.

When the employers threatened us with an investigation at the beginning of the lockout, we lost no time in assuring them that we welcomed an investigation, but it never materialized. We fail to understand why the employers abandoned the legislative investigation in New York at the beginning of the lockout and are now looking to a congressional investigation. If proper investigation is made the commission will secure sufficient information exposing the conspiracy carried out by the employers when they instituted the lockout.

The commission will also find that when earlier in the struggle the New York State Industrial Commission offered its mediation, the Amalgamated accepted it, while the employers' association rejected it, and further, that when Mayor Hylan of New York appointed a committee to bring about a settlement the union declared itself ready to cooperate with the committee, but not so the employers.

In short, a real investigation will show the public that it was held up by the employers. The Amalgamated will cooperate with any legislative committee in getting at the real facts.

The New York "Globe" of April 29, 1921, paid this tribute to the New Hampshire Senator:

SENATOR MOSES RUSHES IN

It is to be hoped that the Senate will adopt instantly the resolution of Senator Moses calling for an inquiry into the conditions surrounding the manufacturing of clothing in the United States. For a long time, for at least a hundred years, conditions have existed which have ceaselessly and vainly, hitherto, invited the attention and the action of a national lawmaking body. A century ago widows toiling sixteen hours a day on ready-made clothes were unable by their hardest exertions to earn a wage sufficient for self-support, but the Senate cared not for them. During the civil war, when the solution of great issues was rending this republic, women made clothes for soldiers at the rates of pay which by no conceivable effort could have provided the barest necessities of living, but the Senate stirred not. And even now, despite boasted reforms, little children hardly past the bounds of infancy are compelled to "sew on pants" in New York tenements. The clothing industry has long enough called for national consideration and relief. The Senate has a case made for its hands.

Senator Moses, it is only fair to point out, however, had no thought for the human realities of this great industry when yesterday he introduced his resolution. Instead he was using the megaphone of the Senate to obtain a hearing for charges made against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, charges which, incidentally, have been aired in New York courts and pronounced worthless. That prejudice—or was it lack of information?—on the part of Senator Moses vitiates, albeit, in no way the desirability of a Senate inquiry. For the clothing market in New York was virtually closed last December when the workers were locked out by their employers. Since that time offers of mediation have been made and accepted by the workers, but re-

fused by the manufacturers. During this long shutdown the manufacturers of Chicago, Rochester, and Baltimore have maintained friendly relations with the union which Senator Moses regards as menacing. A system of government in industry based on contracts and administered largely by experts called in from American universities has been developed as an example to the world. Meanwhile the conflict has continued in New York, and business which normally came to this city has been diverted to other markets, to the great loss of this community. All this will stand inquiry. In ways of which he never dreamed, Senator Moses can aid the clothing industry and New York. His resolution should not be allowed to sleep.

The New York "World" of April 30, 1921, said:

STILL MORE INVESTIGATIONS

In investigations, no matter to what end they may be directed, Congress has abiding faith. It never wearies of them. It is now the turn of Senator Moses of New Hampshire to urge an investigation into conditions in the clothing industry, the cause of industrial unrest, and particularly "the purposes, objects, methods and tactics of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and its relations, if any, with other political organizations and quasi-political groups." It has been revealed to him that the Amalgamated is a hotbed of Sovietism, and he wants the situation ventilated for the instruction of the American people.

Following the usual course a sub-committee of a Senate committee presumably will hold hearings at various points and examine witnesses. It may take weeks or it may take months; much depends upon the powers of endurance of the members of the investigation committee.

And in due time if the committee of investigation finds that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as an organization is tinctured with Sovietism, what will the Senate do about it? If his worst fears are confirmed, what does Senator Moses purpose to have done?

If the union and the manufacturers cannot settle this quarrel, how can the Senate settle it?

SENATOR BORAH'S RESOLUTION

As stated above, the employers were never absolutely unanimous in either the lockout policy or method. The war party prevailed, however, and went the full course. In the course of the struggle there were the usual ups and downs for each side, which are inevitable before a final decision is reached. The association's counsel announced that a series of court suits for dissolution, injunctions, and damages would be brought against the Amalgamated by the individual employers. Those suits came in rapid succession. The aggregate amount of damages sued for was several million dollars. The loud publicity accompanying each suit served to strengthen the hands of the war party among the employers. Each time the court handed down a decision favorable to the union the war party's stocks dropped with a crash. There was pandemonium when Judge Bijur's decision, as given above, became known. While those legal battles were going on, the union was making steady progress in affecting settlements. Each important settlement shook the ground under the war party's feet. As the conviction grew upon the employers that on the whole the Amalgamated was winning the fight, they rose in wrath against the lockout leaders. It was for the purpose of over-

coming that insurgency that dramatic gestures like the Senate investigation threat were made. Senator Moses seemed willing to lend himself to the schemes of the lockout makers. But other Senators resented the attempt to make of the United States Senate an instrumentality for bringing the sweatshop back into the clothing industry. They favored a real investigation into all elements of the clothing situation. Accordingly, on May 4, 1921, Senator Borah of Idaho brought into the Senate the following resolution to replace the one of Senator Moses:

Resolved. That the Committee on Labor and Education is hereby authorized and directed through the full committee, or through any sub-committee thereof, to investigate, as speedily as possible, the conditions in the clothing industry of the United States, including the working conditions therein; the causes of the industrial unrest in these industries in the various clothing centers in the United States and its bearing upon the cost of clothing to the public, and as bearing upon such cost, the methods and costs of manufacturing clothing in the various clothing centers of the United States; the cost and selling price of woolen cloth and other materials used in the manufacturing of clothing, and the methods of sale and distribution of such woolen cloth and other materials, and also the cost and selling price of retailers of clothing throughout the United States; the rise in the wholesale and retail cost of clothing during the past seven years and the causes thereof; the profits in the manufacture and sale of clothing, both retail and wholesale, by years during the past seven years; the reason for the present industrial dispute in New York City and the presence, or absence, of any disputes in other large cities; the conditions of labor, with special reference to the contracting system and sweatshops prior to the organization of the workers, and since; the purpose, objects, methods and tactics of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and its relations, if any, with political organizations and quasi-political groups; the purposes, objects, methods, and tactics of clothing manufacturers' associations, especially in New York city, and their relations, business or political, with organizations engaged in the so-called open shop campaign; the relations of retailers, and retailers' associations, if any, with organizations engaged in the so-called open shop campaign, and with political organizations and quasi-political groups; and to make a report to the Senate of such findings.

The said committee is hereby authorized to sit and act at such time and place as it may deem necessary, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of witnesses, the production of books, papers, and stenographers at a cost not exceeding \$1.25 per printed page. The chairman of the committee, or any member thereof, may administer oaths to witnesses. Subpenas for witnesses shall be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or sub-committee thereof. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee or any sub-committee thereof, wilfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer questions pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The expenses thereof shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate on vouchers ordered by the sub-committee, signed by the chairman thereof, and approved by the Committee on Audit and Control of the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The "heroic" measures taken by the gentlemen whose ambitious task was to destroy the Amalgamated were a last effort to maintain their slipping hold upon the Clothing Manufacturers' Association. Their maneuver was unsuccessful. The president, the two legal

luminaries responsible for the industrial disturbance, and a group of "irreconcilable" members "resigned."

As the resignations of Gitchell and his staff in November were followed by a declaration of war, so were the resignations of the war makers followed by a treaty of peace. Within a few days an understanding was reached and an agreement concluded between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the Clothing Manufacturers' Association.

The defeated "warriors" proved poor losers. After their "resignations" and the settlement of the lockout they still continued their campaign of slander against the Amalgamated in the public press and with the United States senators. When the organization learned of it President Hillman sent the following letter to Senator William S. Kenyon, chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, which was in charge of the investigation resolution:

The stenographic record of the hearing held before your committee on Thursday, June 2, 1921, has just reached me. The statements of William A. Bandler and Archibald Stevenson therein contained are characterized by malice and gross inaccuracy.

Such loose-tongued utterances not only do grave injustice to the workers and manufacturers who take their public obligations seriously, but also, by provoking a contentious spirit within the industry, do great mischief to the consuming public.

In view of these considerations, I feel that I should be remiss in my duty to you, to the industry and to the public if I permitted the statements of these gentlemen to stand uncorrected.

I therefore respectfully ask that you grant my colleagues and myself an early opportunity to present to your committee the facts, together with the names of manufacturers and distinguished economists upon whose disinterested corroboration I am prepared to rely.

On June 9 President Hillman appeared and testified before the committee. A summary of his testimony was published in *Advance* of June 17, 1921. It read in part as follows:

President Hillman appeared at his own request, following reports that President Bandler of the "irreconcilable" New York employers, and his counsel Archibald Stevenson, formerly with the New York Lusk committee, had appeared before the Senate committee to press for an investigation along the lines of the original Moses resolution. This original resolution would have investigated only the union. It was replaced by Senator Borah's resolution, which asks for a study of the manufacturers, the retailers, and the woolen manufacturers as well.

President Hillman's attitude throughout was that the Amalgamated was not asking for an investigation, but that if one was decided on by the committee, the union would do all in its power to assist in getting the facts. The Amalgamated can not be hurt by the truth, he showed. The union does, however, resent the attempt of its enemies to use the investigation as a chance for a widespread campaign of vilification and misrepresentation in the newspapers. The newspapers, on the other hand, would not be likely to give equal prominence to the union's more accurate and untheatrical presentation of its side.

Attacks Not Representative

Senator Kenyon, chairman of the committee, began the hearing with a brief statement that Hillman had asked to be heard in answer to Bandler and Stevenson. Hillman began at once to explain the

attacks by these men as being not representative of the views of the actual employers in the industry, since 85 per cent of the men's clothing manufacturers in the New York market are now under contractual relations with the Amalgamated. These enemies were not interested in the industry, except to the degree that they gained fees by attacking the union. Bandler had been out of the firm, with which he was ostensibly connected, for the past year.

Senator Sterling at this point asked some questions about the membership, their number and nationality. Hillman answered that the 177,000 members included about 30 per cent native Americans, 30 per cent Jewish, 20 per cent Italians, and other national stocks in smaller numbers. At least 75 per cent of them are citizens, and about the same proportion speak English, he said.

Inside Story of Lockout

"What is the issue in dispute?" asked Sterling.

Hillman at once entered on the inside story of the long New York lockout. He explained that seven months ago the small element in the New York association of manufacturers which was opposed to the contractual relations then existing between the union and the manufacturers in every principal market on the continent, had begun an agitation to break down the arbitration agreement.

Under this agreement all disputes arising in that market went to an industrial court, at the head of which was an impartial chairman chosen by both sides—Dr. W. M. Leiserson. Commercial depression had been used to foment strife and distrust, and finally the "war party" had prevailed and the agreement had been broken by the manufacturers, he said.

Hillman recited the presentation of the manufacturers' seven points to the union for conference last September; the agreement in conference between himself and Major Gitchell, for the manufacturers, upon four points to be submitted to their organizations; the sudden dismissal of Gitchell and his staff; the placing of a notorious anti-union lawyer in charge as the manufacturers' "secretary for war," and the beginning of the six months' lockout of over 60,000 union members in New York.

He told of their peaceful picketing, their strong support from many directions, their own determination, and their final triumph in restoring the old conditions of peaceable, mutual submission of all disputes to arbitration under an impartial voluntary court.

Senator Borah asked Hillman to describe the old sweatshop horrors and the foul tenement conditions under which army uniforms were being made in 1915, until the union protested to Washington. Hillman told how the government investigations in 1914 showed 10,000 women in the industry getting an average of \$5 or less for a week supposed to cover fifty-four hours but really much longer. Men received about twice that amount. Little children worked with their parents in bedroom shops, handling soldiers' clothing.

Hillman claimed for the Amalgamated the credit for mobilizing the decent instincts in the workers for a real American standard of living and of production. He placed squarely upon the anti-union employers the guilt of seeking to keep immigrants away from contact with American ideals in industry, in order that their misery might coin profits for the employers.

President Hillman was asked what attitude the Amalgamated took toward the proposed investigation of the clothing industry by Congress.

"We do not see the necessity for it," he replied, "but if it is decided upon we shall be glad to co-operate in every manner possible. We do not see its necessity, because 85 per cent of the clothing manufacturers are now working in agreement with us. I think it a bad thing that the remaining minority of 15 per cent should be in a position to demand such an investigation. Rather would I ask you to call into these informal hearings men like Bell, Leiserson, and Millis,

men who have functioned as the choice of both employers and workers, and that you invite representatives of Hart, Schaffner & Marx or of the Rochester Clothiers' Exchange to testify before you.

"What we emphatically object to is that a certain small group should make certain sensational charges carried across the country by the Associated Press. These charges are disproven afterward, to be sure, but the denials, since they are dispassionate and unsensational, do not command nearly as much newspaper space and are, in many cases, not read by the persons who first read the charges."

The frantic efforts of the enemies of labor to persuade the Senate committee to institute a persecution of the Amalgamated as contemplated by the Moses resolution proved useless. As far as we know the Senate committee held no hearings subsequent to the one of June 9, and no "investigation" of the kind sought by the foes of the Amalgamated was made.

INJUNCTIONS

In the employers' anti-labor arsenal the injunction is one of the most effective weapons. It has become a permanent and powerful factor in industrial disputes. There is hardly a strike or lockout, great or small, without it. Since the war the injunction has even been used to forbid the lawful act of calling a strike.

In our report to the Boston Convention we said:

An injunction may forbid the payment of strike benefits and even peaceful picketing, which is otherwise allowed by law. Wherever such injunctions are issued, the labor organization affected is seriously handicapped, however strong the solidarity of the workers. It is upon this advantage that a hostile employer is banking when he asks for an injunction. A temporary injunction is usually followed by a hearing at which the union must show cause why the injunction should not be made permanent. Whenever such a hearing is delayed, sufficient damage is done by the temporary injunction, which is granted without a hearing, to make the denial of a permanent injunction valueless.

The injunction originated in old England, in the distant past, in the course of the struggle against usurpation of power. In America it has become an instrument in the hands of the employers to defeat the workers in industrial struggles. Upon that alone the fame of the injunction as an institution rests in this country. Organized labor has made strenuous efforts to secure relief from that oppressive iniquity which gives the employers a commanding advantage over the workers in addition to the tremendous advantages inherent in the possession of wealth. In their hunt for workers' votes politicians have made promises, and passed some legislation to redeem their promises. But that legislation has proved a farce. The injunction has not been disturbed. On the contrary, as the enemies of labor are growing more arrogant and brazen, because of their increasing power, the injunction is becoming a greater menace.

Of the numerous suits brought against us in the courts, two were for the dissolution of the Amalgamated, some for damages, all for injunctions.

On January 29, 1921, the first suit was filed. It was by the firm of J. Friedman & Co. The action was for an injunction, \$500,000 damages, and dissolution.

The first injunction forbidding picketing was granted March 7, 1921, by Justice Erlanger to J. Skolny & Co. Justice Erlanger's decision in full follows:

Plaintiff brought this action against Sidney Hillman individually and as general president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, an unincorporated association and against Jacob S. Potofsky, individually and as assistant general secretary of the said association. Many other parties are joined as defendants in the summons and caption of the complaint, but the two persons mentioned alone were served and the action is being prosecuted solely against them up to this time.

A brief synopsis of the material facts alleged in the complaint follows: Plaintiffs are manufacturers of men's and boys' clothing; their principal place of business is in the Borough of Manhattan; they operate factories in both of the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn; their annual output is approximately three millions of dollars; that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is an unincorporated membership association with an approximate membership of 175,000 and is an association of workers in the clothing trades in, among other cities, the city of New York and has its principal office in the Borough of Manhattan; that said association of workers, according to its constitution, is governed, managed and controlled by a general executive board consisting of eleven members, of whom three are the general president, general secretary and financial secretary, and eight are the general executive board members; that by its constitution it was at all the times hereinafter mentioned, and still is provided that the general executive board shall have the right, power and authority to call and authorize strikes and to direct and declare boycotts.

That at the times hereafter mentioned the individual members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America were and still are members of certain local unions of said defendant, authorized, created and constituted by said defendant and composed of workers in certain branches of the clothing industry in the United States and particularly in the city of New York and for the purpose of a more complete control and management of the business of said Amalgamated Clothing Workers it has created and authorized the formation of a joint board; that the various local unions in the city of New York elect and select representatives upon said board in said city and that said board has, subject to the review and control by the general executive board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, jurisdiction of all matters and things affecting the defendant Amalgamated Clothing Workers and of the members thereof employed and working in the city of New York, etc.

On January 27, 1921, plaintiff entered into contracts with certain persons who agreed to work for them in certain capacities from week to week and such employment was upon the express understanding that such employees had ceased to be affiliated with the defendant Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (if they were so affiliated) or with any other union, and that they would not join the said association or any other union while in plaintiff's employ nor make any effort to bring about the unionizing of plaintiff's employees. That under the terms of this agreement which was in writing, the various persons signatory to the same entered upon their employment, of which fact the association had due notice.

That in violation of the contract rights of plaintiff and contrary to the terms of said contracts of employment and without any complaint, grievance or dispute among said employees and with the intent and purpose solely of preventing the plaintiffs from doing any busi-

ness and ruining the plaintiff's said business and bringing about disorder therein and chaos into the community, the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America prior to the commencement of this action unlawfully and maliciously agreed together, confederated and combined and formed themselves into a conspiracy, the purpose of which they are proceeding to carry out, to cause plaintiffs' factory to be shut down, their plant to remain idle, their contracts to be broken and unfulfilled until such time as plaintiffs shall submit to the demand of said Amalgamated Workers to unionize their factory and by employing workers who shall be members of and subject to the orders of said association and in furtherance of said conspiracy and unlawful combination are wrongfully and unlawfully instigating plaintiffs' employees to cease working for plaintiffs and to join said association in the accomplishment of the aforesaid purposes.

That the members of said association have caused, sanctioned and directed and are conducting a strike against plaintiffs and their factory and the members of said association have been and still are wrongfully and unlawfully instigating persons to become engaged in the practice of picketing plaintiffs' factory and to congregate about the premises coercing, threatening, assaulting, intimidating, halting, and turning aside against their will those who would go to and from plaintiffs' place of business and those who are working under the contracts referred to and those who would seek work with plaintiffs and have been and are enticing employees under contract with plaintiffs to desert their employment and to breach their contracts and join said association and hampering and hindering the free dispatch of plaintiffs' business.

That plaintiffs have invested a large amount of money in their business which is being jeopardized and that unless defendants are restrained the defendants will continue in the aforesaid acts to plaintiffs' irreparable injury and damage. That plaintiffs have no adequate remedy at law. An injunction is prayed for that the acts of the defendants be decreed to be a common law conspiracy and in unreasonable restraint of trade and a conspiracy against the rights of non-union workers. That the acts mentioned in the prayer of the complaint be restrained, etc.

The two defendants served, by their answers specifically deny the acts charged against them and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. They also move for judgment on the pleadings. The plaintiffs move for an injunction *pendente lite*. These will be considered in their order. Two objections are urged which it is contended are fatal to the plaintiffs' cause. The first is directed to the violation of the section of the code which permits actions to be brought against unincorporated associations, and under the second, it is claimed that the complaint is insufficient because it fails to allege facts showing liability of all the membership, consisting of 175,000 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

It is argued under the first that an unincorporated association is not a legal entity and cannot be sued apart from its membership; that all rights against it must be enforced against all its members, and similarly all rights in its favor must be sought by all. (5 Corpus Juris 1365—Sec. 102).

To obviate the difficulties in that regard, section 1919 of the code was enacted and by that section a simple method is provided by permitting an action to be maintained against either the president or treasurer to bring the entire membership before the court. Both cannot be sued, the disjunctive *or* particularly excludes that idea—a choice is given to select one of the two or if that simple mode is not preferred section 1923 of the code preserves the common law right of suing all. The plaintiffs did not proceed in strict conformity to section 1919 of the code.

They sued Hillman individually as well as president, and Potofsky individually and as assistant secretary, and then as shown other officers

and agents of the association was attempted to be joined. This procedure is not sanctioned. (Schmidt vs. Gunther, 5 Daly 452-453). But I do not think because of the practice followed that the complaint should be condemned if in fact a cause of action is alleged against the president. The same question arose in Rourke vs. Elk Drug Co. (75 A. D. 145) and it was there held that such procedure was not fatal. At the appropriate time application can be made to the Special Term to strike out from the summons and complaint the unnecessary parties and ample authority is to be found for such action. (Boyd vs. U. S. Mortgage & Trust Co., 187 N. Y. 262; Johnson vs. Phoenix Bridge Co., 197 N. Y. 316; Helling vs. Boss, 121 N. Y. Supp. 1013).

We come now to the second ground which attacks the legal sufficiency of the complaint. Many cases are cited in support of the point thus urged. It is argued that the test of sufficiency to be applied is, does the complaint allege that all of the 175,000 members are liable either jointly or severally for the acts charged or jointly liable because of the acts of agents duly constituted and appointed? Counsel for defendant asserts it does not and it is also maintained that not only must liability of all be alleged but proof thereof is a *sine qui non* for success upon the trial.

In other words, unless it is alleged and can be established upon the trial that this large number of members are each individually liable because of what each did, authorized or ratified, no cause of action exists. In my opinion the 15th paragraph of the complaint covers the point, and Hitchman Coal & Coke Co. vs. Mitchell (245 U. S. 229), decided by the Supreme Court of the United States is decisive on that detail. The court, through Mr. Justice Pitney there said: "When any numbers of persons associate themselves together in the prosecution of a common plan or enterprise lawful or unlawful, from the very act of association *there arises a kind of partnership, each member being constituted the agent of all*, so that the act or declaration of one in furtherance of the common object is the act of all and is admissible as primary and original evidence against all."

This pronouncement of the court when read in the light of the charges made in the complaint justifies the form in which the wrong is alleged and renders the complaint immune from attack for the grounds insisted upon. Pleadings are to be liberally construed. The tendency of the courts is to get away from the technical rules which has fettered justice. The allegation of the wrongs are alleged in general terms. When it is charged that the defendants combined to do the acts of injury complained of, it means all and charges all; and all are liable within the authorities.

In the last analysis do the papers show grounds for the injunction? At one time denial of the equities of the bill defeated the application for such relief. That time is gone. Acts which amount to a crime are not usually admitted. Courts look into the merits of the motion. It is now the rule that only a prima facie case need be made, and if the court can spell from the papers that that has been shown, it has been held to be enough. (Sultan vs. Star Co., 106 Misc. 43; Lawrence vs. Lawrence, 172 Supp. 146.)

The plaintiffs claim that they have established an open shop; that employment in their factories depends upon an agreement in writing from week to week with their employees; that they have ceased to be affiliated with any union while so employed, and that they will abstain from all efforts to bring about the unionizing of plaintiffs' employees.

Such are the conditions of the employment and those conditions the signatories to the agreement have obligated themselves voluntarily to abide by. This form of agreement has been upheld in Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. vs. Mitchell, *supra*. The affidavits presented by plaintiffs support the charges alleged in the complaint. The defendants deny the charges, not all, but most of them. Some denials, those referring to the charge of assault, are made by affiants who were not

present and could have no knowledge on the subject. But it is admitted by one of the pickets that "whenever they think that some one is a prospective employee of the firm they go to him quietly and merely inform such person that there is a lockout."

It is quite impossible to quote from all the affidavits submitted pro and con. Plaintiffs claim that their troubles resulted from a strike of their employees. The defendants assert there was a lockout against them and what they are doing is entirely within their rights. They attack the form of plaintiffs' contract and insist they are invalid because no definite time is fixed and the employee can be discharged at any moment; that they are invalid for lack of consideration; that there is no evidence of an intent to procure a breach of them; that their picketing is lawful; that they have a right to combine to strike and to persuade others to join them to improve their economic condition; that they had no notice of plaintiffs' contract, etc., etc.

It is clearly established that picketing is lawful—that a man may work or not as he shall choose; that he may strike with others and peaceably seek others to join. But it is equally well settled that a worker may work wheresoever it pleases him; that he may labor and provide for himself and family without being subjected to the danger of assault or threat of bodily harm; that he cannot be compelled to join a union if he is not disposed to do so; that employees may not be enticed from their employment by threats or otherwise; that the right to live and let live is a God given right to be observed by all, and that all rights, whether of great or lesser magnitude, will be protected by the courts which the people have created for the common protection of all.

Intimidation does not necessarily carry with it an act of violence. The application of the term "scab," the use of insulting epithets, the fear of going back and forth from the workshop, and visitations at the home of workers and threatening them if they did not quit working for plaintiffs, that the union would see to it if they won the strike that they would never again get employment in the clothing trade and the like has been found effective. It is a silent weapon but carries with it a menacing attitude. (*Michaels vs. Hillman*, 112 Misc. 395).

Parties placed in the position of plaintiffs and their workmen are not obliged to resort to criminal proceedings for protection against unlawful combinations or conspiracies. Under modern decisions courts of equity are more apt to restore order and confidence than doubtful results in a criminal court. (*Heitkamper vs. Hoffman*, 99 Misc. 543-546.)

The differences that exist between capital and labor are not of recent origin. Dug from among the causes celebres of an almost forgotten age the Journeymen Cordwainers case is a living example. The case is entitled *People of the State of New York against Melvin and others*. (*Yates Select Cases*, Vol. 1, page 81.)

In that case a number of workmen were indicted in 1809 for conspiracy. The first count of the indictment states that the defendants being workmen and journeymen in the art, mystery, and manual occupation of cordwainers, on the 18th of October, 1809, etc., unlawfully, perniciously and deceitfully designing and intending to form and unite themselves into an unlawful club and combination, and to make and ordain unlawful by-laws, rules and orders among themselves and thereby to govern themselves and other workmen in the said art, and unlawfully and unjustly to extort great sums of money by means thereof, on the day and year aforesaid, with force of arms, at etc., together with divers other workmen and journeymen in the same art, etc. . . . did unlawfully assemble and meet together, and being so, etc., did then and there, unjustly and corruptly conspire, combine and confederate and agree together, that none of them, the said conspirators, after the said 18th of October, would work for any master or person whatsoever, in the said art, mystery and occupation, who should employ

any workmen or journeymen, or other person in the said art, not being a member of said club or combination, after notice given, etc., to discharge such workmen, etc., from the employ of such master, etc."

Article VIII of their constitution reads as follows: "No member of this society shall work for an employer that has any journeymen cordwainer, or his apprentice in his employment that do not belong to this society, unless the journeymen come and join the same; and should any member work on the seat with any person or persons that has not joined this society, and do not report the same to the president, the first meeting night after it comes to his knowledge, shall pay a fine of \$1." Article IX, "If any employer should reduce his journeymen's wages at any time, or should the said journeyman find himself otherwise aggrieved, by reporting the same to the committee at their next meeting, they shall lay the case before the society, who shall determine on what measures to take to redress the same." Article XVII fixes the wage of the journeymen in the city of New York. The case was sent to the jury who found the defendants guilty and thereupon they were fined \$1 each with costs. Many of the acts in the cited case bear a strong resemblance to those complained of in the instant case, and were treated and punished as a common law conspiracy. Though infrequently cited, so far as I have been able to discover, it is still authority and has been given approval in *Davis vs. Zimmerman*, 91 Hun. 492, and in *New York Central Iron Works vs. Brennan*, 105 Supp. 865-869. My conclusion is that the motion for an injunction pendente lite should be granted. Settle order on notice at which time the amount of the undertaking to be given will be considered.

LOOKING BACKWARD TO THE MIDDLE AGES

Granting the above restraining order to one of the New York clothing manufacturers against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, whose members these manufacturers had locked out of employment, Justice Erlanger went back more than a century for guidance and authority.

The United States of today resembles the United States of 1809 just as much as a man in the prime of life resembles himself when he was a helpless babe struggling to stand on his own feet.

In 1809 the republic was thirty-three years old and the federal constitution twenty-two years. The area and the population of the United States were but very small parts of what they are today. Since 1809 the constitution, under the pressure of changing conditions, has been recast in some very vital respects, and the frontier line moved across the vast continent to the Pacific coast. The wealth and power of this country are unparalleled among the nations of the world. Since 1809 the world in general and the United States in particular have moved thousands of years; have made greater progress than in all preceding ages. Since 1809 the railroad has come into being, the telegraph, the telephone, electricity, and all of the most wonderful machines which are doing the work of men. Since 1809 the world has been several times reborn, as it were. Monarchies have been overthrown and replaced by republics; small and weak countries united into great and powerful empires; proud empires humiliated, dismembered, and reduced to impotence. Since 1809 our own country has fought a number of wars, including a Civil War and a World War. Each war was a milestone marking important changes, some of them very fundamental, in the life of the

nation. Since 1809 the industrial revolution, the inauguration of the machine age in industry, begun in Europe at the time of the birth of the American republic, has transformed the industrial and social life of the old world and the new. Since 1809 powerful labor movements have developed in all countries, attaining valuable rights for the workers. Since 1809 the labor movement in this and other countries has passed out of the stage of illegal conspiracy and been recognized as a legitimate movement and a great and unsuppressible social-force.

It is, therefore, amazing to see a judge go back to the nineteenth century, almost to the very beginning of our national life, with no industrial institutions as we know them today, for inspiration in dealing with master and man relations in the twentieth century.

What was the social philosophy underlying master and man relations in those days? The answer is given clearly in the case of the Philadelphia cordwainers in 1806. The proceedings in that case bear the following title: "The Trial of the Boot and Shoemakers of Philadelphia on an indictment for a Combination and Conspiracy to Raise their Wages." In his charge to the jury the judge said: "A combination of workmen to raise their wages may be considered in a two fold point of view: One is to benefit themselves . . . the other is to injure those who do not join their society. The rule of law condemns both." The title page of the New York proceedings (1809) reads: "Trial of the journeymen cordwainers of the City of New York for a conspiracy to raise their wages." The verdict of the jury was "Guilty."

The social philosophy which denounced as a conspiracy an attempt on the part of the workers to organize and improve their wages, may be traced straight back to the fourteenth century, when the English Statute of Laborers made it a crime for workers to ask for better wages.

In the middle of the fourteenth century the Black Plague, which was raging all over Europe, killed about one-third of the workers in England. The rising cost of living due to the scourge and the scarcity of labor had the inevitable effect of causing the workers to ask for better pay. In order to check that, laws were enacted, fixing a maximum of wages, or, rather, providing that wages remain the same as before the plague. Workers accepting more than the legal maximum were imprisoned, and employers paying more were fined. The laws also empowered landowners to seize workers and compel them to work at statutory wages. The laws further prescribed physical tortures for workers who would not submit. Workers were put in stocks and exposed to public scorn. Communities which failed to provide such stocks were fined. Workers would also have their ears cut and the letter S (Servant) or V (Vagabond) branded on their foreheads.

The enforcement of the law called for constant amendment. At one time it was enacted, according to the English law books, "that carters, ploughmen and other servants, should be allowed to serve by the year, or by some other usual term; and not by the day. All workmen to bring their implements openly into town, and there be

hired in a common place, and by no means in a secret one." Certain prices were fixed for a day's work of mowers, reapers, and others. Servants were to be sworn twice a year, before the lords, bailiffs, stewards, and constables of every town. And those who refused to take such oaths, to perform the work they engaged for, were to be put in the stocks, by the above officers, for three days or more, or to be sent to the next gaol, there to remain till they would justify themselves.

Artificers who absented themselves from their work were to be branded with a hot iron on the forehead, with the mark of the letter F to denote the falsity they had been guilty of in breaking the oath by which they had bound themselves, according to the former statute, to serve.

For thirty years the government continued intensifying the penalties for the dissatisfied workers and in the end the laws had to be dropped.

While those laws were abandoned at the end of the fourteenth century their spirit seems to have remained to this day.

In New York one judge said that there is no such thing as lawful picketing; this, in spite of the fact that both by acts of legislatures, repeated court decisions, and general approval, peaceful persuasion has been universally accepted as lawful and permissible picketing.

In Boston a judge issued a sweeping injunction against the Amalgamated, forbidding all picketing although chapter 690, Acts of 1913, of Massachusetts, specifically permits picketing by peaceful persuasion. Thus the law which is advantageous to locked out and striking workers was set aside by the injunction.

The Boston firm to which the injunction was granted deliberately broke its agreement with the Amalgamated. The dispute between that firm and the workers was not over wages but over the workers' right to organize as the employers do.

This was also the issue in New York. The workers were not striking for higher wages; they were locked out because of their being organized, and in the hope of breaking their organization by means of the lockout.

In the 1809 case the attorney for the indicted shoe workers said in course of his argument in court: "These masters enter without fear into a sordid combination to oppress the journeymen; and if the workmen meet in opposition to them, they forthwith sound the alarm, and spread the cry of treason and conspiracy."

Thus we learn that this treason and conspiracy cry did not begin with us: it has been the time honored policy of all oppressive employers. In our case the "preamble" was the convenient excuse, because we did not ask for higher wages: in 1809 the demand for higher wages was the frank and bold reason given for the charge of treason and conspiracy though there was no "preamble" issue.

In 1809 the workers were indicted and convicted on a charge of conspiracy because, as charged in the indictment, they organized "unlawfully, perniciously and deceitfully" and "falsely and fraudulently conspired, etc., unjustly and oppressively to increase and aug-

ment the wages of themselves and other workmen." Those indicted workers were not called "Bolsheviki" and were not charged with "Sovietizing" the industry because 112 years ago those names were still unborn.

Let those who wish look to the dead past for encouragement. Our vision is in the future. There our hope lies. And our struggle against industrial oppression will be conducted with all the greater determination as obstacles are placed in our path to obstruct it.

We have definitely passed out of the middle ages and out of the nineteenth century. We are living and working and fighting in the twentieth century for twentieth century aims and ideals. Our march forward will go right on.

On March 30, 1921, Justice Van Sicten, in the Supreme Court of Kings County, N. Y., granting a restraining order against the Amalgamated to the firm of Schwartz & Jaffee, handed down a most amazing opinion, in which he said:

They [the courts] must stand at all times as the representatives of capital, of captains of industry, devoted to the principle of individual initiative, protect property and persons from violence and destruction, strongly opposed to all schemes for the nationalization of industry, and yet save labor from oppression and conciliatory toward the removal of the workers' just grievances.

Herewith the decision in full:

The plaintiff corporation, a manufacturer of clothing, makes application to this court for an order enjoining the defendants during the pendency of this action from doing acts injurious to the plaintiff's business which, it is alleged, consist of unlawful picketing, threats, molestation, intimidation, interference with contracts of employment, and instigating, waging and continuing a strike among plaintiff's employees. The defendants oppose the motion in every particular. The relief sought by the plaintiff is to perpetually and permanently enjoin the defendants from doing the acts sought to be restrained and for an adjudication that the defendant Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is a conspiracy in restraint of trade and against the rights of non-union workmen, and for the personal judgment.

It appears from the moving papers that in December, 1920, the defendant union called a strike against the plaintiff and that since that time the plaintiff has not recognized the defendant union, but, on the other hand, has determined and done everything in its power to return to what the plaintiff claims to be the "open shop" policy and entered into individual contracts with all of its employees whereby said employee agreed to become, or remain during the period of employment, non-union. Thereafter, it appears the defendants' pickets and others, at the direction of the defendant union, resorted to extreme violence upon those in the employ of plaintiff and that it is to secure relief from such condition that this application is made.

The plaintiff's contention is that those named as defendants herein are the principal, general and local officers and certain members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a national organization having local unions under its jurisdiction and that the acts complained of have been done, directed, instigated, or authorized and approved by the defendant, and that all of the individuals committing said acts of violence are either members of the defendant union, employed by it, or swayed and directed by the leaders and those in charge of the activities of the defendant union. It is claimed that the defendant union is not a branch of the American Federation of

Labor, but a secession movement from the United Garment Workers of America, which organization from 1914 to 1919 was recognized generally by the clothing manufacturers and that said manufacturers had contracts and agreements with said union which were, to all intents and purposes, exclusively non-union; that from August, 1919, to August, 1920, the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York, of which the plaintiff is a member, had a so called collective agreement with the defendant union herein and that after said August 26, 1920, said agreement was not renewed, with the resultant almost daily strikes and troubles of various kinds which continued until December, 1920, when all relations between the two were severed, and immediately thereafter the defendant union called out on a strike all of plaintiff's employees. Since that time, plaintiff claims that its factory in the Borough of Brooklyn and place of business in the Borough of Manhattan have been picketed, most of the pickets being plaintiff's former employees; that these pickets intimidated, threatened and insulted plaintiff's employees as they came to and left their place of employment and in addition thereto, the employees and workers of the plaintiff were assaulted and such serious injuries inflicted on some that it was necessary to resort to the courts and to the grand jury. Plaintiff contends that the activities of the defendant union have continued and it is attempting by force and violence and threats and persuasion to entice the plaintiff's employees away and to break their contracts with the plaintiff and to join the defendant union; that in order to succeed, the defendant has voted a large sum of money for that purpose, has held public meetings at which defendant's officers or leaders have counselled and advised the members to acts of violence and to do the very acts complained of by the plaintiff and which it claims threaten to wholly destroy its business. By affidavit and otherwise, the plaintiff sets forth fully specific acts of violence practiced on plaintiff and its employees by the defendant union members, pickets or those advised, swayed or controlled by them, against which plaintiff claims it can obtain no relief other than by injunction.

The defendant union seeks to meet the charges and allegations of the plaintiff and its complaint by disclaiming that the defendants are responsible for any of the acts complained of, even though some of the members of the defendant union or its locals may have participated or been implicated in the unlawful acts charged. However, it appears from all the papers, sufficient for the purpose of this motion, that the real control of the entire situation is with the defendant union, its officers and directors and those who advise, direct and control the course and conduct of the union and its members. Manifestly no other result could reasonably be expected to follow, when the speeches at the meetings, the advice and counsel of the officers and leaders of the defendant union and the very purpose and character of the existence of the defendant union and its activities in the strike called against the plaintiff are considered. From the foregoing, the defendant union will not be heard to deny that it called said strike and to now assert that instead of the defendant being in a conspiracy with the former employees of the plaintiff to ruin the plaintiff's business, the plaintiff and other manufacturers allied with it are seeking to destroy the defendant union. Further, the defendant union claims that the former employees of the plaintiff want to go back to work, but fails to state the conditions to be insisted upon. Plaintiff has offered to take the former employees back to work and stated its conditions, which the defendant union, of course, will not accept.

The defendant admits that there is picketing of plaintiff's places of business, but declares that it is by the individual employees after the "lockout" in December, 1920, without any instigation or direction of the defendant union; that the defendant union has nothing to do with the pickets and that, therefore, the injunction sought against picketing must be denied. In the brief presented on behalf of the defendants,

the defendants, in spite of the fact that they deny any responsibility for the picketing alleged, in the strongest terms assert that picketing is lawful, that it has a highly useful purpose, and uphold the manner and method of picketing complained of in this very action. The defendant also disputes any merit to the plaintiff's claim that relief should be afforded the plaintiff as to its contracts of employment. The defendant, however, does not in any wise question the contracts which it imposed upon the employers from 1914 to 1919, but claims that defendant should not be restrained because it is not shown that the defendant's acts are willful or malicious and that the plaintiff and other manufacturers cannot, by forcing upon the workers such a contract, practically paralyze the activities of the defendant union, its members, and workers generally. In any event, the defendants say that the pickets did nothing to induce a breach of said contracts. As to the assaults and other acts of violence, the defendant's answer is that the defendant Hillman and the other individual defendants above named are not shown to be in any way connected with the same and that the guilty individuals should be prosecuted. Finally, the defendant's contention is that the relief sought by the plaintiff should be denied because it comes into court with unclean hands. If the papers presented show that the plaintiff is unclean and that it has entered into a conspiracy to destroy the defendant union and to oppress its members and prevent workers generally from obtaining a living, the plaintiff should be turned out of court even though it appears that both parties should be reviewed. It seems from all the papers submitted upon this motion that both the plaintiff and the defendants herein named have been fully advised for a long time prior to the commencement of this action as to the course of conduct of each and every turn of the affairs and activities of all concerned, so that no one should now be heard to deny the responsibility and liability therefor.

The issue between the parties is nothing more than the old conflict between capital and labor. The swing of the pendulum is influenced almost entirely by the law of supply and demand, and neither capital nor labor at any time is satisfied to be governed by the length or sweep to and fro. Prior to December, 1920, when the trouble between the parties hereto became acute, and from 1914 to the last mentioned date, the swing was entirely to the side of labor, enabling it to force upon capital demands and contracts of employment exclusive as to non-union or unorganized workers, and therefore oppressive. Now, and perhaps for a few years to come, the pendulum swing will be to the side of capital, which in turn will force upon labor, contracts equally oppressive and exclusive as to union or organized workers. It will be seen that at no time is there what may be termed, the true "open shop." The authorities seem to uphold both forms of contract and commend them except, perhaps, when it can be determined or proven that the same are oppressive, or a result of conspiracy, or in restraint of trade. A peculiar slant to the whole situation is that the worker of today may become the master of tomorrow; from the radical to the conservative by mere change of circumstances and position. Nevertheless, there will be no change in their relationship. When capital has the upper hand it will continue to grind down labor, and when labor is in the ascendant it will in turn continue to harass, cheat, and seek to either control or destroy capital. Neither at any time is willing to give the quid pro quo, and the never ceasing conflict goes on.

There can be no real solution of the problem, as old as our civilization, unless the foundation therefor is established by law. Labor, labor unions, or organized labor have their place and use; capital and organization thereof, likewise. But both must be made to know and to keep their respective proper places and use by law, to change only by the ever fluctuating force of supply and demand. Such a medium would prevent both extreme conservatism or autocracy, and extreme radicalism or sovietism.

Can the courts step in between capital and labor to strike the medium and balance the scales? There must be in the conflict justice somewhere, somehow at all time. The courts cannot find the balancing point by boxing the compass of judicial opinion from extreme radicalism to ultra-conservatism. They must stand at all times as the representatives of capital, of captains of industry, devoted to the principle of individual initiative, protect property and persons from violence and destruction, strongly opposed to all schemes for the nationalization of industry, and yet save labor from oppression and conciliatory toward the removal of the workers' just grievances. The prosperity of the nation depends on constructive legislation, backed up by intelligent judicial interpretation and strict enforcement.

As to the law applicable to the facts set forth in the papers submitted, this court has fully expressed its opinion in these so-called labor cases (see *Reardon v. Caton and others*, 107 Supp. 541; compare *Reardon v. International Mercantile Marine and others*, 189 id. 515 with *Auburn Draying Co. v. Waddell*, 227 N. Y. 1). It will serve no good purpose to rehash what has been declared by the appellate courts to be the respective rights and duties of the employer and the worker. The case of *Curran v. Galen* (152 N. Y. 33), well expresses the same. The individual motto is, "work if you please; strike if you will." On the other hand, an employer of labor has the right to determine for himself how and under what conditions he will conduct his business. And so, as hereinbefore stated, the courts have recognized contracts imposed by the workers on their employers, exclusive in their nature, and the contracts of the employers imposed on the workers, equally exclusive in their nature, up to the point or extent, when and where, such become oppressive or a conspiracy and therefore unlawful.

The case of *Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. v. Mitchell* (245 U. S. 229), is illuminative upon the question of respective rights of employer and employee where the facts presented are in substance similar to those here and wherein the court found that the plaintiff was entitled to the injunctive relief sought.

So far as the question of picketing is concerned, defendant does not deny that violence has followed as the result of the strike or lockout and that there has been picketing. The dispute is as to the sort and extent of the so called picketing. In cases of this kind "peaceful picketing" or "mental picketing" or whatnot are usually only figures of speech or exist in the imagination—mostly mentioned, seldom met with. That there ever in reality existed, or was practiced "peaceful picketing," is a question. In the present case there was no need of picketing to inform anyone that there was a strike or a lockout at the plaintiff's premises. Every one knew it. The purpose of the picketing was just as well known, and "peaceful picketing" was not in fashion or even sought to be practiced and could serve no useful purpose under the circumstances. As shown by the affidavits attached to the moving papers, the picketing as practiced herein was wholly unlawful and should be suppressed. Upon a careful consideration of all the papers and memoranda submitted, the court finds ample proof of plaintiff's claim that the defendants are guilty of the acts complained of as to calling of the strike, picketing the plaintiff's premises, interferences with employees and workers of the plaintiff and with their contracts of employment, and generally unlawfully instigating, advising and directing acts of various kinds against plaintiff and its business, from which relief should be granted by way of injunction.

Motion granted. Submit order on one day's notice.

The "Freeman," a New York weekly, in its issue of April 13, 1921, made the following editorial comment on Justice Van Sicken's opinion:

With the fight between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the clothing manufacturers of New York City still in full swing, it fairly rains injunctions hereabouts. The workers seem to be weathering the storm pretty well, but if the number of things they can not do continues to increase, they will have as many disagreements with the courts as with the employers themselves. As far as the public ever sees, an argument between a worker and a judge is a pretty one-sided business; for all that gets into print is what the judge says to the worker when he gets him down. For instance, a group of union men were judicially informed, the other day, that "labor, labor unions, or organized labor have their place and use; capital, and organization thereof, likewise, but both must be made to know and to keep their respective places and use by law, to change only by the ever fluctuating force of supply and demand." There is a grain of sense in this, but we lose sight of it completely when the judge goes on to say that the courts "must stand at all times as the representatives of capital, of captains of industry devoted to the principle of individual initiative."

The conflicting attitude of the courts in the matter of picketing is emphasized in an editorial in the New York "Evening Post" of March 16, 1921:

IS LABOR PICKETING LEGAL?

Any picketing of employers' shops by union representatives during an industrial dispute was characterized by Justice Van Sicken in the Supreme Court session in Brooklyn on Monday as unlawful. The principle is not affected, the justice is reported to have said, by the question whether the picketing was peaceful or accompanied by violence. The case under argument was the plea for an injunction to prevent picketing and recover damages brought by Schwartz & Jaffee, Inc., against agents of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The opinion outlined verbally by Justice Van Sicken, if it is embodied in his written ruling on the case, will affect vitally the conduct of the controversy now deadlocking the clothing industry in this city. It will also present an issue calling for a test in the highest court. The opinion is the most sweeping one that has been expressed in connection with the clothing trade cases. So far, decisions by Justice Erlanger in three cases have involved the issuance of restraining orders to prevent union pickets from inducing workers under individual contracts with employers to break these contracts, but have not involved the right of peaceful picketing as such.

The opinion of Justice Van Sicken that all picketing is illegal touches what is still a moot point of law; but the decisions in most test cases have tended to establish the right of peaceful picketing. It is recognized in the labor clauses of the Clayton act, and thus given a legal status under federal statute. Another Justice of the New York Supreme Court, Justice W. O. Howard, recently ruled in the case of the Walter A. Wood Company against the International Association of Machinists, in a decision dissolving an injunction issued by a lower court, that the right of peaceful picketing is established and absolute. In many states the principle has been tested, and with a few exceptions, as for instance in cases in California and Idaho, the right has been sustained by the courts.

The right of peaceful picketing needs to be decided definitely and conclusively so that all parties and the public will know the law in an industrial situation like that of the present.

Before leaving the subject of picketing it will be well to add to the dry legal discussion of it the human side, as seen by the artist:

"The Picket Line," by Mary Heaton Vorse, in *Advance* of February 18, 1921:

As Morris Kolinsky walked along the grey streets he felt that New York was never quite so dead as it was in winter a little before six o'clock. All the night birds had already gone to roost. But no one had started yet for work. New York was a dead city, all the ebb and flow of life had stopped. It was as though New York lay under a chill enchantment. The city was tired, the city was pale. Even the darkness had filtered out into a depressing twilight, the hour before dawn, ebb-tide.

He was expecting to meet his chum Spivac on the corner where he got off the Eighth Street crosstown at Second Avenue. Spivac was not there. This made Morris mad. It made him mad because he had gotten out of his warm bed to get on the picket line, and Joe hadn't.

"I always do all the dirty work," he grumbled to himself.

He began to feel sorry for himself. Here he was with his mother so sick and the air of his house so thick with anxiety and he got up to get on the picket line;—and there was Spivac, who maybe had been dancing all night, warm in his blankets.

Then Morris began to feel noble. Well, whatever happened, he would always go on the picket line. Let others stay away from the picket line—he, Morris, would go on. He felt abused, but superior with this consoling emotion.

Second Avenue suddenly became alive with ghostly men. They all seemed fragile and unreal in the vague light, men drifting along the streets from many directions, a group of men like a swarm of dark bees, waiting in front of the strike headquarters. They waited there, shifting uneasily, hands in pockets, shoulders hunched, almost all of them a little bowed as though sleep still had its heavy hand on them. They were yawning and stood in groups of twos and threes, restless, their faces as vacant as the New York streets, dragged out of bed by a common purpose, warming themselves in the fellowship of their common aim.

Morris found himself standing by an old fellow whose heavy mouth was framed by a venerable beard; it lay like a mat down the front of his chest. His overcoat reached to his heels. The fur collar looked like a piece of ancient and moth-eaten cat fur. His long, grey hair fell down straight from his wide hat. There was a peculiar melancholy in his blue eyes, eyes startling blue in the midst of his sallow face, eyes almost childlike in their simplicity. He stared straight ahead of him. He was a clumsy figure, bowed by long years at a machine, heavy, thick-chested, and with long arms that hung as though his hands pulled them down by their weight and size—the type of man that makes you think of an innocent animal, as though some of the guilt and the damaging knowledge of the world had turned aside as it met him and left him his original kinship with children and with the innocent things of the earth.

"A homely, clumsy old fellow," Morris thought, brushing by him, and he fell again to thinking of Spivac's defection and what a bore the picket line was. But Morris was proud of being punctilious in his work in the union. He had no use for slack fellows who came in for the good things and shirked all the tiresome work, especially the monotonous work—anyone can play for the grandstand.

The crowd had grown bigger and restless toward six o'clock. It was time for the hall to be opened. There was a diversion from the grey monotony of waiting, made by a policeman's bustling up officiously to know what the devil they were meeting for at this time of the night, and if they had a permit.

The hall opened. The old man had drawn close to Morris. Side by side they went in. When they came out the old man was still at Morris' side.

The pale night had changed into an uncertain day. The streets looked even more melancholy, now that the street lights were out. The cars were like cheerful, empty rooms sliding through the ghostly streets.

The old man kept close beside Morris as though drawn by a magnet. Suddenly, he asked: "Where does your family come from—from Vilna?"

"No," Morris said. "My family is from a town in Galicia."

"Oh, Galicia," the old man repeated with a vague disappointment in his voice. "I knew people who looked like you in Vilna." He peered at Morris with his innocent blue eyes. "I thought, perhaps—" His voice trailed off. "It would, of course, have been too much of a coincidence. There's a resemblance, a great resemblance. It's an excellent thing to see young men come out to do their duty."

As he said the last words his voice changed and he spoke sententiously. "The young," he announced, "should do their duty, the old should set an example. If all of age set an example, and all of youth followed this example, the world would at once be better. Do you know what we workers would have attained if all of age set an example and all of youth followed? We should have attained Solidarity!"

He gave this out with the air of handing a bright new discovery to Morris. He was so innocent in his triumph of this discovery that Morris felt warm to him, attracted by his simplicity and yet bored by his sententiousness.

Morris, like many young fellows, liked argument. Not averse to showing his superior powers to a simple old fellow who tried to put it over him by virtue of age, the young man said: "We still would have the natural misfortunes plaguing us. We would still have birth and death and the bosses."

A terrible change came over the old fellow. It was as if his face had suddenly disintegrated. His jaw fell and he looked at Morris with a frightened, lost gaze.

"True," he said, "we would have death. Death." He repeated the word again. As they walked along the street Morris saw his lips move and saw that he was repeating the word, "Death."

"This is a strange old fellow that I picked up," Morris thought, and he wondered, why, if he had to walk up and down in front of a building for three hours, he couldn't have a pleasant merry companion like Spivac.

The old man had pulled himself together from his terrifying abstraction. "My friend," he said, "you do not realize how powerful the word Solidarity is. The future of the workers lies in it. You cannot know the full meaning of it."

"Why not?" asked Morris, curiously.

The old man spoke with such simple intensity that he piqued Morris' curiosity.

"Because you have always known it, you who are young. You were always acquainted with the need of solidarity. But to me it has come only lately. For many years I have failed to set an example, for many years the union grew about me. I—didn't recognize it. It stood before my door, but I, absorbed in my misery, did not see it. This was selfishness, though I did not know it. I thought that being a good husband and a strict religious observer I was doing my whole duty, and all the while I was guilty of neglect.

"I was so absorbed in my own life I did not look out. Can you imagine what it meant when I looked out and beheld the need of solidarity?"

They had now arrived in front of the factory they were to picket. Lines of policemen were there already, one of whom said roughly, "Only six pickets allowed here."

The policemen, who were lined up in a martial fashion, looked very tall indeed, beside the pickets, two of whom were girls.

"It was a great sorrow to be so late in learning this," the old man went on. "My great absorption separated me from the workers—my great responsibility. Can you imagine what it means to be cause of misery to the life of another human being—the cause of misery through life of the human being you love most? To see her suffer

year by year through your fault? To see her suffer because of her love of you, to have had love for you ruin the life of a girl gay and lovely and to see the years pass over her, blurring her youth, blurring her youth as she bore her children, as she slaved for you and herself? Having done this I devoted myself to trying to atone. I saw only this in life."

A great pity seized Morris. He saw that the old man had a desperate need of sympathy and understanding, though Morris did not see what he was driving at or get head or tail of his outburst. He said, consolingly, "Aren't you exaggerating? If another person is unhappy it is not your fault."

"You don't understand at all," the old man said, with a sort of furious quiet. "Can't you imagine what it would mean to have the woman you love give up all—her home, her family, everything for you,—everything? Father, mother, friends? Give it all up for you and suffer for it all her days, and you—what would you have to offer? A miserable hole in the wall that you call a home. Children born with no care. Children crying to be tended—with the new one hardly in the world. The tailor's wages, the sweatshop. You speak of the natural plagues—birth, death, the bosses. There is another—homesickness. Homesickness! There is no pain exactly like it. It was that from which my Anna suffered. She never grew accustomed to life in this country. How should she? Thirty-five years, a lifetime. Sons, daughters, work, hunger, want. New York. Always this strange city remained strange. It always frightened her. The swarming people, the confusion, the very size . . . my fault . . . my fault. But could I know it would be like this? Could I know it when I made her love me? I was always standing about where she could see me. I learned to find out when she went out and when she came in." He broke off suddenly.

Morris and he walked up and down in silence in front of the tall clothing building with its tall policemen. A stream of people were now hurrying to work. All the people who must be first to open the office were crowding New York streets. At seven the city had come to life. And now, near eight o'clock, the streets were full. A sense of unreality had come to Morris. This absurd old fellow was talking about youth and spring and love and romance. He was so gnarled by work, so uncouth, that it seemed beyond powers of imagination that a girl should have waited shyly to see him pass.

"I made her love me. But her father had already arranged for her to marry the son of his friend. She ran away for love of me. My sister and her husband were coming to this country, and Anna came with them. Her father read over her the service of the dead."

Romance, hope—then the sweatshop, children, misery, the dark tenement. A common story. The story of every other immigrant on the block. Thirty-five years of expiation for having loved.

"You will go back yet," Morris said, comfortably. An intolerable pity swept over him for this babbling old man with his little terror-stricken wife. The old man made no answer. He had told his story. He was through talking. His innocent eyes stared ahead. He seemed so foreign, so beaten, that Morris longed to comfort him, but it was as though the old fellow had put a wall of grief between them. He was very weary,—fatigue gave him the air of walking in his sleep. Morris said gently:

"You shouldn't picket. Let the young fellows do that."

"You don't understand," the old man said, "I have to make up. I must make up. I must atone for the years I have missed. I must set an example." He spoke with a gentle fanaticism: "What if we lost? I have made terrible mistakes in my life. I must take no chances."

The new line of pickets came up. The watch was over. "Come with me and have some coffee," Morris urged. But the old man was off, plunging down the street.

"Who was that old fellow who was with me?" Morris asked the shop chairman.

"That—that was poor old Benjamin. He shouldn't have come. But perhaps it's just as well. It may comfort him to be doing something."

"Comfort him?" Morris asked.

"His wife died yesterday—I told him not to. He would come."

ATTACK UPON THE LIFE OF THE AMALGAMATED

Attacks upon labor organizations are as old as the labor movement. As long as present industrial relations continue, employers will seek to break the organizations of the workers, if they are unable to prevent the workers from organizing. Since the time the labor movement received legal sanction, the Amalgamated was, to our knowledge, the first labor organization to enjoy the distinction of being haled into court by employers to be placed on trial for its life.

Two dissolution suits were brought against the Amalgamated. When the first action, by J. Friedman & Co., January 20, 1921, became known, it aroused a storm among employers, workers, and students of the labor movement.

The enemies of labor rejoiced. At last a short cut to the "open shop" was found: The courts! No more costly lockouts or strikes. A method so simple and direct as dissolution by court order would be a great boon for the "open shoppers." Let the judge make his decision in this first case, and the precedent thus established would pave the way for other employers and courts.

The workers were touched to the quick. They understood the danger and rallied all the closer around the banner of their organization. If anything was needed to stimulate the fighting spirit of the locked out workers, the dissolution suit did it.

The students of the labor movement and public spirited citizens were shocked by the brazenness of the employers' move, and manifested great fear of the consequences. If a constructive labor movement is made impossible, what will take its place? Disorder, chaos, mutual sabotage, by which no one will be the gainer and everyone the loser.

Here is an account of the beginning of the suit, from *Advance* of January 28, 1921:

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has again been given first place in the American labor movement. It has been attacked in the first law suit ever started in the United States for the dissolution of an organized labor union. In the Michaels-Stern affair in Rochester, threats were made that court action would be taken to disband the Amalgamated, but these threats were never put into practice.

A summons in the suit was served on Sidney Hillman at Amalgamated headquarters late on January 20. J. Friedman Company is the nominal plaintiff, but the clothing manufacturers have publicly announced that their association is behind the move. The name of Harry A. Gordon, attorney for the association, is attached to the papers.

Besides dissolution of the Amalgamated, the manufacturers ask for a permanent injunction against striking or picketing their shops, and for \$500,000 damages.

In the Michaels-Stern case in Rochester, the damages asked of the Amalgamated were \$100,000. In the Rogers, Peet suit in New York \$200,000 damages were asked. Now the manufacturers' association is demanding an amount two and one-half times as large as the largest previous figure.

Answers in the suit will be filed in due course. Hearing on a preliminary injunction will be held on February 7.

The papers in the suit, which include about 130 typewritten pages of "complaint" and "affidavits," quote at length from the history of the organization, from *Advance*, from the preamble and constitution of the union, and from a book called "The New Unionism" recently published by J. M. Budish and George Soule. They cite from the preamble of the union's constitution as follows:

"The industrial and inter-industrial organization, built upon the solid rock of clear knowledge and class consciousness will put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production, and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it."

The manufacturers' "complaint" further alleges that the Amalgamated exists "solely and only for the purpose of destroying the existing industrial structure in the clothing industry." The employers go on to declare that the union aim is "seizing and wresting" their property in the industry in order to transfer the ownership to the members of the union. The policy of the Amalgamated, the manufacturers allege, is "to destroy the existing social, industrial, and political structures, and to substitute in lieu and in place thereof the rule of the proletariat."

Besides the charge of "Sovietism" affidavits are included alleging "violence" against strikebreakers employed by J. Friedman & Co. In this connection the papers filed with the complaint declare:

"It is hardly necessary, because of its general reputation for radicalism, Socialism, syndicalism and lawlessness, to refer at length to the past record of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for violence and lawlessness."

President Sidney Hillman, General Secretary-Treasurer Joseph Schlossberg, and all other important officers of the Amalgamated, and almost a hundred individual members of the organization, are charged with having "conspired" in the before-named acts. All are named as defendants in the suit.

Dr. William Leiserson, who is impartial chairman in the Rochester market and filled the same office in New York before he was discharged by the manufacturers at the beginning of the present lockout, is also named. His name is the last on the list and was apparently added after the papers had been prepared. The inclusion of his name follows closely after the threat of Harry A. Gordon, attorney for the manufacturers, to sue Leiserson for "libel" in case the latter published the statement of facts which he had prepared on the present lockout struggle.

Following is the full text of the judgment which the manufacturers "demanded" the courts give them against the Amalgamated:

"First: That it be adjudged and decreed that the defendant Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is an unlawful combination and conspiracy, organized and existing solely and only for the purpose of preventing the plaintiff and others from exercising a lawful trade and doing lawful acts, and to commit acts injurious to the public welfare, public morals and trade and commerce, and for the perversion and obstruction of justice and the due administration of the laws of the state of New York, and that said defendant Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and all local unions and joint boards connected therewith, be dissolved;

“Second: That the defendants and their and each of their agents, servants, attorneys, confederates, and any and all persons acting in aid of or in conjunction with them or any of them, be perpetually and permanently enjoined and restrained from doing any acts injurious to the plaintiff, and in violation of the contracts of employment entered into between the plaintiff and his employees aforesaid; from enticing or persuading the plaintiff’s employees under contract with the plaintiff from deserting their employment and from creating and continuing a strike in the factories of the plaintiff, and from picketing or instigating persons to picket the plaintiff’s places of business in any manner whatsoever; from congregating about the premises of plaintiff’s factories and coercing, threatening, intimidating, halting and turning aside against their will, those who would go to and from the places of business of the plaintiff, and those who would seek and are willing to work for the plaintiff, and from hampering, hindering or harassing in any other way the free dispatch of business by the plaintiff, and from using any and all ways, means and methods of doing any of the aforesaid forbidden acts, either directly or indirectly, or through officers, agents or others, and the plaintiff further prays for a preliminary injunction of the same force and effect to remain in effect during the pendency of this action;

“Third: That a judgment be entered herein awarding to the plaintiff the sum of \$500,000 damages suffered by the plaintiff, besides the costs of the action; and

“Fourth: That the plaintiff have such other and further relief as to the court may seem just and proper.”

On February 14 a hearing was had before Justice Nathan Bijur. Robert Szold and Ex-Judge Samuel Seabury represented the Amalgamated, and Max D. Steuer the Manufacturers’ Association. On March 29 Judge Bijur dismissed the suit in a decision as quoted on page 44.

The following is an editorial comment in the New York “Evening Post” of March 30, 1921:

CLOTHING WORKERS HOLD THEIR GROUND

Dismissal of the suit against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers by Justice Bijur in the Supreme Court probably foreshadows the failure of the employers’ campaign for dissolution of the union. The lawyers for the plaintiff, replying to claims of victory of union spokesmen, assert that the decision simply calls for a change in the terms in which the complaint is brought. They announce their intention to accept the opportunity to file new papers immediately and to continue their campaign to break up the workers’ organization. Nevertheless, Justice Bijur’s refusal to consider the general allegations against the union as proper grounds for proceeding against the individual union officials named in the complaints seems to indicate that an action against the organization as such will not succeed. His opinion points to the establishment of the principle of individual responsibility in suits for protection and damages. Employers’ counsel may win injunction orders against picketing by union agents and other court protection and relief in cases of specific acts adjudged illegal, which will make easier the attempt to carry on work in non-union “open shops.” Success now appears extremely doubtful in the attempt to secure the dissolution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America by court order

on the ground of charges that its purposes are a menace to American institutions.

The employers amended their complaint and on April 26, 1921, Supreme Court Justice Delehanty ruled to the effect that the union can be dissolved. The ruling was, however, of no value to the employers for the purposes of the fight against the organization, as the lockout was practically over. The employers realized that they must come to terms with the Amalgamated if they want the workers back in the shops. The suit was not tried. The plaintiff, J. Friedman & Co., was included in the settlement made about five weeks later between the association and the Amalgamated.

Among those who filed affidavits in support of the Amalgamated in the dissolution action were:

Dr. William M. Leiserson, impartial chairman, Labor Adjustment Board, Rochester. Impartial chairman, New York City, both before and after the lockout.

Charles B. Barnes, impartial chairman, Silk Ribbon Industry, New York City. Impartial chairman, Fancy Leather Goods Industry, New York City, formerly impartial chairman, Clothing Industry, Montreal, Canada.

Professor James H. Tufts, visiting professor of Philosophy, Columbia University, professor of philosophy, University of Chicago, formerly chairman of Board of Arbitration, Chicago Clothing Industry.

Judge Jacob M. Moses, formerly chairman, Trade Board, Clothing Industry, Baltimore, Md.

Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, Columbia University.

Professor Henry R. Seager, Columbia University.

Professor W. F. Ogburn, Columbia University.

Professor Earl Dean Howard, labor manager, Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Chicago.

Florence Kelley, general secretary, National Consumers' League.

Allen T. Burns, in charge Americanization Study for Carnegie Foundation.

John A. Fitch, associate editor, "Survey."

Ray Stannard Baker, well-known author.

George Soule, well-known journalist.

"INDIVIDUAL CONTRACTS"

The employers who had locked out the members of the Amalgamated inaugurated a system of "individual contracts" for the strikebreakers. The "contracts" were based upon the United States Supreme Court's decision in the celebrated Hitchman case.

The Hitchman Coal and Coke Company of Marshall County, West Virginia, broke its relations with the United Mine Workers of America and operated its mines as "open shops." An "open shop" being open to non-union members only, the company required of its

employees to sign forms, pledging themselves not to belong to the union while in the company's employ. The company pronounced those forms "contracts," though not signed by the employers, and giving the workers nothing in consideration of their surrendering their precious American right to belong to an organization. The company was at liberty to discharge a worker for any reason or no reason. It was an "open shop," in which workers have no rights, "contract" or no "contract." The purpose of the "contract" was not to keep the workers from joining the union; for that the "contract" was superfluous; the purpose was to keep the union from soliciting the workers' membership. By entering upon the company's domain, which was everywhere any of the company's employees happened to be, the union was violating the sanctity of a "free contract" between the workers and the company. "Freedom of contract" is the "principle" underlying this destruction of the rights of American citizens to "contract" with fellow workers for mutual protection. When signing his employment-application the worker, hungry for a job, signed away not only his right to be organized but also THE UNION'S RIGHT TO TALK ORGANIZATION TO HIM. That was in effect the company's position, and the United States Supreme Court upheld it. The Hitchman decision has greatly promoted the "open shop" war against the labor movement.

The "individual contracts" made by the clothing manufacturers with the strikebreakers followed the lines laid down by those in the Hitchman case. Below is a specimen of such "contracts" as incorporated in the moving papers of J. Friedman & Co. They are the latest device for paralyzing, with the help of the courts, labor's organizing activities. The fact that the "contract" proved harmless in our case does not diminish its danger to the labor movement. The sanctioning of that enslaving "contract" as a means of rendering collective bargaining by labor ineffective is a travesty of justice. Herewith the "contract":

We, the undersigned, have been employed by and hereby agree to work for (Name of firm) from week to week, with the express understanding that we have ceased to be affiliated with any union, and that we will not join any union while in the employ of said company. We also agree that while in the employ of said company, we will not make any efforts to bring about the unionizing of the employees of the company against the company's wishes.

We have read the above or heard the same read.

Dated, New York, _____, 1921.

(Names of employees)

We hereby agree to employ the above named persons on the terms and conditions hereinabove stated.

(Name of firm)

At the risk of repetition it must be emphasized that under the "individual contract" the rights are entirely for one side: All for the employer and none for the worker. A worker signs such a contract under duress, at the point of a gun, as it were. If that is the only way he can get a job, the worker will sign a thousand "con-

tracts," without even reading them. The law condemns contracts signed under duress. In commercial life they are worthless and will be declared void by any judge. The Supreme Court recognizes such "contracts" with wage workers because of the legal fiction that the worker is at liberty to accept or refuse employment if the "contract" does not suit him. The Supreme Court refuses to take cognizance of the real fact that the "liberty" to refuse employment under the objectionable contract is the "liberty" to die of starvation.

Contracts can be made only between equals. There is no economic, or social equality between employers and workers. But for the purpose of bargaining for working conditions a degree of "equality" is created by the organization of labor, giving the workers advantages to offset in a measure the economic disadvantages in their bargaining power. When the workers are poorly organized, their degree of "equality" for bargaining purposes with the employers is low and their collective bargaining contracts have less advantages for them; when the workers are strongly organized, their degree of "equality" for bargaining purposes is higher and they are in a position to secure greater advantages for themselves. **THE INDIVIDUAL AND UNORGANIZED WORKER HAS NO BARGAINING POWER WHATSOEVER.** He is entirely at the mercy of the employer, and, allowing for rare exceptions, must accept the dictates of the employer. Where there is a contract between a labor union and an employer, anti-labor organizations are not legally deprived of the opportunity to conduct their labor hating propaganda among the unorganized workers. Where "individual contracts" prevail, requiring of workers not to join a union, the union is **FORBIDDEN** by the court to carry its message to the unorganized workers. That is a peculiar sort of "equality before the law." The "individual contracts" involved in our lockout were signed for pay, by strikebreakers, who would sell their souls, if they had any, for money. The type of person who acts as a "blackleg" in a lockout while the union is taking care of needy workers, need not be described. Very often the hired strikebreaker is not of the industry and does not know how to make clothing. His "trade" is strike breaking. He is hired for the moral effect upon the real workers who are locked out or on strike. We do not know how many of the hired "guards" signed those contracts.

A strike breaker is hired to break a strike. The signing of a "contract" is included in his "services." When the paper is signed the employer takes it to court, demands that it be recognized under the Hitchman decision, and that the union be chained by an injunction and then dissolved. We are not aware of any more disgraceful procedure to degrade the courts.

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENTS

Shortly after the beginning of the lockout some efforts were made by outsiders to bring about a settlement, as may be seen from the following exchange of correspondence:

State of New York
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION
Capitol, Albany.

New York, Office, 124 East 28th Street,

New York, December 16, 1920.

Sidney Hillman, Esq.,
President, Amalgamated Clothing
Workers of America,
31 Union Square, New York City.

William A. Bandler, President,
Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York,
752 Broadway, New York City.

Gentlemen:

As you are aware for sometime past, there has been serious contention in the trade between the employers and the employees, which recently became acute, resulting in the stoppage of all production in men's clothing. It would be a matter of regret, if this condition should continue.

Each side will soon feel the strain and this bureau in the discharge of its duty is obliged to do all in its power to aid in the restoration of industrial peace. This, however, cannot be accomplished until both sides meet in conference once more to reason over the questions at issue and come to a mutual understanding. Such being the case, it is our judgment that at an early date, a joint conference of the parties interested should be held at the office of the State Bureau of Mediation and Arbitration, 124 East 28th Street, N. Y. C. We, therefore, request your presence at the above address, 10 a. m., Monday, December 20, 1920.

The law under which the Bureau of Mediation and Arbitration functions contains the following provision:

"Sec. 141, Mediation and Investigation.—Whenever a strike or lockout occurs or is seriously threatened, an officer or agent of the bureau of mediation and arbitration shall, if practicable, proceed promptly to the locality thereof and endeavor by mediation to effect an amicable settlement of the controversy. If the commissioner of labor deems it advisable the board of mediation and arbitration may proceed to the locality and inquire into the cause thereof, and for that purpose shall have all the powers conferred upon it in the case of a controversy submitted to it for arbitration."

In furtherance of this desire of the bureau, it is requested that an answer be sent in response to this letter.

If the date or time conflicts with your previous engagements, kindly let the bureau's representatives know when you will be free to act, so that the conference can be arranged accordingly.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) M. J. REAGAN,
Industrial Mediator.

JOHN J. BEALIN,
Special Agent.

New York, December 16, 1920.

Mr. M. J. Reagan,
Industrial Mediator
State Industrial Commission
124 East 28th Street, New York City.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of even date, I beg to say that unless we hear from you that the proposed conference of which you speak cannot be arranged, a representative of this organization will be at your office on Monday, December 20, at 10 a. m. as you request.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) SIDNEY HILLMAN
General President

State of New York
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION
Capitol, Albany.

New York, Office, 124 East 28th Street,
New York, December 17, 1920.

Sidney Hillman, Esq.,
President, Amalgamated Clothing
Workers of America,
31 Union Square, New York City.

Dear Sir:

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant in re invitation to a conference at this office on December 20, 1920.

The Clothing Manufacturers' Association, through their president, refuse to go into a conference unless the union agree to the terms prescribed by the Manufacturers' Association, which terms have been already submitted to you by that body.

Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) MICHAEL J. REAGAN,
Industrial Mediator.

CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE

December 21, 1920.

Mr. Sidney Hillman,
President, Amalgamated Clothing
Workers of America,
31 Union Square, New York City.

I am returning to you Exhibit A, the Hart, Schaffner and Marx labor agreement, also Leiserson's letter to the market committee.

I delivered my address on the "Crisis in the Clothing Industry" before a very large audience. I tried to be fair to both sides and I offered my services to act in the capacity of an arbiter should my services be desired. Mr. Bandler evidently did not think that any outsider should be consulted. for in reading the newspaper I find that when he was interviewed he told the reporters that the Manufacturers' Association would not avail themselves of my offer. I cannot tell you how deeply I regret this clash in the clothing industry, not only because of the physical ills which the laborers will have to suffer, but because of the unpleasantness and the bad name which the Jews will get. We Jews have always boasted of our high moral ideals and I feel that here was an opportunity when we could put these moral ideals into practice and show the outside world that

we at least can settle our differences without resorting to force. I trust that the light will break in and that a happy solution will not be far off.

If I can be of any service to you in any way whatsoever, do not hesitate to call upon me.

Very cordially yours,
(Signed) NATHAN KRASS

MAYOR HYLAN'S COMMITTEE

On March 10 the following announcement was made at the City Hall:

"With a view to securing a settlement of the difficulties existing between the two bodies concerned in the men's clothing industry, the mayor today appointed a committee on inquiry under the chairmanship of George Gordon Battle. The personnel of the committee is as follows:

"George Gordon Battle, Joseph S. Marcus, Charles L. Bernheimer, Arthur M. Lamport, Mrs. William Randolph Hearst.

"The duties of the committee will include:

"An inquiry on behalf of the city of New York into the existing dead-lock in the men's clothing industry;

"Authority to negotiate for a settlement of the difficulties, if it be found that an opportunity arises during this inquiry to do so."

The union declared its readiness to assist the committee in every way possible to bring about a settlement. The employers' association did not want a settlement. The committee's efforts were fruitless.

THE SETTLEMENT

Almost from the beginning of the lockout struggle settlements were made with individual employers, and large numbers of our members returned to work under the union's protection. Those settlements included some very important firms. As time wore on the employers realized their inability to exhaust the Amalgamated in a test of endurance, or to put it out of existence by dissolution suits, and that injunctions and "individual contracts" do not make clothing. As a result of their war against the organized workers the employers were rapidly losing business to other markets. The rumblings within the association against the "bitter end" policy of the war party grew in volume until they became a stormy outbreak and were heard outside. The lockout leaders confirmed the dissatisfaction within the association by public denials that a split in the association was imminent. Shortly after those denials the war lords resigned from the association.

The resignations of President William A. Bandler and of his two legal champions were announced on May 19. Bandler in his letter to the association said:

"I am hereby tendering my resignation as president of your association, to become effective forthwith.

"Owing to the fact that certain members of your association entertain views which are contrary to mine, and are about to embark

upon a policy to which I find myself unable to subscribe, I feel that I can no longer continue as the head of your association. I deem it incumbent upon me, however, to say at this time that I am committed today, the same as I was on December 6, 1920, to the principles which have controlled the policies of the association ever since, and that I shall continue in my own way and with such co-operation as I am able to secure, to carry forward the movement against the objectionable influences of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. I am a strong advocate of trade unions and am willing to lend my efforts in every way which will bring about closer and more harmonious relationship between capital and labor."

Archibald E. Stevenson's letter of resignation as special counsel to the association follows:

"I hereby tender my resignation as counsel to your association to become effective immediately.

"It is a matter of regret that your association has determined upon its present course of action. The failure of some of the manufacturers in this market to deal fairly with each other, and with the public generally, has heretofore created a situation which made possible the growth in power of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. My acceptance of your retainer was with the understanding that your association was irrevocably pledged to certain principles which affect not only the industry itself, but the interests of our government and our institutions.

"Your failure to maintain these principles, and your determination to enter into negotiations with the Amalgamated union will result in lasting injury to the industry and will render more difficult the efforts of those who have determined to stabilize conditions in this market."

The fact should not be overlooked that while Bandler is professing to be "a strong advocate of trade unions," as proved by the "individual contracts" given above, Archibald Lusk Stevenson speaks of "the interests of our government and our institutions." This is here recorded for the benefit of posterity.

Immediately after those resignations were accepted, Mark L. Abrahams, vice-president of the employers' association, took Bandler's place.

The market committee was re-organized and the directors adopted the following resolution covering the future policy of the association:

"The Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York shall continue to function for the purpose of creating and maintaining harmonious relations between its members and their workers."

The market committee was re-organized with the following members: Mark L. Abrahams, of Mark L. Abrahams Co.; Sol Bashwitz, of Bashwitz Bros. & Co., Inc.; M. H. Friedman, of J. Friedman & Co., Inc.; William Grossman, of Zeeman & Grossman; Max Graff, of Graff & Wyllins; Samuel Rosenthal, of Samuel Rosenthal & Bros.; Julius Schwartz, of Schwartz & Jaffee; Joseph Skolny, of J. Skolny & Bros.; Solis Cohen, of Cohen & Lang; Julius Levy, of Kahn, Dreyfus, Levy, Inc

On the old market committee, among others, representing the Clothing Trade group were Henry Fruhauf, of Fruhauf Bros. & Co.; Henry Raphael, of Berger, Raphael & Wile; William Naumburg, of M. & W. Naumburg; Samuel Currick, of Currick, Leiken & Co.; Seymour Strause, of Heidelberg, Wolff & Co.

This dramatic break-down of the lockout employers' drive against the Amalgamated was precipitated by the resignation from the association of important members who wished to settle with the union and get back to work.

The first of these resignations to be announced, on May 18, was that of Samuel Rosenthal, of "Big Six" Rosenthal, which firm employs 5,000 workers.

Philip Walcoff and Co., Inc., also one of the largest manufacturers in the association, announced his resignation the same night.

After the withdrawal of these large manufacturers, the war party in the association made a last grand-stand play and rounded up a vote of confidence of 27 to 25. This weak front was utterly smashed the following day when news of the important resignations above mentioned became widespread. Bandler's and his attorneys' resignations followed.

A few "irreconcilable" members also resigned, and the generals without an army withdrew in defeat.

Editorial, *Advance*, May 27, 1921:

ON THE THRESHOLD OF LAW AND ORDER

There have been kaleidoscopic developments in the New York clothing industry within the past few days.

At a spirited meeting of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association the president and the counsel rescued a vote of confidence for themselves by the overwhelming majority of 27 votes against 25. Immediately thereafter the association re-organized the belligerent market committee and placed it on a peace footing. As an expression of their gratitude for the glorious vindication of their highly successful union-smashing policy, the president and his two lawyers handed in their resignations—to the relief and delight of the entire clothing industry. Everybody admired the self-sacrificing spirit of the three peerless leaders, and the service they rendered the industry by their heroic retreat is being universally acknowledged.

There were soon rumors afloat to the effect that the Manufacturers' Association is seeking to come back to normal conditions, i. e., to come to an understanding with the Amalgamated and resume the production of clothing. There were rumors and counter-rumors, and guesses and suppositions, until all doubts were removed by the published statement of the three retiring anti-labor champions that they regretted the peace program of the association. Then it became clear that sanity was returning to the industry.

After signing their very patriotically worded resignations, the three deposed warriors took with them the rapidly diminishing war party and withdrew to a point of vantage, at a safe distance from the clothing industry, from which they may view, undisturbed and unobserved, the steady march of the clothing industry to Law and Order.

It might be argued that their withdrawal to oblivion was rather too bombastic and with a needless display of impotence. But it seems that no one can raise himself above human nature, not even our three knights. Once upon a time there was a governor in the state of New

York. He was impeached, convicted, and removed by the legislature. He was politically dead and it was beyond the power of man or God to resuscitate him. But before going down to the bottom as all dead ones must do, he rose to the surface for a brief moment and turned up in the legislature as a member of the assembly. He soon disappeared and was never seen again. Likewise have the three deposed governors in this case made gestures with clinched fists at the body of men which they had formerly commanded. But they are just as powerless as the other governor.

The three great warriors had undertaken to destroy the Amalgamated, place a receiver in its headquarters and put its officers in jail. While they failed to carry out that very ambitious program, they did succeed in freeing the clothing industry of themselves.

With the war party engaged in the absorbing task of nursing its wounds and taking inventory of its casualties, the Manufacturers' Association is preparing itself for the resumption of business activities on a civilized basis.

It is only a few days since the war party by its own heat caused the great combustion and the blowing up of its powder. At the time of this writing nothing definite can as yet be said. There are, however, strong indications that we are nearing the end of the great struggle forced upon the clothing industry in the East a half year ago by persons who have found attempts at union-smashing profitable to themselves though injurious to the industry.

Our members understand, however, that the struggle will not be over until it IS over. Until the representatives of the joint board are ready to appear before the members and submit for their ratification an understanding with the employers, the usual lockout resistance activities will continue. There will be no stop in the collection of the assessments, the payment of relief to needy members, and in other work until the organization so decides. While the involuntary withdrawal of the three graces makes a settlement with the employers possible, that settlement will not be here until it is reached. The members will be informed as soon as an understanding is arrived at, and they will get the information from their own organization and from no other source.

The New York Joint Board has successfully led the workers throughout the great struggle and the New York Joint Board will inform them when the time has come to declare this contest at an end.

The clothing industry in New York is on the threshold of Law and Order. We hope to cross it soon. When we do the Amalgamated family will rejoice.

After several preliminary and informal conferences negotiations for a settlement of the lockout were officially taken up by representatives of the Amalgamated and of the association.

When a basis for a settlement was reached it was submitted to the members at mass meetings, where they were asked for authority to continue negotiations and conclude an agreement on that basis.

Six huge membership meetings, similar to those at which the employers' anti-union ultimatum was indignantly rejected half a year before, were held on Friday afternoon, May 27, 1921, by the locked out Amalgamated Clothing Workers in New York and Brooklyn to receive reports on the progress of negotiations between their representatives and the employers to bring the lockout to a close.

After hearing and discussing the general principles reached in the negotiations, the tens of thousands of members at these meetings unanimously authorized the officers of the union to make a union shop settlement on the basis described. Meetings of the officials of the

Amalgamated, the New York Joint Board, and the shop chairmen, had previously been held on May 25, at which the proposed terms of settlement were discussed.

The main points of settlement approved by the union members at the six mass meetings included:

1. Recognition of the Amalgamated as the authorized body for collective bargaining with the employers.

2. Restoration of the impartial chairman's machinery, as it existed before the break.

3. Shop or group standards of production to be established, under control of the union.

4. Reduction of wages not to exceed 15 per cent; no reduction to cutters.

Other matters were left to be taken up in joint conference by representatives of the union and the employers after the signing of the agreement.

Those were substantially the terms which were offered by the Amalgamated and rejected by the employers before the lockout.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at the six Amalgamated mass meetings:

"We, members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who have been locked out from employment for nearly a half year, assembled this 27th day of May, 1921, have heard with satisfaction the report of our representatives on the present situation in the New York clothing industry. Having been informed by them that negotiations are being conducted by our representatives with representatives of the employers and that those negotiations are holding out prospects for an understanding which will enable us to return to the factories under the protection of our organization, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, we herewith express approval of the course pursued by our representatives and authorize them to continue their efforts along these lines and conclude an agreement accordingly.

"We take this occasion to renew our pledge and determination to continue the struggle in the defense of our organization against all those employers who may persist in their efforts to destroy it. The flag of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shall forever wave over the ranks of the clothing workers."

June 1, 1921, the following was accepted by both sides as an outline for an agreement:

- "1. The principle of the union shop is to prevail.

- "2. Hours of work are to be forty-four a week.

- "3. In each shop group standards of production will be determined for each operation by representatives of the union and the employers.

- "4. A joint committee of the union and the association will determine the scale of wages. When this scale is reached it automatically becomes a part of this agreement.

- "5. A commission made up of representatives of the union and representatives of the association will be appointed to work

out the relations between the union, the association, and the contractors.

- “6. There is to be a general reduction of 15 per cent in wages, except for cutters.
- “7. A board of arbitration is established in which is vested the administration of the new agreement. The board is to be composed of three members—one representative of the union, one representative of the association, and a third member jointly selected who shall be known as the impartial chairman.”

In due time the agreement was put in final form and signed by the association and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The term of the agreement is one year ending May 31, 1922, and automatically renewable, except on notice to the contrary, thirty days before expiration.

Dr. William M. Leiserson was again chosen impartial chairman.

Herewith comment on our struggle and victory by the liberal press:

From the “Nation,” June 8, 1921, by George Soule:

GOOD UNION OR BAD?

What is it that kept the clothing workers struggling year after year against seemingly impossible odds until they finally were able to build a great industrial union which raised them out of the sweatshops and introduced some kind of order into the former industrial chaos of their lives? What is it that has made them stand by this union and render it victorious in a bitter struggle, such as the one just ended?

For surely no union ever went to battle under more unfavorable conditions and came through with so few casualties. For months before the trouble broke out there had been a severe depression in the industry, and at the moment of the breach there were not only thousands of unemployed, but those who had work had eaten up most of their savings. The vigorous open-shop campaign led the employers to make a determined attack. And to the conflict on the industrial field was added a shower of injunctions, arrests, and suits against the union for sums aggregating millions of dollars. The lockout lasted nearly six months, including the coldest weeks of winter. Yet there were no desertions of consequence from the ranks of the strikers; in spite of all, the employers could not operate their factories.

The quality of courage and determination that is required among thousands of workers to endure a long and heart-breaking test of this nature implies something more than the kind of emotion which would be aroused by a quarrel over a few dollars more or less a week. It implies a superb morale, the sort of morale which can exist in an army only through the consciousness of a great cause. There must be here one of those imponderables which give life to patriotism or religion.

At the basis of this morale is an aspiration for a more just social order, which can grow only from a more just government of industry. Like the American colonists of 1776, the clothing workers object to autocratic rule. They recognize the class conflict in their preamble, not because they like it, but because they dislike it and intend to do away with it. They know they can never do away with it by submitting unconditionally. The form of collective adjustment which they have won is like a constitution wrested by a people from a ruling class. To preserve this constitution they are willing to undergo untold sacrifices. As long as they can preserve their con-

stitution, they intend to use it for progressive improvement of the industry which they feel by right is theirs, because it forms the chief substance of their lives.

It is stupidity of the crudest sort to believe that a deep motive of this sort is destructive and can in the long run injure the people or the culture of America. On the contrary, it leads to trouble only when it is thwarted. Given a chance to grow and function, endowed with recognition and responsibility, it will flower in a higher technique in industry, in a finer spirit in society. It is infinitely more hopeful than the trading instinct, the demand for a few dollars more and a few hours less, to which, according to our Luskers, "good" unions must confine themselves.

The "New Republic," June 1, 1921:

THE VICTORY OF THE AMALGAMATED

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, it is now certain, have won a decisive victory in their prolonged and bitter fight against the faction among the New York clothing manufacturers who declared a war on the union and its policies. The majority of the employers have abandoned the contest and are negotiating with the union for a new contract similar to the one which they denounced last winter. It is a great and well-deserved victory, won by the most progressive element in the American trades union movement. At a time when unionism is being attacked and undermined all over the country, when strikes rarely if ever succeed, when economic conditions are fighting on the side of the employer and when many of the judges have not scrupled to do what they could to embarrass organized labor, one union which had to contend against all of these obstacles and discouragements has managed to pull through a costly and lengthy strike entirely victorious.

The Amalgamated triumphed by virtue of its superior morale. The New York clothing manufacturers are on the whole a disorganized group of cut-throat competitors, many of whom live from hand to mouth and are not united by any sufficient bond of interest and principle. When they started out to destroy the union in New York, their plan was not approved by the better organized clothing manufacturers in Rochester and Chicago, and the Amalgamated was able to draw valuable support from union members in those cities who were earning more directly as the result of the lockout of their New York brethren. On the other hand, the Amalgamated itself is perhaps the best disciplined and most ably directed union in the United States. It has consistently stood for an aggressive and progressive policy which its leaders explained and discussed at its annual meetings and which consequently was understood and supported by the rank and file of the membership. A union of this kind may apparently suffer from dissensions during prosperity, for it cannot cultivate vitality of intellectual attitude towards its problems without permitting sharp differences of opinion. But, when attacked, its members rally to it with unusual loyalty, because they believe in its underlying idea. In the case of the Amalgamated there were practically no defections among its members during a strike which lasted for months and forced the strikers to endure severe hardships. Its unusually sound morale was in part the result of a division in the ranks of its opponents and in part of the confidence of its members in their leaders, but it was chiefly the result of the moral bond, within the union, of a common and a partly disinterested social purpose.

The policy of the Amalgamated differs fundamentally from that of the majority of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in that it is not satisfied to fight merely for high wages, short hours and improved working conditions. Its leaders understand that high wages, short hours and improved working conditions are impossible unless industry is efficient and productive, and they have system-

atically labored to establish in the clothing industry scientific standards of production, by which the efficiency of the managers and the workers could both be measured. It has the reputation of being a radical union. It is a radical union in the sense that it proposes participation by the workers in the management of the clothing industry. It is radical in the sense that it is deliberately seeking a different organization of the industry from that which has prevailed in the past. But the different organization which it seeks to bring about is also a more efficient organization. It is willing and eager to have the work of its members disciplined and improved by scientific standards, but it insists that equally scientific standards shall be applied to the work of the management. If the workers are asked to labor with whole-hearted energy for the industry as a public service, they have a right to ask in return that the fruits of their labor be not dissipated by inefficient management or absorbed by gross profiteering.

The organization of the clothing industry which the New York manufacturers tried to destroy, when they locked out their employees last winter, was a step in the direction of higher efficiency and joint responsibility. It recognized and sought to apply scientific standards of production to which both parties consented by means of collective bargaining. When the two parties could not adjust their differences they called in, not a temporary arbitrator, but a permanent impartial chairman. It was the business of this chairman, not so much to propose a compromise between conflicting claims, as to analyze the nature of the conflict and to seek a settlement which embodied that which is beneficial for the industry in the claims of both parties. That is why he needed to be a permanent official, equipped with a staff sufficient to keep a cost accounting record of the industry and fully informed as to every aspect of its operations. It was an interesting and profoundly significant experiment in two-party industrial organization in the interest of efficiency and stability. The attempt to destroy it was culpable and the public will benefit even more than the manufacturers or the workers from the failure of the lockout. There is reason to believe that the majority of the employers will soon sign a new agreement along the old lines.

Thus ended the first great Capital and Labor clash in the latest "open shop" drive inaugurated with the beginning of general unemployment in the year 1920.

The whole membership was in the great fight. It is impossible to extend credit to each one individually. We can mention only very few of them:

Abraham I. Shiplacoff and Peter Monat, manager and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of the New York Joint Board; Joseph Gold, assistant manager, and Harris Heller, manager of the coatmaking department; Bene Romano, assistant trade manager of the New York Joint Board, and J. Catalanotti, manager of the Italian Coat-makers; H. Bernstein, manager of the Pantsmakers' Union; M. Epstein, acting manager of the Vestmakers' Union; Murray Weinstein, manager of the Cutters' Union. The following members of various committees and hall chairmen should also be mentioned: J. Cirito, H. Kaluskin, M. Nitzberg, M. Rappaport, A. De Angelo, H. Jacobson, J. Pollard, J. Yelowitz, H. Greenberg, H. Nemzer, J. Pollack, I. Sussman, Z. Zubovitch, J. P. Friedman, A. Pio, N. Wertheimer, F. Margolis, M. Nitzberg, M. Rappaport, A. Kahn, S. Katz, I. Secular, Frank Alonge, Harry Bash, Louis Baum, Anthony Billis, Frank Broncato, Anthony DeBiase, Charles Englander, M. Epstein, Stephan F'a-

sone, Louis Feitelson, Joseph Finkelstein, M. Goldblatt, Sam Heifferman, A. Ingoglia, Morris Koffler, B. Lader, J. Leppo, L. Levine, Benjamin Magid, Frank Margolis, I. Matiosaitis, I. Perlman, William Peskoff, Morris Plotkin, Antonino Rini, Max Rosenthal, Harry Rubin, M. Schultz, A. Silverman, Samuel Smith, I. Steinig, Morris Weinstein, D. Weiss, Michel Zaccaro, Paul Zinn.

Among those of the General Office who were daily in touch with the situation besides President Hillman and Secretary-Treasurer Schlossberg were August Bellanca, member of the General Executive Board; Frank Bellanca, editor of "Il Lavoro," official journal of the Amalgamated in Italian; E. Rabkin, associate editor of "Fortschritt," official journal in Jewish; Jacob S. Potofsky, assistant general secretary-treasurer; M. Arcario, G. Artoni, Mrs. Tina Cacici, Anthony Capraro, I. Goldstein, A. Greco, Leo Krzycki, Katharine Lindsay, G. Sala, Joseph E. Shea, Forte Velona, and Nathan Wertheimer, general organizers; J. B. Salutsky, national educational director; David Sapos, educational director for New York; Leo Wolman and H. K. Herwitz, of the Research Department; Victor Benedict of the Auditing Department; A. E. Kazan of the Record Department, who together with Brother Salutsky was in charge of the commissary stores.

Officers and other active members of "Big Four," Cutters' Local 4, were Murray Weinstein, manager; Charles Cohen, Louis Feinberg, Frank Finkelstein, Louis Friedman, George Hammers, Irving Harburger, Barney Jacobson, H. Jacobson, S. Katz, Moe Levy, Fred Menken, Max Pincus, Jack Pollard, Sol Schnall, Meyer Senter, Martin Siegel, A. Silverman, Isidor Steinig, George Stone, Moe Weissman.

Many persons and organizations not officially connected with the Amalgamated assisted during the lockout and rendered great service. Among them were Heber Blankenhorn, Robert Bruere, Gertrude Williams and Mary Heaton Vorse in the Publicity Department, Abraham Cahan, Charles Ervin, Arturo Giovannitti, Henry Jager, Fiorello La Guardia, V. Medem, A. J. Muste, Judge Panken, Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes, B. C. Vladeck, Frank P. Walsh, and David Wolf.

The firm of Lowenthal and Szold represented the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in all legal proceedings.

RELIEF

During the lockout the sum of \$1,165,206 was expended for relief. Of this amount \$1,038,706 was paid in cash benefits, and \$126,500 was given in supplies by the Amalgamated Stores. The \$1,165,206 expended for relief represents 59½ per cent of the total lockout expenses. The administration, with justice and efficiency, of such large sums of money to so many thousands of people in itself presented a huge problem.

The system adopted was in many respects the same as the one inaugurated by Secretary-Treasurer Peter Monat of the New York Joint Board during the 1919 strike. Its outstanding features are:

- (1) Centralized control of payments.

- (2) Division of responsibility between those acting on the eligibility of applicants for relief and the actual handling of the cash.
- (3) Choice offered to the members as to whether they would receive the benefit in the form of cash or as supplies purchased at the Amalgamated Commissary Stores.
- (4) The temporary establishment of a sort of bank, with checks drawn to members against the union, and cashed by the organization when properly endorsed.

Practically, the system worked like this: Every week relief cards were distributed to each hall which was used as a strike center. The hall chairman allotted to the chairman of each shop which had its headquarters in that hall a certain number of these cards. The number of cards given each shop was in proportion to the number of workers in the shop. Members who were attached to no shop made application for cards directly to the hall chairman. The cards were marked with what was known as an A.B.C. code to indicate the amount of relief which was to be paid. These cards were presented at certain designated centers at specified times and exchanged for vouchers on the Amalgamated, which vouchers were then cashed by the cashier. In short, for the period of the lockout and for the purposes of efficient administration of relief there came into existence an Amalgamated Bank. Too much credit cannot be given M. Blumenreich, Rufino Conti, H. Novodvor, J. Levine, S. Reich, and L. Barrash, who acted as cashiers and who handled practically all the money paid out in relief, for their efficient and capable work.

It was originally planned to issue only the so-called "Amalgamated currency" which could be exchanged at the Amalgamated Commissary Stores for food supplies. There was, however, a great deal of demand from the locked out workers for cash benefits. To meet this demand the plan was changed so that members could either receive the cards described above, which were exchanged for cash, or could, if they preferred, receive the coupons which were to be exchanged at the stores for supplies.

As the lockout continued week after week, many of our members felt the pinch more and more keenly. The fight began, it must be remembered, after a period of nine months of unemployment. The workers had already in many cases dipped heavily into their personal reserve fund. Especially those who had large families frequently came to the relief committee with appeals for clothing or medical attention. Often, in addition to the weekly cash benefit, there were bills to be met, for rent, gas, coal and wood. In order to be entirely sure that such emergency applications received immediate attention a special staff of visitors was assigned to this task. Especial mention should be made here of Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca, who for many weeks during the lockout voluntarily devoted almost her entire time to this most necessary work. Others who assisted her were Celia Abramowitz, Katharine Lindsay, Tina Cacici, H. Greenberg, F. Blumenreich, P. Pashikoff, and I. Pearlman.

The Amalgamated women of Baltimore organized a committee

to work for a "Babies' Milk Fund." More about this is told in the section on Baltimore.

A committee of women from our Vineland, N. J., local also sent to the General Office for distribution a large amount of clothing which was used to good effect.

The summary statement of the relief paid shows that it was distributed among the various departments of the industry as follows:

Branch of Industry	Amount	Percentage
Coat makers	\$571,616.60	54.
Custom tailors	57,674.20	5.5
Wholesale clothing clerks	17,274.00	1.6
Bushelmen	2,173.60	.2
Vest makers	22,851.00	2.
Pants makers	58,937.20	5.6
Children's clothing	106,507.20	10.
New York locals, outside of New York Joint Board	196,790.00	19.
Out of town locals	584.00	.058
Unclassified	4,299.00	.4
Grand total	\$1,038,706.00	100.00
Food supplies	126,500.00	
Grand total relief	\$1,165,206.00	

AMALGAMATED COMMISSARY STORES

A unique feature of the administration of relief during this struggle was the establishment of seven Commissary Stores, which have already been referred to.

The Commissary Stores were regular full-size grocery stores run by the relief committee for the benefit of the locked out workers. They carried most articles wanted in the home. A system of "Amalgamated currency" was devised to make the members feel they were actually buying the goods in the stores, and not getting a charity bundle. A member entitled to, say \$10 relief, would get an Amalgamated \$10 bill, which was "breakable." That is to say, the member could buy his supplies not all at one time, but as he needed them. He could also cash in part of the Amalgamated money bill, say, buy \$6 or \$7 worth of products at one of the seven Amalgamated Stores, and get the balance in actual money,—the exchange being on basis of parity.

The seven Commissary Stores necessitated quite an elaborate administration, which was to take care of buying products, of storing at the central warehouse, and distributing the goods to the local stores. The system of control of both buying and distributing was worked out in consultation with a number of experts, such as Messrs. A. H. Bing, Barnett Feinberg, Adolph Held, Jacob Milch. Brothers William Z. Foster and McChechan, leader of the steel strike and manager of the United Mine Workers' co-operative enterprise respectively, rendered valuable service in advising on the system of control and

organization. Educational Director J. B. Salutsky was the head of the department, and A. E. Kazan, director of our Record Department, took immediate care of the buying of the products and managed the stores. He bore the brunt of the great task of management. His untiring effort made it possible to cover the overhead expense from the margin between the bottom wholesale prices and the very low prices (25 to 35 per cent below market) charged to the members. The seven stores were in operation about four months, and distributed \$132,000 worth of products. They were both a saving and convenience to the workers. They made the workers' dollar go much farther than it would in the corner store. In fact, the Commissary Stores affected the prices in the private stores in the vicinity.

CUT TO RIGHT REPRESENTS AMALGAMATED "CURRENCY" USED IN DISTRIBUTING RELIEF IN NEW YORK LOCKOUT.

ORDER ON AMALGAMATED STORES ISSUED BY
NEW YORK JOINT BOARD, A. C. W. OF A.
TOTAL VALUE OF ORDER \$7
IN MERCHANDISE

F IDENT. NO. _____
LOCAL NO. _____ LEDGER NO. _____
RELIEF COMMITTEE, NEW YORK JOINT BOARD
BY _____
NOT REDEEMABLE WITHOUT IDENTIFICATION CARD
THIS ORDER IS NOT TRANSFERABLE

THIS STUB WORTH \$1.00 

\$2	25	25
¢	CENTS	CENTS
Not good if detached	Not good if detached	Not good if detached

\$1	50	25
¢	CENTS	CENTS
Not good if detached	Not good if detached	Not good if detached

\$1	50	25
¢	CENTS	CENTS
Not good if detached	Not good if detached	Not good if detached

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES DURING NEW YORK LOCKOUT

What is reported under this heading is, of course, only a small fraction of the immense work of workers' education carried on by the union during the unforgettable six months of the great struggle in New York—by means of the struggle itself. No grander scheme of labor education than the challenge of the New York employers and their allied and associated powers to the New York clothing workers could have been devised. It was a great scheme of education to take in an army of 60,000 people, to drill it in thorough understanding of the nature of the economic struggle in present-day society; to concentrate the will-power of this army on one goal—victory, and thereby make that army invincible. The lion's share of credit for the course of training and education of the 60,000 men's clothing makers in the lockout of 1920-21 is thus due to the

employers. The union had the relatively minor problem of defending the lines, the employers' war party having taken the offensive and thus supplied the genuine driving force in this educational undertaking.

The Education Department of the union was called upon to put itself on a war-time basis. Herewith an account of what it did and how it did it. Its work can be divided under four headings:

1. Information bureau and intelligence service.
2. Caring for the morale of the fighting army by means of education and recreation activities.
3. Activities, such as the children's New Year party, for "folks back at home" in order to strengthen the morale of those on the "firing line."
4. The Amalgamated Labor College.

Information and Intelligence Service

A total of 60,000 people were locked out from the factories—an immense mass of humanity thrown out of their accustomed ways of occupying their time. The situation was complicated by the fact that many units of the army, because of the preceding long months of unemployment, were no longer reachable as groups. "Shop chairman" was an empty sound in many cases, since the shops, due to the standstill in industry, had turned into empty shells. The organization department of the union started out, in the second week of the lockout, to organize the dislocated shop units. The huge machinery was set in motion not without difficulty. Mr. David J. Saposs was placed in charge of the information service, which was needed in the organization work. He would gather through clerks all information coming from the officers and offices, and turn it out by means of direct replies, newspaper publicity, black-board notices in the numerous halls, etc., to the numberless inquiries. Later, Brother A. Hershkowitz was assigned to assist Mr. Saposs and when the work was well established, Mr. Saposs was relieved of the information duties.

As to the "intelligence service," the term is rather odious. It reminds one of the sad propaganda activities during the war. But since the term was applied to the work, at a session of the New York Joint Board, it may as well be used here. Then, again, it is not the misapplication of a term in one case that makes it unsuitable elsewhere. The task before the union was, roughly speaking, that of disseminating correct information among the locked out workers, checking all false rumors spread by those on the other side and their agents, and of supplying the leadership in the struggle with a clear understanding of what the moods and thoughts of the rank and file of the strikers were.

One need not argue the importance of the task as indicated. Exact information is indispensable in war operations as well as in peace activities, and the union was engaged in a war for its life. Whatever "intelligence" may mean elsewhere, in the case of the union it meant real education, service of value.

The "intelligence service" of our union was organized by the Education Department in the following manner: A group of not less than twenty-five people, recruited from the various branches of the industry upon the recommendation of the people who knew the rank and file, were sent into the sixteen halls, where the workers were concentrated. They were not to deliver speeches, but to mix with the crowd, pick up conversation, explain facts and actual happenings in the union and the immediate struggle, and check up the changing moods and thoughts as revealed in casual discussions. Daily the boys in the "service" would get a mimeographed sheet with the outstanding facts in the struggle, and from personal explanations by the head of the Education Department they would be getting still further information and light on the events of the day and their significance.

Checking of harmful rumors, spread by the opposing side to poison the minds of the locked out workers, was an important task. Here is an illustration showing how the "intelligencer" operated.

In one of the strikers' halls somebody is telling his neighbors how the union leaders sold out the strike. It is a perfectly peaceful conversation, no one seemingly taking seriously the awful charge, yet words are uttered, and who can tell where they will eventually sink? A sum is named. One suggests that one of the leaders got \$500,000 for the strike. Another leader is named for the trifling sum of \$250,000.

The "intelligencer" intervenes, and suggests that the real sums were respectively \$1,000,000 and \$500,000. The amendment is adopted by unanimous consent. The "intelligencer," however, marvels why the employers were willing to pay such a huge price. No one knows. The "intelligencer" further questions the wisdom of buying the leaders and the strike, since there is really no strike but a lockout, and the lockout is in full swing. None seems to be wiser, until one in the crowd suggests that "it's all a bluff," and that stands as the final settlement. The "intelligencer" retreats.

The "intelligence service" was continued during the first critical weeks until the strike or lockout energy on the part of the workers had been definitely consolidated.

There weren't enough good workers to "man" these jobs (incidentally, not paid, as the work was considered strike duty). Had the union then possessed its present-day Active Workers' School, the material would have been had for the asking.

Caring for the "Morale" of the Army

The locked out workers were situated in halls scattered over the city. The halls were organized by the union in such a manner as to enable the machinery of the organization to check all "rear line" activities. Pickets assembled in the halls early in the morning and again after having discharged their picket duties. Shop meetings were held in the halls, and terms of settlement with "deserters" in the manufacturers' ranks considered right there. Idle hours were spent there as well.

Under the supervision of the "speakers' bureau" established by the department, members of the union and friends of the movement generally addressed the strikers. Nearly every week a particular feature of the struggle was discussed and the workers at the halls were addressed on the assigned subject.

The first general meeting of the locked out workers took place on December 6, 1920, when the resolution rejecting the war-provoking ultimatum of the employers was adopted.

The following account of the number of mass meetings, shop, and firm meetings, held during one week, December 20-27, shows the size of the job. The number of meetings fell off as the workers returned to work in "settled shops."

NUMBER OF MEETINGS HELD IN EACH HALL FROM MONDAY,
DECEMBER 20, TILL MONDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1920

	Mass meetings	Firm and shop meetings
Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th Street	3	25
Stuyvesant Casino, 140 Second Avenue	2	15
Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street (Cutters)	5	
Oddfellows' Hall, 98 Forsyth Street	2	15
Forward Building, 175 East Broadway	1	15
Jefferson Hall, 92 Columbia Street		10
Vienna Hall, 105 Montrose Avenue, Brooklyn	1	17
New Plaza Hall, 127 Havemeyer Street, Brooklyn	1	2
Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street Brooklyn		15
9 Siegel Street, Brooklyn		8
Bush Terminal Section, 983 Third Avenue, Brooklyn	1	
Royal Palace, 16 Manhattan Avenue, Brooklyn	1	5
Clinton Hall (Children's Jacket Makers)	1	15
Total for week	19	142

Two very large mass demonstrations deserve special mention: one on January 27, at Madison Square Garden, and one on May First at the 71st Regiment Armory. No fewer than 19,000 people jammed the hall on the first occasion; and 12,000 in the second hall, its top-most capacity, were glorious proof of the undaunted spirit of the people and the organization behind them. Frank P. Walsh was the "outside" speaker at the Madison Square Garden rally.

Concerts and theatricals were an outstanding feature in the care-taking of the strikers. The May First meeting in the 71st Regiment Armory was marked by a splendid concert of the National Symphony Orchestra in full force. The Madison Square Garden demonstration on January 27 was assisted by Cantor Joseph Rosenblatt's and violinist Mark Wernow's rich songs and playing.

That was not all. Special performances for the strikers were given free of charge by nearly every Jewish theater on the East Side:—People's, Gabel's, Irving Place, Tomashevsky's. In addition, a large number of artists, actors, singers, and musicians went to the locked out workers' halls and there entertained very appreciative

audiences. On the whole, those were crowds that knew how to appreciate beauty and art and to laugh at a good jolly joke. The artists thought that it was just lovely to strike. There were all in all twelve big concerts and eight theater performances given. The artists all contributed their services gratis. There were also a large number of educational talks and lectures.

Among those who rendered valued service in connection with the entertainments and concerts held for the locked out workers, special mention should be made of R. Gosin, manager of the Jewish Actors' Union, M. Groll, Cantor Hershman, Cantor Rosenblatt, Cantor Josef Schlisky, Gretta Meyer, the Theatrical Workers' Union and managers and owners of the Jewish theaters, and Madame Maria Winetzskaja.

The Children's New Year Party

This was a unique enterprise. Though conceived late it was still carried out in true Amalgamated spirit. It was well worth the effort made to run this Amalgamated Children's Party in six halls; incidentally, with the niggardly appropriation of \$1,200. But a few paragraphs from a colorful description of the affair by Mrs. Mary Heaton Vorse, the head-worker in organizing the party, will give an idea of what the undertaking meant to the people in the organization:

"On New Year's day I learned for the first time the full significance of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. I learned more! I learned the inner meaning of 'organization' and 'solidarity.' . . .

"On New Year's day the locked out clothing workers of New York gave a New Year's party to the children of the organization. When preparations were made for four thousand children, many people were so doubtful if so many would come. So the people in charge of the party worked in the dark.

"Would the children and mothers come? No one knew.

"Anyway all the halls available on New Year's day were hired. There were play directors and a pianist for every place. There was an entertainment for every hall, and Charlie Chaplin had given his films for the children's party.

"The children came. They came in thousands. They swamped us. We could have filled fifteen halls instead of five.

"Next time,' one policeman at the Great Central Palace said to me, 'you'd better hire Madison Square Garden.'

"Next time,' said the other policeman, 'they'd better hire Central Park.' . . .

"As I looked at the crowd in the hall I realized that I was seeing something new. I had never seen a whole children's audience before. I had seen audiences through which children were sprinkled. I had seen them in school, but I had never looked down from a platform into such a sea of eager excitement. They were sitting on their mothers' laps, cramming the aisles, sitting on one another's laps—jammed. Their fathers standing ~~in~~ the space behind the chairs. . . .

sible. The children there came in so beautiful a spirit, bringing with them the treasure of their enthusiasm; and because there were so many of them they were disappointed. And we had been afraid, since it was a new departure, that only a few would come....

"How kind every one was and how patient! They sat down again and the girl orchestra played one thing after another, the songs that every one knew, 'Old Black Joe' and 'Suwannee River' and 'Smiles,' and 'The Long Long Trail.' And these little girls in the rear of the hall, heads thrown back, sang back to us who were on the platform trying to lead the singing. We sang to them. They sang to us."

Every child in the Amalgamated New Year's Party received a prettily packed gift containing candy, a couple of toys, and a New Year's greeting in the shape of a calendar with a special drawing by J. Boardman Robinson.

An Amalgamated Day School

The Amalgamated Labor College was the name given to an attempt to utilize the involuntary leisure of those of the locked out workers who cared for more systematic study. Its purpose was formulated as follows:

"The aim of the instruction will be to enable our members better to understand the great social and economic problems, so as to participate more intelligently in the affairs of their union and society. Students will be aided in systematizing their already acquired knowledge, will be introduced to sources of additional information, and trained in methods of intensive study."

The course given in the day college included the following:

1. History of civilization: A study of the beginning of man and society. Consideration was given to the life of primitive man, how he made a living, acquired beliefs and opinions, developed institutions and formed social units. On this background was traced the evolution of religion, ethics, customs, marriage, property, law, art and science.

2. Public speaking: A study of platform methods, use of the voice, preparation of speeches, gathering material, parliamentary procedure. Attention was also be given to pronunciation and correct use of English.

3. Working class movements: Evolutionary development of working class organizations and philosophies in Europe and America. The following subjects received special attention: The guild system; early beginning of workers' organizations and philosophies; the modern movements like the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor; the I. W. W.; One Big Union, and independent unions like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. In connection with these movements, the philosophies which they foster were discussed, such as Anarchism, Communism, Socialism, Guild Socialism, Syndicalism, Greenbackism, Single Tax, pure and simple trade unionism, and social reform. The contributions of the different immigrant races to the American labor movement were also discussed.

Economics: Application of the principles of economics to understanding the industrial and social problems of today. Among the topics treated were the production and distribution of wealth, value and exchange, rent, interest, profits, banking, taxation, advertising, industrial crises, labor research, and statistics.

Solon De Leon and David J. Saposs were the teachers. The work in the Amalgamated College continued for over a month, until partial settlement in the industry depleted the ranks of the day students and rendered the continuation of the school impossible.

MEDICAL RELIEF WORK DURING LOCK-OUT

"The Medical Relief Conference for Locked Out Clothing Workers" was the name given to an organization formed for the purpose of furnishing medical service to the members of the Amalgamated and their families during the time of the lockout.

The initial meeting was held January 21, 1921, at the Union Health Center of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. About 100 physicians, including many leaders in their profession, attended and worked out plans for the effective handling of the relief work. One thing was made clear at the outset—namely, that this was not to be a "charity clinic." For office calls, a charge of 50 cents was fixed and for home visits \$1. For this, the Amalgamated members were able to get the best medical advice and treatment.

The Union Health Center placed its entire staff and all facilities at the disposal of the conference. Thus the main office of the Medical Relief Conference was at the Health Center. Physicians were in attendance there to take care of patients who were able to leave their homes and call at the Center. Physicians were sent to those members who were too ill to call at the Center.

The advisory council of the conference consisted of Dr. Julius Halpern, president; Dr. Joseph Rosenberg, secretary, and Dr. George M. Price, director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control of the I.L.G.W.U. Dr. Price was largely instrumental in organizing the conference. The list of physicians with lent their services included the above and also the following: Benjamin Antin, Alexander Amols, J. Abowitz, L. Antell, L. Blaustein, L. Baruch, Simon Bloom, Benjamin Diamond, B. Dubovsky, E. I. Diamond, S. J. Essenson, B. Edelsack, S. Epstein, W. Feldman, H. Feuerstein, M. Goldstein, A. Goldstein, E. Goldman, J. Glassman, J. Glassburg, Maude Glasgow, A. Gottlieb, J. Lichtenstein, H. S. Katz, R. Kahn, William Lipshitz, I. M. Lashinsky, S. Lubin, S. L. Mailman, A. Nemser, M. E. Orenstein, E. Pailer, J. B. Plotkin, B. Radgik, S. Rinkoff, G. Reiss, A. Rovinsky, I. Ritter, Sophia Rabinoff, Sophia Rossum, M. Rivkin, M. Rotkin, J. Smith, W. Streiffer, W. Saredoff, L. Sternberg, N. Schutz, A. M. Schwager, P. Sussman, H. Schwatt, J. Subkis, I. R. Tillman, Anna Weintraub, J. LePinto, Levine, I. Uvillier.

Besides these, Miss Lillian D. Wald of the Henry Street Settlement offered the services of her staff of visiting nurses in the Bronx,

No. 14936

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE
NEW YORK

MAY 10 1921

PAY TO THE ORDER OF *New York First Bank Corp* \$ *238,000⁰⁰/₁₀₀*

Two Hundred & Thirty Eight Thousand⁰⁰/₁₀₀ DOLLARS
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

TO
The Bank of United States
MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM
FIFTH AVENUE AT 32ND STREET
New York
Joseph P. Flannery CHM. SECY
Gerald S. (oto) Joly ASST. GEN. SECY

1-277

CHECK FOR \$238,000 ISSUED BY THE GENERAL OFFICE TO THE NEW YORK JOINT BOARD
—A CHARACTERISTIC TRANSACTION OF THE GREAT LOCKOUT STRUGGLE

Manhattan, and Staten Island. The East Side Medical Alliance also offered its services. The Alliance furnished a list of doctors enrolled with it, who were ready to respond to calls from Amalgamated members.

The efficient work of the Medical Relief Conference defeated the usually effective ally of the bosses, sickness.

The work of the conference, under the leadership of the advisory council, cannot be overestimated. The Amalgamated is highly grateful to all who were connected with the Medical Relief Conference.

AGREEMENT WITH NEW YORK ASSOCIATION ENDS MAY 31

During April, 1922, the Amalgamated received the following letter from the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Association:

CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, Inc.
42 East 11th Street,
New York City

APRIL 10, 1922.

Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
31 Union Square, New York City.

Dear Sir:

Pursuant the provision in the agreement entered into between the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York, Inc., and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, effective on June 1, 1921, and which reads as follows:

"This agreement is entered into between the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York, Inc., a New York corporation, acting for itself and separately for each member thereof, party of the first part, hereinafter referred to as the association, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a voluntary association, acting for itself and each member thereof, party of the second part, hereinafter referred to as the union, and is effective from June 1, 1921, to May 31, 1922, and shall be automatically renewed from year to year unless either of the parties thereto shall give notice to the contrary within thirty days of the annual expiration thereof."

The association herewith officially notifies you that on and after May 31, 1922, the association will cease to function as a medium for the making of a collective agreement for the New York market and that the present agreement shall be considered terminated on May 31, 1922.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) MARK L. ABRAHAM, President
IRVING CRANE, Secretary

This notice of the formal ending of the existing arrangement between the union and the employers, on notice of the employers, means that after June 1 the contractual relations between the Amalgamated and the manufacturers will be with individual employers direct instead of through the association.

As far as all indications show, this does not mean any break, either between the market and the union, or between the individual firms and the union. Since the lockout settlement a year ago the manufacturers' association has been unable to hold its membership together, and it has been steadily weakening. The impartial chairman's machinery has been maintained jointly by the union and the associations and will continue until June 1.

BOSTON EMPLOYERS FIRST TO OPEN FIRE

To the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Boston belongs the unenviable distinction of beginning the lockout fight for the open sweat shop in the clothing industry. December 6 was the date set by the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York for the Amalgamated to surrender or accept a lockout fight. Open hostilities began December 8. The Boston employers, however, were prompt. On December 6 the association broke its agreement with the union and its members and locked out their employees.

For a proper sequence of events we shall go back to the time immediately after our Boston Convention, 1920.

The Amalgamated held conferences with employers in several markets on wage questions. At those conferences the matter of creating an unemployment fund for the workers in the industry, in accordance with the action of the Boston Convention, was also taken up. Boston was one of the markets involved. The Boston employers made a series of demands upon the union, as shown by the context of the decision. The hearings were held before a special board of arbitration, composed of Judge Jacob M. Moses, Dr. William M. Leiserson, James Mullenbach, and Dr. H. A. Millis.

Herewith the decision of the board of arbitration, handed down September 10:

In regard to the wage demands made by the union, the board is of the opinion that no general increases in wages should be granted at the present time on account of the serious conditions prevailing in the clothing industry in Boston and throughout the country. If, however, conditions in the industry should change so as to warrant the board in granting a wage increase before the union under the agreement would have a right again to present wage demands, due notice will be given to the manufacturers and to the union that the board will take up the question of an increase for further consideration. And the board, as a condition of its present decision, reserves to itself the right to grant a general increase or an increase to any sections if the conditions in the industry should change so as to justify such action.

The employers' requests for the right to install sectional work, to choose either men or women for any work they may have, and to use hand irons in pressing are fully covered by section 4 of the existing agreement between the manufacturers and the union. This board can make no general decision covering such questions as these. As specific cases arise in a shop they should be handled according to the procedure clearly described in section 4 of the agreement signed by both parties.

The demand of the Manufacturers' Association that the employer shall have the right to reduce the number of help employed or to close any shop entirely is also a matter that must be taken up under the agreement whenever specific cases arise. The discharge clause of the agreement and the practice of equal division of work during slack periods, which has been customary in the Boston market as well as in all the other clothing markets, must be considered in settling these specific cases as they arise.

The special request of the union made at the hearing in Boston that an unemployment fund be created to take care of the workers during slack times, the board is in no position to decide on the basis of the evidence present. The same request has been made in all the other markets and the board is recommending to the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers and to the national union that a committee representing both parties be appointed with an impartial chairman to investigate the problem of unemployment in all the markets and to recommend a definite plan of dealing with the problem.

As may be seen from the above decision, the employers demanded in effect the abolition of the provisions in the agreement covering discharge of workers and equal division of work. The board ruled that the provisions in the agreement hold. That decision was defied by the Talbot Clothing Co. It refused to abide by the agreement, and discharged a number of its employees. The union proposed arbitration of the dispute, in accordance with the agreement. The firm refused and forced a strike upon the Boston Joint Board.

Shortly after the strike against the Talbot Co. for its violation of the agreement was called by the Amalgamated, the firm called upon the United Garment Workers to help them in their difficulties. The United Garment Workers set out to supply the Talbot Co. with strikebreakers. However, their efforts to recruit such strikebreakers for the Talbot Co. were ineffectual. There were no desertions from the Amalgamated ranks, and the strike continued as before. The entrance of the United Garment Workers into the Talbot fight was the first of a series of efforts on the part of employers during the Boston lockout of 1920-21 to defeat the workers under the Amalgamated banner by injecting the United Garment Workers into the situation. However, the United Garment Workers failed as miserably in later attempts as they did when called upon by the Talbot Co. in October, 1920, and the employers soon learned that that weapon against the workers was not an effective one.

In order not to embarrass the association by acting before it was fully prepared, the Talbot Co. resigned from the association.

Thus the developments in Boston followed closely those in New York. The case of the Talbot Clothing Co. in Boston was almost the exact counterpart of that of Cohen, Goldman & Co., in New York. The subsequent developments were identical. The same fatal date, December 6, was selected by the association in both cities for challenging the union to a test of strength. As stated above, Boston was prompt and fired the first shot. New York was two days late. Possibly, the priority was yielded to Boston by the New York war party for the moral effect upon the "pacifist" element in the New York association. The services were probably reciprocal: Boston was urged on and encouraged by the war party in New York and the latter's cause was promoted by a large publicity given by the newspapers to the beginning of the lockout in Boston. Thus the Boston employers began on schedule time the fight for the open shop, a heavy

reduction (in this case 22½ per cent), and all else that the open shop implies.

On December 10 the locked out workers met at a mass meeting at Grand Opera House and solemnly pledged themselves to defend the life of the organization against all attacks. The following resolution was adopted unanimously and amidst great enthusiasm:

Whereas, The Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Boston has abrogated the agreement between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the aforesaid association;

Whereas, The true cause of the abrogation of the agreement is not the uncalled for, unfounded, and unjustified allegations, but the fact that there is now a state of universal unemployment in all industries, and our employers are seeking to profit by this social curse of unemployment, and are seeking to demoralize our organization and working conditions, for which purpose they deemed it necessary to free themselves from the obligations implied in the agreement; be it

Resolved, That we, members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Boston, in Massachusetts, assembled at Grand Opera House, on the 10th day of December, 1920, hereby declare that

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was not organized and built and brought to its present state of power and success by the agreement with the association; on the contrary, the agreement with the association was but an incident in the routine of our organization.

That the forty-four-hour week and other improved conditions have been the direct, immediate, and unavoidable effect of our united power and action.

Be it further resolved, That we solemnly pledge ourselves to support, defend and protect our organization, rights and working conditions against all attacks. The employers may or may not have agreements with our organization, as they may choose, the industry is ours. Our lives and health are invested in it, and the welfare and happiness of our families depend upon it. We have secured a voice in it and shall not surrender. We shall therefore never permit the restoration of the ancient rule of arbitrary power and sweatshop conditions in our industry.

For a time the lockout manufacturers had hoped to break the resistance of the locked out workers by the time honored scheme of dividing the workers' ranks. They had tried to bribe the cutters' local union into betraying the tailors. The employers remembered that in former years, not so long ago, there was no bond of solidarity between the cutters and the tailors. True, this time the cutters' union was an integral part of the Amalgamated, but the relationship was still new: under unfavorable industrial conditions a good bribe ought to be attractive. Among the temptations held out by the employers was exemption from the 22½ per cent wage reduction proclaimed against the tailors as proof of the blessings of the "open shop." The cutters' local did not sell out the tailors. It co-operated with the entire organization throughout the lockout struggle. As a last resort the employers sent letters to the individual members of the cutters' union. The following exchange of correspondence speaks for itself:

**LETTER SENT BY THE EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION TO
THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE CUTTERS' UNION**

CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF BOSTON

January 6, 1921.

To Every Member of the Clothing Cutters' and Trimmers'
Union of Boston.

Dear Sir:

We believe that the great bulk of the members of your union do not understand or realize the present condition of affairs existing between our association and that of which you are a member. We wish you would give this letter the same consideration that you would give a letter from any friend. Think it over and if we are wrong, tell us.

For almost forty years relations between you and us were uniformly friendly and without disagreements other than minor ones such as will always arise between men, always easily adjusted to our mutual satisfaction.

About two years ago, forced thereto, we understand, by mistaken leadership, you affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Have you gained therefrom anything but trouble?

When we worked together under the old arrangements we were working on the American basis of a fair day's work for a fair day's pay, and individual merit in skill or speed was recognized. You were working to build up an industry and we were doing the same. You had our respect and we believe that we had yours. Very often there was added to respect a sincere friendship, fellowship, and liking.

Today you are members of an organization which aims to upset not only the orderly conduct of business but the very foundation on which business rests, co-operation and pulling together. This organization goes farther and frankly states that it will endeavor to overturn the social fabric that civilization has built up, substituting therefor the same sort of industrial chaos that exists today in Russia where the Soviet government can neither pay, feed, clothe, nor house its workers.

Do you yourself, an American, want to continue to be linked with a revolutionary organization like the one to which you are now bound?

You know that in the end Americanism will triumph. The Soviet government is not for this country.

We have no quarrel with organized labor. In many ways it is more satisfactory than unorganized to the employer as well as to the employee, but the difference between organized labor and communism is very great. Beware that you do not mistake one for the other.

We are ready to deal with the Clothing Cutters' and Trimmers' Union of Boston today as we have in the past. We will pay you such wages as may be agreed upon between us on a fair basis in which a man's ability shall be recognized by the size of his pay envelope. With a branch of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America we will not treat nor will we enter into agreements. We will employ you as individuals today. We should prefer to deal with the old union which we could trust and who could trust us.

Look these facts squarely in the face. Consider the position you are in and decide whether or not you wish to remain permanently allied to the enemies of America.

Very truly yours,

L. C. WHITE,

for the Executive Board,

Clothing Manufacturers' Assn.
of Boston.

THE CUTTERS' LOCAL REPLY

January 8, 1921.

Mr. Luther C. White,
Employment Manager,
Boston Clothing Manufacturers' Assn.
Boston, Mass.

Sir:

The members of the Boston Clothing Cutters' & Trimmers' Union, Local 181, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have expressed themselves individually and collectively, and have voted as a body to unanimously reject your proposal to secede from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America of which this local is an integral part. We shall attempt to answer the questions you raise in proper sequence. You are laboring under a misapprehension of considerable magnitude when you say you believe our members do not understand the true status of affairs, pro and con. Gentlemen, there is no difference of opinion or dissension among our ranks on this issue. This question would have been definitely decided in your minds, beyond the peradventure of a doubt, could you have heard the finality of the decision expressed by our unanimous vote today.

In accepting your suggestion to tell you whether you are wrong, after due deliberation, we are attempting to meet your candor with an equal expression of frankness. The most astounding and outstanding feature of your letter is the untruthful and libelous assault on the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. You characterize our organization either directly or indirectly of:

1. Communism.
2. Being a revolutionary organization.
3. Being allied to the enemies of America.
4. Attempting to upset orderly conduction of business.
5. Disrupting business co-operation.
6. Attempting to overturn the social fabric which civilization has raised, likening the effect to conditions in Soviet Russia.

Pray, gentlemen, why stop at these "petty" accusations? Why not add murder and arson to your hallucinations and complete the farce?

We have no regrets or self-recriminations for our act in joining the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and you are again misinformed in understanding that this action was taken through mistaken leadership. The benefits derived from our affiliation are manifold, and the moral gain almost incalculable. Our creed is centuries old: "United we stand, divided we fall."

It is not within our province, neither is it our intention to question the merits or demerits of foreign forms of government. Most heartily as a 100 per cent American organization in spirit, do we agree with you, that Americanism in the end will triumph. May its beneficent light and blessing be free to all, and may it dispel all bigotry, greed, exploitation, and misunderstanding. How do you expect to exact trust, when you do not offer it, as is evidenced by your act in writing our members individually, thereby ignoring their executive board?

On one hand you offer us sincere friendship and respect, laying particular stress on the congenial relations heretofore existing, and on the other you unjustly accuse us of a most malignant form of un-Americanism.

Surely, gentlemen, a reconsideration of the text of your letter must cause you some qualms of conscience! This is so unlike the fair judgment we have previously received at your hands that it is distorted beyond recognition.

In conclusion, we desire to say that the doors of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are always open to those who wish to treat with it.

Your truly,
 Boston Clothing Cutters' and
 Trimmers' Union, Local 181,
 A. C. W. of A.
 (Signed) J. J. HAYES,
 Secretary.
 (Signed) A. J. BOWDEN,
 President.
 F. P. CARROL,
 Chairman Executive Committee.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED

Whereas, the clothing manufacturers of the city of Boston, on December 6, 1920, declared for the open shop, by breaking their agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and

Whereas, the declaration of the Boston Clothiers' Association for the non-union shop is a conspiracy to break the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in this city with the ultimate object of reducing wages and robbing the workers in the clothing industry of their only means of obtaining fair wages and decent living conditions, and

Whereas, our organization has on numerous occasions expressed its willingness to negotiate with the Employers' Association to the end that any existing evils be rectified and any problems that confront the industry be solved jointly with each side assuming full responsibility, and

Whereas, the clothing manufacturers of Boston have for the last few weeks embarked on a campaign of slander and misrepresentation, with the object of concealing their real motives—which are to break the union and destroy collective bargaining, and

Whereas, in their campaign against us, the employers have sent individual letters to our brothers, the clothing cutters, attempting to induce them to betray their fellow workers by seceding from our parent organization, hoping by this attempt "to divide and conquer," therefore be it

Resolved, at a mass meeting, held Monday, January 10, 1921, in the Grand Opera House, Boston, Mass., to accept the challenge made to our organization by the employers, and be it further.

Resolved, to empower our regularly constituted bodies to carry on this defensive struggle and to empower the officers to negotiate settlements, subject to the approval of the people, and be it further

Resolved, to express our sympathy with our locked out fellow-workers in New York and Baltimore. We consider their fight our fight. We know that the time is very near when we will all march back into the shops, from which we have been locked out, with our heads erect, as union men and women, ready to produce clothing, in order to take care of our families and maintain an American standard of living.

Betrayal, bribery, and sell out! That was the "Americanism" of the lockout employers.

Loyalty to and solidarity with their fellow workers was the true Americanism of organized labor.

The resolute action of the cutters' organization in response to the overtures of the hard-pressed manufacturers was typical of its loyalty throughout the long fight. Alfred J. Bowden, president of the Cutters' and Trimmers' Union, Local 181, our late Brother J. J. Hayes, business agent and secretary of the local, F. P. Carroll, chairman of the executive committee, Thomas F. Haverty, the financial secretary of the local, and the other members of the executive

committee, helped immensely in the lockout struggle. Brother Bowden was chairman of the hall at 724 Washington Street where the strikers met daily, and did much to co-ordinate the activity of the tailors and the cutters. His work as head of the finance committee, reports General Executive Board Member Abraham Miller, who was manager of the Boston Joint Board during the lockout, was especially commendable.

The first settlements with the Boston employers, including two members of the association, were made on January 13, 1921, three days after the locked out workers had held their large mass meeting in the Grand Opera House. Other settlements soon followed, and on February 12 Manager A. Miller was able to announce that six members of the Boston Clothing Manufacturers' Association had already settled and that negotiations were proceeding with several other members of the association. A number of independent clothing manufacturers had also in the meantime renewed their relations with the union, and the workers had gone back to the shops under arrangements made by the Boston Joint Board. The basis for settlement was a 10 per cent wage reduction and union conditions, instead of the 22½ per cent wage reduction and open shop which had been demanded by the Clothing Manufacturers' Association.

It was just at this time when the more militant members of the Manufacturers' Association realized that they were losing the fight, that injunction proceedings were started and complaints of the severity of the police toward the workers on the picket line became numerous. "It seems more than a coincidence," reported Manager Miller, "that just when we are settling with members of the Boston Clothing Manufacturers' Association, the severity of the police in their treatment of our pickets should suddenly and very noticeably increase. We had been picketing the locked out shops since early in December, and had a few arrests right along, but not many. Suddenly the police became very strict and began to raid the pickets and make arrests right and left. Mounted police came galloping down the streets, swinging their clubs and causing a general panic. Many men were knocked down and a good many of our people hurt. One day they arrested twenty-five of our pickets, and more than 100 have been arrested so far. The circumstance that so many of the members of the Manufacturers' Association are yielding suggests that the police have been stimulated to extra severity just now as a measure of last recourse."

Steady and consistent progress in the matter of settlements was reported by the Boston Joint Board from time to time. Early in March, twelve out of the twenty-three members of the association had signed with the union, and only one independent house was still conducting a lockout against our members. Settlements with four other houses were reported shortly afterwards. Early in May one of the largest concerns in the Boston market, J. Falkson & Co., attempted to circumvent the Amalgamated by making an agreement with the United Garment Workers. But this organization was unable to secure strikebreakers and the firm soon found itself in a posi-

tion where it had to renounce its alleged "settlement" with the United Garment Workers and renew negotiations with the Amalgamated. A settlement with the Boston Joint Board was reached and on May 31, 1921, the workers returned to the jobs from which they had been locked out. The Falkson Co. resigned from the Boston Clothing Manufacturers' Association.

No market settlement was made in Boston. The lockout was virtually ended by the signing of an agreement by the Barron-Anderson Co., the largest firm in the market, on July 26, 1921. At that time Manager Miller reported that all but three of the members of the association which had declared the lockout in December, 1920, were under agreement with the union.

Realizing the difficulty of operating their shops in Boston and of breaking the solid ranks of the Amalgamated members in that city, a number of manufacturers attempted operation in other cities. The Barron-Anderson Co. went to Lewiston, Maine; Billings & Johnson established a shop in Belfast, Maine; Peavy Bros. moved to Gloucester, Mass.; Rhodes & Ripley to Hingham, Mass.; and Singer & Snow to Nashua, N. H. However, these and other firms who attempted to establish themselves "out of town" soon found that they could not run their plants successfully, and either discontinued operations altogether or returned to Boston after making an agreement with the union. Energetic organization work was undertaken by the Boston Joint Board and the national organization to bring the out-of-town workers into the ranks of the Amalgamated and accord them the protection of the organization. Among the general organizers who assisted in the Boston out-of-town work were: Mildred Rankin, Ann W. Craton, Frank Coco, Anthony Capraro, Martin Dusevica, and Mrs. Tina Cacici. Brother David Wolf, business agent of the Montreal Joint Board, took an important part in preventing a move by a representative of one of the manufacturers to bring workers from Canada to his open shop plant in defiance of the immigration laws.

As the shops settled, the people who returned to work paid their assessments to the \$1,000,000 lockout fund. Assessments as high as 20 per cent on the weekly earnings were paid, and a total amount of approximately \$100,000 was contributed by the workers of Boston during the fight. In this way the workers of Boston helped to finance the great struggle. Members of the organization in Boston paid about one-half of the total expense of the lockout in the Boston market.

ASSISTANCE FROM SISTER ORGANIZATIONS

On March 11 the following call for aid was sent out, without solicitation on our part, by fellow workers outside of our industry:

We the undersigned desire to call your attention to a labor controversy existing in Boston between the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Boston and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

This struggle began on December 6 by a general lockout of about 5,000 employees and the abrogation of an existing agreement. The association is fighting for the "open shop" in Boston. And consequently **THEIR FIGHT IS OUR FIGHT!**

In every great strike of the past, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has always generously given its support to every labor organization in its struggles. Now that they are putting up a valiant fight against the "open shop" our duty is clear. We must rally to their support! The "open shop" must be fought by all labor organizations.

Therefore, we have called a conference of representatives of all labor organizations in Boston to be held Wednesday, March 23, at 121 Cambridge Street, Boston, for the purpose of devising ways and means of assisting the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and to lay plans for combatting the "open shop" movement in Boston. You are requested to elect two delegates to represent your organization at this conference.

Those signing the call were: Henry Abrahams, secretary, Cigarmakers' Union 97; John Connelly, international vice-president, Bartenders; Jeremiah Driscoll, business agent, Milk Wagon Drivers 380; Max Gorenstein, 5th vice-president, International Ladies' Garment Workers; Edward Graves, 1st vice-president, Upholsterers and Trimmers; Max Hamlin, district business agent, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers; Bessie Irving, business agent, Waitresses' Local 112; John J. Kearney, business agent, Cooks and Waiters; Sylvester McBride, president, Typographical Workers 13; John F. Nason, president, Building Trades Co-operative; Julia O'Connor, international president, Telephone Operators; Aaron Velleman, president, Cigarmakers' Local 97.

The conference was held at the appointed time and constituted itself as the Trade Union Defense Committee of Greater Boston. Delegates were present from the following organizations:

Independent Workmen's Circle, International Hod Carriers, United Shoe Workers, United Leather Workers, Allied Shoe Workers of Boston, Painters and Decorators, Labor League, Cloak and Suit Workers, International Ladies' Garment Workers, Cigar Makers, United Hebrew Trades, United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, Raincoat Makers, Amalgamated Butchers, Waiters, Brass Workers, Bag and Burlap Workers, Bakers, Jewelers, Lithographers, Typographical Union, Jewish Socialist Federation, Labor Lyceum, and Upholsterers' Union.

The work of the conference was helpful in the lockout struggle.

The Jewish Bakers' Union of Boston was of great help to the locked out clothing workers. Every day for several months they supplied 2,000 rolls without charge for the relief of Amalgamated members. They paid out of their own funds for the flour, and worked extra time without pay, so that this contribution could be made. The action of the Jewish Bakers' Union of Boston was a wonderful exhibition of workers' solidarity.

In the administration of relief for Amalgamated members, the organization received assistance from the Co-operative Stores of the Independent Workmen's Circle and the Lithuanian Co-operative Store. For several months at the height of the struggle these co-operative enterprises arranged to give to our members the benefit of their organization and sold foodstuffs at cost to those receiving relief money from the Boston Joint Board. No charge was made for overhead expenses or administration costs. By their practical assistance

the co-operative stores showed their sympathy and good wishes for the locked out workers and were a great help to us during the struggle.

On April 6, Mayor Peters made an attempt to bring about a settlement but the employers refused to respond.

In connection with the Boston lockout struggle, there were 250 arrests, of which 216 have been disposed of, leaving thirty-four cases pending at the time of this writing. There were 146 convictions in the lower court, and 104 acquittals. Four defendants were held for the grand jury. In one of these cases the grand jury found "no bill" of indictment; in the other three, indictments were found by the grand jury, but were nolle prossed, that is, dropped. In the superior court there were 142 acquittals and four convictions. The total amount of fines imposed in the lower court was \$2,343; the total amount of fines paid in the superior court was \$434, with \$335 involved in cases still pending. The total amount of sentences imposed in the lower court was 1,180 days. No member of the organization has been committed to jail, and all jail cases have been disposed of.

At the time of the Boston Convention, Harris Heller was manager of the Boston Joint Board. In October, 1920, Brother Heller was elected manager of the Coatmakers' Branch of the New York Joint Board. Brother Heller was succeeded by Abraham Miller, member of the General Executive Board, who was elected late in November, 1920, and assumed the duties of the position just before the general lockout was declared in December.

Brother Miller was in charge throughout the lockout. He was manager of the Boston Joint Board for the ten months from December, 1920, to October 1, 1921, at which time he was elected manager of the Pants Makers' Branch of the New York Joint Board. Brothers Anthony Ramuglia and Frank Lerman were then placed in charge of the Boston office. They were assisted by General Organizer J. Salerno. They were in charge until recently, when they were succeeded by General Organizer Louis Hollander. S. Albert, secretary-treasurer of the Boston Joint Board, was another who dedicated himself to the cause during the great struggle. Our old friends Roewer and Bearack were in charge of the legal proceedings.

Other active workers who have faithfully put their shoulders to the wheel in Boston are J. Blume, M. Benjamin, S. Turok, A. Cohen, B. Miller, M. Wilensky, H. Wisberg, B. Sheckman, P. Hogan, J. Pukevich, A. Wartovitz, P. Yanofsky, D. Genevese, M. Bebechick, S. Trachtenberg, M. Rosenthal, H. Starr, A. Maxwell, M. Masselli, A. Iorio, F. Falcione, F. Genelli, P. DeSabino, N. Stalone, J. Pignone, L. Labovitz, J. Rachin, M. Movitz, B. Cohen, M. Kaufman, N. Biller, J. Taitel, M. Rosen, A. Reiser, H. Marcovitz, C. Miller, E. Barris, J. Caroselli, A. Landfield, and S. Pignone.

PEACE AND WAR IN BALTIMORE

Baltimore was the seat of the Third Biennial Convention. There we heard the report of the achievement of the forty-eight-hour week and enacted the forty-four-hour law, for which all workers in the industry are grateful. Baltimore has made strenuous history, as may be seen from the previous reports of the General Executive Board.

In the renewal of the agreement with Henry Sonneborn & Co., and Strouse Bros., May, 1920, there was disagreement on some points. It was decided to refer all disputed matters to a board of arbitration consisting of Judge Jacob M. Moses, chairman of the trade boards created by the Baltimore agreements; James Mullenbach, chairman of Hart, Schaffner & Marx Trade Board, Chicago; Dr. William M. Leiserson, impartial chairman in the Rochester clothing industry, and Professor Millis of Chicago. The decision of that board was to be binding for the market.

The board met at Southern Hotel, June 10, 11, and 12. The union presented its case for a wage increase and stressed particularly the necessity of an unemployment fund in accordance with the decision of the Boston Convention, which the employers definitely opposed.

On September 11 the board of arbitration handed down the following decision:

1. The board will not award any general increase of wages at this time because of the serious conditions prevailing in the clothing industry in Baltimore and throughout the country. If, however, during the present season, conditions in the industry should change so as to warrant the board in granting a wage increase, due notice will be given to the manufacturers and to the union that the board will take up the question of an increase for further consideration, and the board as a condition of its present decision reserves to itself the right to grant a general increase or an increase to any section if in its judgment the facts and circumstances justify such action.

2. An increase of \$3 a week is granted to the week work pressers employed in those houses which are using steam pressing machines. This increase is granted because the board feels that the pressers are underpaid, considering the character of the work performed by them and the conditions under which they are obliged to work.

3. We find that the hand buttonhole makers and felling hands may need some special consideration because their average earnings appear to be considerably lower than the earnings of similar workers in most of the other markets. Therefore, as soon as business conditions become normal, the impartial chairman of the Baltimore market is authorized to adjust the wages of these two sections so as to bring their earnings up to the level of similar workers in the other markets.

4. Because of the conditions already referred to, the board does not deem it advisable to raise the minimum wage for learners at the present time.

5. The board approves the principle of equal pay to men and women for equal work. What constitutes equal pay and work for

men and women is a question of fact to be determined in each particular case. Therefore the detailed working out of this principle cannot be decided in this general award, but must be left to the impartial machinery to handle as specific cases arise.

6. With regard to the equalization of piece rates in the various establishments of the market in accordance with the quality of the work, the board feels that while this is highly desirable, the absence of uniform and accurate records of production, hours and earnings in the Baltimore market makes this impossible at the present time. The board recommends the establishment of a joint committee consisting of representatives of the workers and manufacturers for the purpose of defining and stabilizing operations and introducing such methods and records so that the equalization of piece rates may be brought about as soon as conditions warrant.

7. The board is strongly impressed with the necessity of establishing some means of eliminating or minimizing the evils of unemployment and recommends the appointment of a joint committee representing the National Federation of Clothing Manufacturers and the union, with a chairman to be selected by this board, for the purpose of investigating conditions in all the clothing markets so that plans may be formulated and means devised to solve this serious problem.

8. The board is not prepared at this time to submit an advisory report on the procedure to be followed in the application of the preferential principle as the basis of a market agreement. Conditions in the Baltimore market are extremely complicated, and the board recommends that this subject be carefully studied by a joint committee of representatives of the Baltimore Federation of Clothing Manufacturers and the union with a view to establishing a market agreement, with impartial adjustment machinery, as soon as conditions warrant.

9. In accordance with the agreement entered into by the parties in interest, the increase to the pressers above granted shall be effective as of May 1, to be paid not later than October 1 1920.

In accordance with this decision the cutters received on October 1 back pay for twenty-two weeks at \$3 a week.

Baltimore was hit very strongly by the industrial depression. The factory of Henry Sonneborn & Co., the largest in the city, employing normally about 2,500 workers, was closed for a number of weeks and re-opened to resume work for three days a week after a revision of production standards in accordance with the company's undertaking to manufacture lower-priced garments. On December 13, 1920, the firm of Strouse Bros. announced its decision voluntarily to liquidate its affairs and go out of business. Fifteen hundred workers lost their jobs and added to the already wide-spread unemployment in the Baltimore market. Eli B. Strouse, president of the concern, issued a public statement in which he gave expression to his cordial and friendly attitude toward the Amalgamated. At the time the firm went into liquidation the lockout was on in the Boston and New York markets. There some of the more militant employers were attempting to charge labor with responsibility for the depressed condition in the industry. Strouse, however, did the honest and manly thing. He frankly stated that labor was not responsible for the firm's going into liquidation, and regretted that the firm would have to terminate its relations with the Amalgamated and that a large number of people would be made workless.

LOCKOUT IN BALTIMORE BEGINS DECEMBER 18

Simultaneously with the beginning of the lockout in New York, the firm of Schwartz & Jaffee discontinued manufacturing in Baltimore, throwing its 350 employees out of work. A few days later the open shop crusaders of New York and Boston became active in Baltimore. They succeeded in starting the industrial conflagration on December 18. By the end of the year the lockout was extended to practically every shop in the market outside of Sonneborn, Schloss Bros., and M. Stein & Co. Altogether about 3,500 or 4,000 members of the Amalgamated were involved. On December 30 the Baltimore Joint Board called a strike against all concerns not then working under definite shop agreements. About 225 small contract shops were closed. Brother Hyman Blumberg said, when the strike was called: "The small contract shop owners are attempting both to bring down wages and establish open shops by making individual propositions to their workers, ignoring the existence of the union. We shall insist that all negotiations be made through the union. The union has been willing at all times to negotiate, but the manufacturers are playing one shop against another in an effort to bring down wages and at the same time force the union out."

Almost immediately settlements with eight tailor-to-the-trade houses were made and 600 workers returned to the shops on January 3, 1921, under new union agreements. The following week Manager Blumberg announced settlements with Philip Kahn & Co., and S. F. & A. F. Miller & Co. These firms employed about 700 workers.

Despite the serious unemployment and depressed condition in the Baltimore clothing industry, and the lockout fight against the Amalgamated, our membership rallied to the support of the New York workers and the general organization. It was impossible for Baltimore manufacturers to get work done for New York. The workers also showed their loyalty to the cause by contributing liberally to the \$1,000,000 lockout fund, though many of the members in Baltimore were without work entirely and others were working only part time. Their support of the Amalgamated fight against the open-shop campaign was whole-hearted.

One of the leading concerns waging the open shop fight in Baltimore was Isaac Hamburger & Sons which locked out 700 workers. On March 15, 1922, the firm announced that it would not resume manufacturing and that it would liquidate its business.

AGREEMENT WITH HENRY SONNEBORN & CO. RENEWED

While the conspiracy against the life of the organization was active the agreement with Henry Sonneborn & Co. expired and was renewed. The new agreement was ratified and signed January 12, 1921.

Those who negotiated the agreement for the union were: Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated; Hyman Blumberg, manager

of the Baltimore Joint Board; Samuel Rudow; Dora A. Edlavitch; Sarah Borinsky; Anthony N. Michael; Edward Lapin; Barney S. Goldman; Louis Lederman; Morris Klavans; A. Dubinsky; D. Schnaper; Albert Novy; Dave Schuman; and Tomasso Romagno.

The representatives of the firm were: Siegmund Sonneborn, president; Adolph Roten; and Boris Emmet, labor manager.

The renewal of that agreement, with the largest part of the market in the toils of a lockout, and industrial conditions most unfavorable to labor, was indeed an occasion for the organization to rejoice.

Judge Jacob M. Moses, who had served as chairman of the trade board under the Sonneborn agreement since 1916, resigned the chairmanship in order to be able to devote himself more fully to his law practice. Dr. Leiserson accepted the offer to act as Judge Moses' successor.

DECISION GRANTING FIRM WAGE REDUCTION

On April 15 Henry Sonneborn & Co. asked for a wage reduction of 25 per cent. The union opposing a reduction in wages, the case went to Dr. Leiserson, impartial chairman. On May 3 Dr. Leiserson issued a decision, allowing a reduction of 5 per cent in the wages of button-hole makers and felling hands, and a 10 per cent reduction in the wages of other employees, except cutters. No change was made in the scale for cutters, which remained at \$45 a week.

Dr. Leiserson declared that if the firm must have more than a 10 per cent reduction in operating costs, the rest should be contributed by the management in some way by a reduction in overhead and on other items of managerial expense. The new scale became effective May 11, 1921.

AMALGAMATED WOMEN ACTIVE

The Amalgamated women of Baltimore hit upon an idea all their own to help their brothers and sisters fight the lockout in New York, Boston, and Baltimore.

The idea came to the members of the Buttonhole Makers' Local 170—the famous "Women's Local"—on the evening of January 18, while they were listening to Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca's thrilling address at Fisher's Hall on the New York struggle. When she had finished, as spontaneously as could be, the motion was made and carried enthusiastically that the women members in Baltimore be urged to make a voluntary sacrifice of 25 cents a week, though most of them were working part time. The local also organized a bazaar for the same purpose, and it yielded a very handsome amount.

Mary Heaton Vorse paid a glowing tribute to these tireless workers, in *Advance* of April 22, 1921, under the heading "Amalgamated Women of Baltimore":

Have you ever tried to raise money in the unions in hard times? Was everybody broke? Did you feel as though you were trying to squeeze a drink from an empty bottle? Worse still, did you feel as if you were trying to take money from people who needed it desperately, and that when you asked for money you were asking people to give up the little margin of comfort which yet remained to them—that you were asking them to deprive themselves of what they needed? That's what raising money in the unions has meant this year.

Yet the Baltimore women of the Amalgamated just raised \$1,000 in a bazaar. Since last May Baltimore has shared the hard times. Part of the time there was a lockout—two of the big shops went out of business and that threw 1,500 of Baltimore's 8,000 clothing workers out of work. A strike affected another 1,500. About 700 people are still out, although the industry and other jobs have absorbed the remainder of the strikers.

This prolonged slack season would be a terrible time, one would suppose, in which to make money. Moreover the Amalgamated in Baltimore is peculiarly isolated. There has been a long and bitter fight between the remnant of the United Garment Workers on one hand and the I. W. W., which formerly had a fair-sized block in the industry and which disputed it with the Amalgamated, on the other. So the Amalgamated was attacked on both sides in Baltimore. It seemed little short of a miracle that they should make this sum.

That was their ambitious plan, and I had the good luck to be in Baltimore to see how it was done.

As I went up the stairs to the hall I could hear the good time happening overhead—music and laughing and the hum of voices, children's laughter mingled with the rest, the noise of feet dancing. All this composite sound rushed out at me. Inside, the room was so crowded I could hardly get through. Benches divided the room into two parts. A fine jazz orchestra played for dancing, and all the young people danced and some of the old ones. The children were dancing; the Amalgamated kids were disputing the floor with their older sisters. In the middle was a booth with all sorts of hand-work—beautiful crochet work, sofa pillows, fancy aprons and useful ones, bedroom slippers, everything the heart could desire. Almost all the things were made by the girls themselves or some of the other women of the industry. One of the organizers of the bazaar told me:

"The girls have been working night and day. Some of them would bring their fancy work to the shop. I know girls that have sat up until one o'clock at night finishing their embroidery. Toward the last I had so many parcels given me to carry that I used to come up in the hall loaded down like a camel."

There were fortune tellers at one side of the room, and around the other side were candy booths and grocery booths and other booths with the usual cake and ice cream. People went through peddling chances on every imaginable thing. I bought chances on chocolate cakes, boxes of ice cream, aprons, embroidered night gowns, statuary, silverware, baskets of fruit, bedroom slippers, sofa pillows. I bought chances on enough things to have started a bride off housekeeping, and I won nothing. I never do win things at lotteries since the day when, as a child, I won a live calf at a church fair. Since then the God of Chance has not smiled on me—my mother refused to let me bring it home. He did smile upon other people there; every little while a ripple of excitement would run through the crowd and the victor would get his pail of ice cream or his handsome embroidered cushion, or one of the organizers would come beaming along with a big box of fruit.

Every little while a gloomy murmur would go through the people on whom the responsibility of the bazaar rested. "Nobody's buying," they would say. "The young people only come to dance. We're going to have our things left on our hands." The crepe-hangers would say,

"We won't make half we planned to." Others would say consolingly, "Well, how could you expect it? We have gone to our people again and again and they have paid their 10 per cent. How could you expect that they could spend money at this time?"

But as I looked around, it didn't seem to me to make much difference whether everything was sold or not. The whole industry was here and it was here in the spirit of holiday, young and old enjoying themselves, from the babies to the older women. There was that precious thing here that you don't always find—the real spirit of a good time. The industry was getting acquainted over again. People from different shops, and girls and men from different trades, were getting to know one another. And there were a few people from the outside—girls from the International, girls from the Stenographers, some rare A. F. of L. men, forerunners of the time when the old differences will have been liquidated and when artificial barriers which are now kept alive by the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. will have been all overcome.

I never saw so many pretty girls in one small crowd, or so many different types. There were girls with shining blue-black hair, beautiful red-headed girls, pale blondes. It looked more as though it were the try-out for some great beauty show rather than a bazaar of the Clothing Workers. I don't see how there are any bachelors left in Baltimore. What does it? Is it the climate? For these girls are of every nationality, and each one is prettier than the last.

I have been hearing about the Baltimore Amalgamated women for a long time. Whenever I talked about what a fine lot of girls the Amalgamated had in Skuykill County or some other place where I had been, someone would rise up and proclaim:

"Oh, but you ought to know the Baltimore girls!"

And now I understand what they meant, for these girls and women have as much spirit as they have looks. They have proved it before. It was the Baltimore girls who first sat up to make layettes for the strike babies. And now at the end of this crushing winter their enthusiasm and their gaiety and their hard work and their co-operation have brought off this successful bazaar. If I am not mistaken, this is the first time that all the women of the industry have worked together in an entertainment of such a size, all the different trades co-operating as one. And there is stirring talk among them that this is only the beginning.

One of the girls told me about the rise of their ambitions. "As we first talked of it," she said, "we decided to try to raise \$400. At the start that seemed a big sum when you considered how bad the winter had been. Then we raised it to \$500, and finally some one said, 'Let's make it \$1,000—let's aim high.'" And the \$1,000 mark was passed and it will be nearer \$1,200 when they get through.

This is the spirit that has leaped over the \$1,000,000 mark, this is the spirit that has been grinding away the employers' resistance. Light is breaking. Hope and spring have come together. Over 500 employers have settled; the list grows every day. Nearly 30,000 people in New York are back at work. New York pays in \$55,000 to the Relief Fund where a few weeks ago New York paid in but hundreds. I have never seen such courage, such long patient resistance, such self-sacrifice on the part of the workers who were employed as well as of those who were in actual trenches of the fight.

It has been a single-handed fight. The Amalgamated went into it expecting to fight it alone, not looking for any help from the outside. The help that has come from friends was unexpected. The industry itself carried on this historic victory. When the history of American Labor in the twentieth century is written, the story will be told how the Amalgamated by itself stemmed the open-shop drive.

The victory isn't won yet; but no one can imagine anything but

victory now. The chance of defeat was never contemplated by those who knew most about the fight. Now when the light breaks and people are going back to work I recall a conversation with President Hillman which occurred when things looked black. I heard some sympathizers asking:

"Well, Mr. Hillman, how are things going?"

"Oh, the fund rolls in splendidly," he replied.

"Oh, I don't mean that," said the outsider. "I mean what's the morale of the people, how are they sticking?"

"Oh, that," said Hillman. "I never give that a thought. I take it for granted that they are going to stick. It has never entered our heads that the membership would falter."

Nor did it ever enter the membership's head. They had, as someone has put it "Got unionism under their skins," and there was "No Surrender!" written in their hearts.

President Hillman, Secretary-Treasurer Schlossberg, Organizers G. Artoni, A. I. Shiplacoff, Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca, and National Educational Director J. B. Salutsky have addressed meetings in Baltimore and have been there on important organization work.

General Executive Board Member Hyman Blumberg, then manager of the Baltimore Joint Board, was in charge of the Baltimore situation. Others who took an important part in the fight were: Ulisse De Dominicis, then secretary-treasurer of the joint board and now general organizer; Samuel Rudow, manager; Mamie Santora, member G. E. B.; Business Agents Philip Rudich, Sol Gross, Harry Flinkman, Joseph Bulota, Thomas Truss, Anthony Michael, Samuel Pumpian, Herbert Lepson, D. S. Kohn, Barney L. Goldman, of Cutters' and Trimmers' Local 15; Harry Cohen, Sarah Borinsky, Dora Stein, of Coat Operators' Local 36; Tomasso Romagno, Lelie Alge-sirio, of Italian Local 51; Emanuel Gelblum, of Local 52; B. Gershovitz, B. Kimel, of Local 59; Morris Michelson, Louis Lederman, Max Lockman, of Local 114; Rose Quitt, Sadie Dressner, Lillian Ellison, of Local 170; Ignatius Logus, of Local 218; Anton Pasek, Albert Fisher, of Bohemian Local 230; David Snapper, Isaac Beyer, of Local 241; David Shuman, of Local 247.

There were of course many others who helped win the fight. In fact, it would be necessary to name virtually the entire membership, for they all stood splendidly with the organization in its fight to maintain the Amalgamated's standards.

ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN IN BALTIMORE

In accordance with the action taken by the General Executive Board at its meeting in December, 1921, at Chicago, plans for an extensive organization campaign in Baltimore were formulated and the campaign started. General Organizers Anton Johannsen, Ulisse De Dominicis, and Mildred Rankin were assigned to Baltimore by the General Office. A campaign committee of fifty active local workers was organized. Circulars have been issued and distributed, shops visited, and meetings held, and the organization campaign is being continued.

General Executive Board Member August Bellanca, Organizer Leo Krzycki, and Frank Bellanca, editor of *Il Lavoro*, have also been active in the organization work in the Baltimore market.

Early in February, 1922, General Executive Board Member Hyman Blumberg relinquished his position as manager of the Baltimore Joint Board, which position he had held since the organization of the Amalgamated, so that he could take charge of certain organization matters, with headquarters at the General Office. There were a number of important organization problems which required attention, particularly because of the continued attendance of President Hillman in connection with negotiations in Chicago and Rochester. Upon entering upon his new duties Brother Blumberg took over the work of establishing a new joint board for the children's clothing workers in New York City, as had been authorized by action of the General Executive Board. With the establishment of that joint board, General Executive Board Member Blumberg is directing organization work in the east.

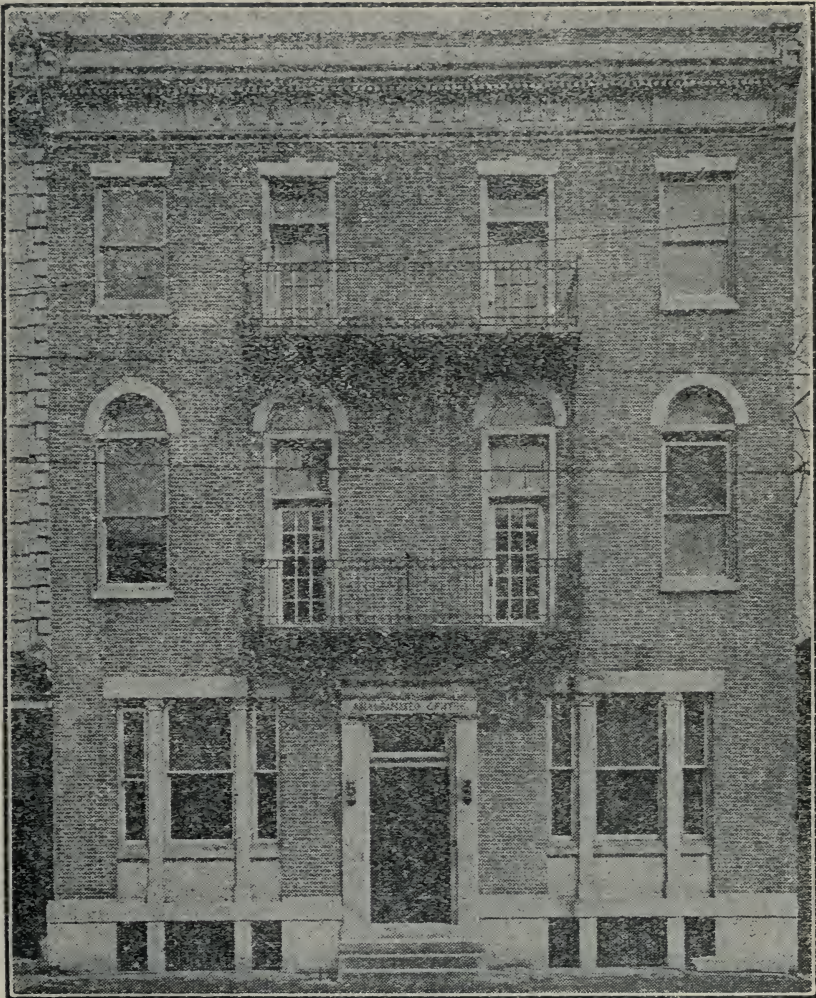
Brother Blumberg's place as manager of the Baltimore Joint Board was taken by Samuel Rudow, formerly general chairman in the Henry Sonneborn & Co.'s shops.

PHILADELPHIA DOING ITS SHARE

In the past two years labor organizations had all they could do to resist the pressure of the employers upon their members' working and living conditions. There was no opportunity for further improvements. Happy was the organization that succeeded in checking to some extent the downward drive. The Philadelphia Joint Board has done its share in stemming the tide, and made gratifying progress in various ways.

The Philadelphia organization has made certain distinct gains during the past two years. An agreement was made with the Snellenburg Clothing Co., one of the largest firms in the market, which employs 600 workers. This is our first agreement with this important concern. We also have agreements with twenty-three other inside shops and 102 contract shops. The organization membership has been considerably augmented by the gains made as a result, largely, of our organization strike of March, 1921.

The organization faced its biggest test in connection with the lockout struggle in New York. A number of lockout employers attempted to enlist the Philadelphia market into scabbing upon New York. New York work turned up in Philadelphia shops, under cover of misleading tags and tickets. Soon most of the Philadelphia shops were filled with that work. The members' suspicion was aroused. Investigations proved that the suspicions were founded. So many shops were doing scab work that any effective individual action would necessarily mean general action. The workers in the shops became restless. They were paying their assessment in support of their locked out fellow workers and did not intend to help the lockout employers defeat them. At an enthusiastic mass meeting held March 3, at Musical Fund Hall, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:



PHILADELPHIA AMALGAMATED CENTER

Whereas, The Clothing Manufacturers' Associations in New York, Boston, and Baltimore have locked out from their shops the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for the purpose of destroying our organization, breaking down our improved working conditions and bringing back into the industry the slavery of the sweatshop;

Whereas, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has courageously taken up the struggle in defense of the very life of the organization;

Whereas, The lockout employers in the above named cities are now attempting by all sorts of subterfuges to exploit the clothing workers in this city in the conspiracy against our organization and are seeking to have New York work made here; be it, therefore,

Resolved, That we, members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, at Musical Fund Hall assembled, Mach 3, 1921, endorse the action of the Philadelphia Joint Board, A. C. W. of A., in calling upon the clothing workers in Philadelphia to refuse to handle work coming from lockout houses in the above named cities, and also its decision in favor of a general strike in the clothing industry in Philadelphia, as soon as that may become necessary, in order to protect ourselves from the crime of stabbing our locked-out sisters and brothers in the back; be it further

Resolved, That we hereby authorize the Philadelphia Joint Board to call such strike as soon as they deem it necessary, and we solemnly pledge ourselves promptly to respond to such call; and be it finally

Resolved, That we extend fraternal greetings to our struggling fellow workers and the assurance of our heartiest support. We realize fully that their fight is our fight and shall stand by them against the enemies of our organization until victory is assured.

Long live the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America!

The Philadelphia Joint Board hoped that the announcement of the workers' determination not to do scab work would make an actual stoppage unnecessary. But that hope was not realized. A general stoppage of work became unavoidable. It occurred at ten o'clock in the morning of March 14, 1921.

The joint board issued the following call to the clothing workers in Philadelphia:

The clothing workers of Philadelphia, at a great mass meeting at Musical Fund Hall, decided to call a general strike in Philadelphia and instructed the joint board to carry out their decision whenever they see it advisable.

This strike is called for one and only one reason, to clean the scab work out of Philadelphia. Your manufacturers are supporting the New York employers in their effort to break our organization.

The New York workers are now out fourteen weeks, and will fight to a finish. Their fight is our fight. Their victory is our victory.

These workers are now calling upon you to come to their assistance in this hour of need.

We therefore urge upon all the clothing workers of Philadelphia to come out in a body today at 10 a. m. sharp. Don't hesitate. Don't stop. Don't finish out, come right over to the Arch Street Theater, 6th and Arch Streets, where speakers will address you.

Come out together and make history for Philadelphia. Long live the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

So keen was the interest of the workers that on the Wednesday before the walkout workers in sixteen shops left their machines although no formal strike call was made. Officials found a difficult

task on their hands to restrain the workers from walking out in other shops before they were called by the joint board.

As quickly as employers applied for settlements, investigations were made by the organization. Whenever the investigation proved that our members would not be required to do lockout work, the workers were promptly returned to the shops. Progress was made so rapidly that at the end of the first week the situation was practically all cleared up. Within a short time the Amalgamated members were back at work with the happy consciousness that they would no longer be used by the enemies of the Amalgamated to defeat the struggling workers in other cities.

During the walkout there were, of course, a large number of arrests and other persecution on the part of the police. But the organization took care of all cases as they came.

On March 19 the A. B. Kirschbaum Co. brought suit against the Amalgamated for damages and made application for an injunction. The suit was dropped.

The demonstration of solidarity on the part of the Philadelphia workers brought great encouragement to our membership in the lockout cities. Incidentally, the Philadelphia organization was strengthened to the extent of 1,000 new members, with twenty-one more shops under the union's influence.

PHILADELPHIA'S AMALGAMATED TEMPLE

The Philadelphia organization now has its own home, the Amalgamated Temple, which is owned by the Amalgamated Center. The members taxed themselves a half day's wages for the purchase of the building. The Amalgamated Temple is at 431 Pine Street. Its total cost, including extensive remodelling, will be about \$35,000. The new office is an old house, built in the days when lumber and brick and woodwork and paint were of a far different quality from what they are now, so that it retains much of the quaintness and charm of old colonial Philadelphia. It has large sunny windows, and its rooms are spacious and comfortable. There are roomy quarters for the manager's office and for the financial department quite different from the crowded old ones, and many offices for the business agents. The second floor has a large meeting hall, with folding doors, permitting both large and small meetings.

The opening of the Temple was celebrated by a great festival at Musical Fund Hall on January 27, 1921.

Among the forward steps of the Philadelphia Joint Board was the movement for amalgamation of locals in different branches of the trade, which has already resulted in the merging of the Children's Jacket Makers with the Coat and Pants' Makers' locals.

The Philadelphia organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers assisted in raising the \$2,000,000 fund to resist the lockout, contributed to the fund for the relief of the Russian famine victims, carried out a successful educational program and is now actively engaged in an organization campaign.

An aggressive organization campaign is now being conducted by the Philadelphia Joint Board with the assistance of the General Office.

The list of those who guided the organization's work during the past two years besides General President Hillman and General Secretary-Treasurer Schlossberg included General Executive Board Members August Bellanca and Frank Rosenblum, and General Organizers G. Artoni, Frank Bellanca, H. Bernstein, Mrs. T. Cacici, A. Cavaliere, Ann W. Craton, Harry Crystal, Philip De Luca, M. Dusevica, I. Goldstein, Leo Krzycki, H. Madanick, J. N. Mecca, Hilda Shapiro, and N. Wertheimer.

Among the active local people who were continuously on the firing line are M. Koslovsky, manager of the joint board; H. Levy, secretary; B. Allin, H. Mandelbaum, and B. Neistein.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRATULATIONS

The victorious ending of the great lockout struggle brought a number of congratulatory messages from labor organizations and individual friends. Two came from the other side of the ocean: one from our fellow workers in Russia, written in the ex-Czar's throne room; the other from the secretary of the International Clothing Workers' Federation, Amsterdam, Holland.

THE MESSAGE FROM RUSSIA

Moscow, June 27, 1921.

Joseph Schlossberg, 31 Union Square, New York:

Dear Friend Schlossberg: Yesterday, while sitting in the gorgeous throne room in the ex-Czar's palace attending a session of the Congress of the Third International as a visitor, I was handed a freshly arrived copy of the New York "Call" and was overjoyed to read therein that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have succeeded in repulsing the desperate attack made upon them by the New York clothing bosses. That is, indeed, a great victory. In view of the very unfavorable conditions under which the struggle was waged, I have no hesitancy in calling your breaking up of their offensive one of the most notable achievements in the history of the American working class.

The successful outcome of your fight will favorably influence the whole labor movement in this, its hour of trial. It will stiffen the resistance of the unions in every industry by showing them that a well organized working class which knows what it wants and is willing to fight for it is absolutely invincible. As for its effect upon your own union, I am sure that it will be highly beneficial. The workers have had a taste of their power, and when the next great struggle comes the battle of 1921 will serve as an inspiration to them. Its examples of hardship and suffering will hearten and encourage them on to still greater effort.

The defeat of the employers is the natural result of the splendid spirit of the Amalgamated. Many times in my recent tour, speaking to your unions, I marvelled at this glowing spirit. But since coming to this country I marvel no longer. It is the spirit of the Russian Revolution, the spirit that will lead the workers to emancipation.

Kindly convey to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers my heartiest congratulations on their heroic, victorious struggle in the face of great odds. Fraternally yours,

W. Z. FOSTER.

Subscribing unreservedly to the greeting and good wishes of Comrade Foster, the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions hold that the splendid victory secured by you demonstrates the readiness of your organization to join the International Council of Revolutionary Labor Unions. Comrades who are capable of coming successfully out of the struggle with American capitalists deserve to be in the militant organization of labor unions. The door of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions is always open to truly proletarian and militant labor unions who are consciously preparing the overthrow of the capitalist class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, general secretary, LOZOVSKY.

Members of the Executive Bureau, ROSMER (France), HECKERT (Germany), TZIPEROVICH (Russia), WATKINS (England), DMITROV (Bulgaria), REINSTEIN (manager of the American section).

Comment on above message in *Advance* of July 22, 1921:

FROM THE EX-CZAR'S THRONE ROOM TO THE AMALGAMATED

By Joseph Schlossberg

When I was in Europe last summer I had a strong desire to enter Russia. From Reval, Esthonia, I applied to Moscow for a Russian visa at the end of August. I received no reply until a few days after my return to New York the latter part of November.

Needless to say, my failure to enter Russia was a keen disappointment to me and left a wound which will not heal so soon. I thought I had a real grievance, in view of the fact, especially, that other people, whose staying out would have been to the country's advantage, were admitted to Russia. I have always felt that to be excluded both from Canada and England, presumably because of radicalism—a charge meaning anything that may suit the accuser and calling for no proof—and at the same time also to find the gates of Russia shut in my face, was a rather contradictory situation. But I considered my grievance a purely personal matter and never gave utterance to it publicly. Nor did it in any way diminish my enthusiasm for the wonderful struggle of the Russian people. I was compelled to realize that my grievance was not the most important international affair after all. And I am glad to say that neither Russia nor America was the loser by it.

If I do record my Russian experience now it is not as a complaint. I do it joyfully and in the happiest mood because it is incidental to one of the most thrilling experiences of my life. The occasion is the receipt of a cable message from Moscow, the capital of New Russia, printed in last week's issue of *Advance*. The message came from the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions and William Z. Foster, leader of the great steel workers' strike in 1919. In that cable Foster states that "while sitting in the gorgeous throne room of the ex-Czar's palace attending a session of the Congress of the Third International" he learned from the New York "Call" of the Amalgamated's victory, and sends his congratulations.

I stared at the document and could hardly believe that I was not dreaming.

Congratulations from the Czar's throne room, sent by representatives of the most advanced workers of the world, to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America! Many messages of congratulation had been sent out from the Czar's throne room in former years, but they were from tyrants and oppressors of the people to other tyrants and oppressors of the people. Now it is from workers to workers.

Now it is a message of cheer and encouragement in the struggle against the oppressors of the people.

Truth is, indeed, stranger than fiction!

* * *

Some of the more than the score and a half of nationalities embraced within the Amalgamated are: Jews, Poles, Lithuanians, and Russians.

The power which ruled yesterday from the throne room in the Russian imperial palace, the blackest despotism on earth, oppressed all the people of Russia and especially the non-Russian nationalities. I belonged to one of the latter, the most despised, degraded, and crushed of all, the Jewish nationality.

I was born in Russia and spent, or rather wasted, my childhood in the little town of my birth, but I knew nothing of Russia except oppression, misery and humiliation. Pogroms, more especially the fear of pogroms, and the terror-striking policeman with his brass buttons and red collar, were Russia to me and mine. Whatever little Russian I knew I learned from a teacher in the manner in which foreign languages are usually learned.

My people ran away from Russia, driven by the monster in the throne room. So did the Poles, the Lithuanians and the Russians themselves, in large numbers. Outcasts from their own country they came to America and built new homes here.

America was the haven for the large masses who came to seek an opportunity for a civilized life and for the champions of freedom who had escaped from the Czar's dungeons and gallows.

Occasionally the monster in the throne room would stretch out his blood-stained hand across the Atlantic to Free America for some one of his victims. It was for a Pouren, for a Rudowitz or for someone else. Sometimes a Root, presiding over the Department of State, would co-operate with the monster in the throne room in the latter's efforts to seize his prey, but always Free America vindicated her right to the title of an Asylum for the Oppressed and Persecuted of the World.

That was yesterday.

To-day the hospitable gates of America are no longer open.

To-day they are closed, locked and barred.

Fortunately, there is no more czarism in Russia and that country is no longer driving its best children into exile. Those whom it had driven to America before have organized here and are powerfully assisting in the building up of the New Social Order. And now the outcasts and exiles driven to these shores by the despot in the throne room, are receiving messages of congratulation from the selfsame throne room, which is now occupied by a New Russian and world power; messages of congratulation upon a victory secured by them as organized workers battling against tyranny and oppression!

* * *

All sorts of facts and fiction are being freely circulated about Russia by her enemies. We here are frequently unable to separate the grain from the chaff. Knowing how the American labor organizations are being slandered by the press and leaders of "public opinion" here, we are justified in refusing to accept the "information" about Russia otherwise than as vicious and malicious attacks. Let the enemies of New Russia say what they will, one fact stands out boldly, clearly and crushingly for all of them: From the ex-Czar's throne room in Moscow a message of fraternal greetings is flashed across the globe to the organized and victorious workers in America. This fact is of such tremendous historic significance that it is impossible to overestimate it. If it means anything at all it is that the new power which is now governing Russia is the power of the Russian Workers.

In the ex-Czar's throne room to-day Intelligently Organized Labor is enthroned.

The congratulations from the throne room, by representatives of the International Labor Movement, to organized workers in America, come with the might of thunder which makes tyrants and despots tremble.

If Labor to-day speaks with a voice of power and authority from the ex-Czar's throne room, who can doubt that the day is fast arriving when Labor everywhere will come to a realization of its power and speak with the authority vested in it by modern civilization?

How eloquent is the message from the ex-Czar's throne room!

* * *

The great world war which has, in addition to millions of lives and all that that implies, destroyed the freedom of movement, speech and press, and has made the formerly honored "democracy" a hissing and by-word, has produced one result which is overwhelming the world: The Russian Revolution. Within four brief years the memory of the Romanoffs has been as completely wiped out as if that dynasty had never existed. And while in every other country the labor movement is being hounded from pillar to post, in Russia it is breathing freely, in security, and is developing its brawn and brain. The advance guards of the labor movements in various countries have formed a world body known as the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, with headquarters at Moscow, the ancient capital of czarism and the home of the people's Russia of to-day. From that capital—from the ex-Czar's throne room—the new word of encouragement and inspiration is going out to the workers of the world.

The new world organization of labor, which issued phoenix-like from the ashes of the great world conflagration, sends congratulations to the Amalgamated upon its recent triumph and invites it to join the ranks of the International Council. The final and authoritative word in the matter of this invitation will be said by the organization in due time. But I feel that I am expressing the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of our members, if not of each one of them, when I say that we feel highly flattered by the invitation. In the darkest hour of our recent struggle, when the courts were granting to the employers injunctions against us for the mere asking, the A. F. of L., in its official publication, joined all enemies of the Amalgamated by announcing that we are guilty of betrayal to organized labor. We have always stood alone, fought alone, and won alone, though we have stood, fought and won for the labor movement. It was therefore but natural for the call of working class solidarity that came from the ex-Czar's throne room, in striking contrast to the malicious libel of the A. F. of L., to find a ringing echo in our souls. We feel ourselves as flesh and bone of the American Working Class, which is still ignorantly and self-injuringly turned against us, and we surely must feel that we are likewise flesh and bone of that organization of the working class which understands us, has an intelligent appreciation of our struggle and is extending to us its fraternal hand. To that organization we say: "Comrades, we, as workers, have always been with you, as workers, and are happy to know that you are with us. Your message is to us a great source of encouragement and inspiration. We are grateful to you and salute you as the leaders of the militant and thinking workers of the world. Though the organization is unable to act immediately upon your invitation we are honored and thrilled by it. We clasp your hands. You are our brothers as we are yours."

To the workers' enemies the name of Moscow may be terrifying, as for good reason it should be; to the intelligent workers Moscow, or London or Rome, or any other part of the world, is dear and beloved whenever a message of hope and spiritual uplift issues from it. This time the message came from the people's Moscow, from the Workers' throne room!

GREETINGS FROM INTERNATIONAL CLOTHING WORKERS' FEDERATION

(From *Advance*, July 29, 1921)

The Amalgamated received the following message from T. van der Heeg, Secretary of the International Clothing Workers' Federation, with headquarters at Amsterdam, Holland.

June 30, 1921.

Sidney Hillman, President,
Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary,
New York.

Dear Brothers:—

On behalf of the Bureau of the International Clothing Workers' Federation I beg to extend to you my heartiest congratulations upon your splendid victory in New York.

I am convinced that the organized workers in the clothing industry the world over have received with joy the news of the victory of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The newspaper despatches sent out from New York at the beginning of June, 1921, and reporting the conclusion of the gigantic struggle, conveyed the impression that the workers were defeated. I promptly sent an article to all trade papers in the clothing industry in Europe, in which I made it clear that the struggle in New York was not merely on a wage question but that it was primarily waged upon a matter of principle. In this the Amalgamated won out and defeated the schemes of the employers. Indeed, when the seven demands made by the employers upon the Amalgamated last August are compared with the terms of the settlement it is clear that the comrades in New York have achieved a great triumph along the lines of principle.

I am again extending to you on behalf of the European comrades our heartiest congratulations.

Long live the Amalgamated and the international struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

Two weeks ago we published in these columns a message of greetings and congratulations from Moscow. This time we publish a similar message from Amsterdam.

In the international labor world the positions held by those two cities are mutually exclusive. The International Clothing Workers' Federation is not officially a part of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which body is invariably referred to whenever Amsterdam is mentioned as opposed to Moscow. The membership of the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions is composed of countries, not of industries. It is, therefore, impossible for the International Clothing Workers' Federation to be a member of the other body. But both federations have their headquarters at Amsterdam, and both have the same attitude towards the world organization of trade unions, whose headquarters are at Moscow. In this sense the Clothing Workers' Federation may be included in "Amsterdam" whenever Amsterdam versus Moscow is spoken of.

But though the two bodies are opposed to each other we are glad to accept greetings from both, as both organizations were prompted by the same motive in this case, the desire for the expression of labor solidarity by organized workers to organized workers. Even if the Amalgamated had been affiliated with one organization or the other it would welcome, on such an occasion, a demonstration of international working class unity from both. Not being affiliated with either body, we are perhaps at greater liberty to respond to those fraternal messages with all the gratitude both of them have called forth.

Perhaps, also, this sentiment comes more naturally with us than it would with another labor organization, because of our official isolation in the labor movement. Throughout our career we have stood alone, unaffiliated with any other labor organization. Knowing that the rank and file of the labor movement are against us only because of their ignorance, we have never conceived any feeling of antagonism towards them; on the contrary, we pitied them and sympathized with them. Conscious of our unprecedented success in spite of the hostility and obstruction on the part of the official labor movement, we developed an attitude of generosity and gave that labor movement the full benefit of our success and power. We have never failed to respond liberally to any appeal from the official labor movement, though under the accepted A. F. of L. ethics we were not only exempted from such duties but were rather enjoined from assuming them even voluntarily.

It may be due to our successful isolation, which, under the A. F. of L. conditions, has proved a blessing in disguise for us, that we not only entertain no animosity against any organization of wage workers, however we may disagree with it, but are always aware of the oneness of our interests with those of all other workers.

This is the first time that a victory of organized clothing workers in America has received international recognition. And it is indeed significant that while very few labor organizations in America have taken cognizance of our victory—those few which are always accepted as belonging to the same family—two world bodies of labor have sent us enthusiastic cheers and greetings. The fact that the greetings, sincere and whole-hearted, came from two opposite bodies, the left and the right, or the radical and moderate, is conclusive proof that our triumph was genuine from all points of view.

There are great and serious differences between the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions at Moscow and the International Federation of Clothing Workers at Amsterdam, but both are bodies of organized workers engaged in the struggle against capitalist exploitation, and when both of them do simultaneously hail a working class victory it is a source of joy to the recipients of the cheers. It shows that in spite of all differences and mutual warfare within the labor movement, underlying them is the mainspring of all working class progress, the urge to working class unity and the prompt assertion of the identity of working class interests.

Very eloquent is that part of the above message by which we are informed that the newspaper despatches from New York about the ending of the lockout "conveyed the impression that the workers were defeated." We had not been aware of it before. We may judge by those deliberately falsified reports about the outcome of our struggle how little we may depend upon the foreign labor news—also domestic labor news, for that matter—handed to us by our own capitalist papers. It seems that deceiving the world in matters concerning the labor movement is no violation of the prevailing code of ethics. The prestige of a news agency would probably suffer great injury if caught lying so brazenly about any other important matter, but there is no rebuke—rather there is praise—if the object intentionally and consciously lied about is the labor movement. As may be seen from the above, this vicious practice is not only national but also international.

The next time you read in the privately owned public press that the workers anywhere were defeated, be patient and wait until you see the report in the labor press. Wherever there is no honest labor press to bring the correct news the imposition will stand, to the detriment of the cause of labor.

CHICAGO, THE WESTERN METROPOLIS OF THE AMALGAMATED

The city in which we are now meeting is one of the best known industrial centers in the world. "Chicago" is another term for Intensive Exploitation of Labor, High Concentration of Capital, and, the inevitable result of the two: Bitter Struggle of the Classes. From the bloody Haymarket affair, through the crushed American Railway Union strike, to the latest revolt in the notorious Jungle (stockyards), the labor movement in Chicago has been a continuous tragedy. The Iron Heel has planted itself firmly upon labor's neck. But while the labor movement may be defeated it cannot be killed. It has its roots in the modern industrial system. With the growth of this system the labor movement must live and grow. Thus, Industrial Autocracy, with its Haymarket, military and stockyard methods, was unable to do more than check temporarily and retard the progress of the labor movement. The movement is going onward in the teeth of all its enemies. Some of the most important gatherings of American labor, in recent years, have been held in Chicago. In a sense, Chicago has become the metropolis of the American labor movement. The leadership of the local central body is more progressive, and the spirit more vigorous and aggressive, than in many other places. It is a source of great satisfaction for us to be able to say that the Chicago Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America occupies a conspicuous and honored position in the labor movement of Chicago, enjoying general confidence and respect. The Chicago Amalgamated has built up a great power in the industrial world, and has given the benefit of that power to fellow workers within the clothing industry and without.

Two years ago the Chicago Amalgamated came to a convention for the first time with the entire market organized. Today the position gained by the Chicago Joint Board is confirmed and secured by two years' increasing confidence and loyalty of the membership. The strength and usefulness of the Amalgamated in Chicago is but added proof of what organized workers can do. A strong and intelligently organized body of workers gives the community a great social force for good. Friends and foes will agree that Chicago has made good.

The Boston Convention heard of a raid upon our Chicago offices by the state's attorney of Cook County and subsequent indictment by the grand jury of Frank Rosenblum, Samuel Levin, Sidney Rissman, Jack Kroll, Benjamin Wilner, Louis Grossman, and Maurice C. Fisch. The state's attorney proceeded to "try" those cases in the newspapers, but never dared to do so in the courts. The Amal-

gamated repeatedly demanded a trial in court instead of in the press, but the state's attorney was never ready and he always postponed. Shortly after the Boston Convention the state's attorney was compelled to admit, in effect, that the vandalistic raid was unwarranted and the character-assassinating indictments had no foundation in fact. Here is a brief review of events as prepared by Attorney Cunea, counsel for the Chicago Joint Board:

"On June 16, 1920, the case of the People of the State of Illinois v. Sam Levin, et al., was, on motion of the state's attorney of Cook County, before Judge Anton Zeman, in the Criminal Court of Cook County, stricken off the docket.

"On November 18, 1919, the indictment was returned. Some time prior to the return of the indictment a raid had been made upon the Chicago offices of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, their books and papers seized, and even the membership cards of 32,000 members taken over by officers from the state's attorney's office who were armed, not with a search warrant, but with a subpoena duces tecum.

"Sensational headlines appeared in all the afternoon papers, the banner of type across each heralding in a sensational manner the fact of the raid. and, in other columns, interviews purporting to come from the state's attorney's office, wherein it was charged that graft from employers, running into tremendous sums of money, had been extorted by the Chicago officials of the Amalgamated. The bail fixed in the indictment for each man was \$10,000. On November 26, on motion of their attorneys, the bail as to each was reduced to \$3,500.

"At the January, 1920, term of the Criminal Court of Cook County and on the 6th day of that month the case was set for trial before Judge Anton Zeman. At that time the defendants announced themselves ready to meet the charges and, on motion of the state's attorney, the case was set for February. On February 24 the case was again reached for trial as by the state's motion in January, and again the defendants announced to the court they were ready to proceed to trial and demanded a trial upon the indictment as returned, and again on motion of the state the cause was continued until March 15.

"On March 15, again before Judge Anton Zeman, the defendants demanded trial upon the indictment, and made a further motion that, on failure of trial, they be discharged, and again on motion of the state, because of the unreadiness of the state, the case was continued until the April term.

"On April 28, when the case was set for trial, the defendants again appeared before Judge Zeman and again demanded trial and again, on motion of the state, the cause was continued to the May term.

"On June 4, the case again was reached on the call and again the defendants announced their readiness and a jury of twelve men

was put in the box, and a plea of not guilty entered. The jurors were sworn to answer questions and the cause was continued by the court until June 7.

“On June 7 the cause came up again. The state peremptorily challenged the twelve jurors who had been theretofore on June 4 sworn to answer questions as to their qualifications for jurors to sit in the case.

“On June 14 another jury of twelve men was placed in the jury box and sworn to answer questions in the case, and the cause was continued first, until the 15th—the day following—and thereafter, until June 16, when the state’s motion striking off the cause was entered.

“This—the naked statement of the proceedings in court in this case—carries with it, to the unprejudiced mind, yes, and even to the prejudiced mind, the irresistible conviction that the initiation of this case by the raid and the subsequent proceedings, had in it evidence that at no time the state’s prosecuting attorneys had any case either upon which to institute a raid, return an indictment, or hope for conviction.

“Between the time of the raid and the indictment we called attention publicly, insofar as we could get the items published, to what was the real motive which caused the raid and the indictment. Fully, through the papers which would carry the statement in full and, in part, through those whose columns were but limitedly open to us, we charged that certain contractors who theretofore had been engaged in confidence operations, and who had been severally and jointly arrested and tried due to such operations, and who had become notorious through newspaper accounts of such arrests and trials, because of such operations, were the impelling and motive power in beguiling, to put it mildly, the state’s attorney’s office of Cook County to take the drastic action that followed.

“The state’s attorney’s office was visited by counsel of the defendants subsequent to the raid and before the indictment, and was informed that the defendants and each of them would waive all question of immunity and appear before the grand jury to be examined in any respect as to their acts and doings in connection with the administration of the affairs of the union. This offer was not taken advantage of.

“Through an assistant of the state’s attorney’s office the newspapers were kept filled daily with the most sensational details of alleged graft and wrongdoing, and the public mind was attempted to be poisoned against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and their Chicago officials.

“The anti-climax of all this campaign, publicity, lies, unwarranted raid, unjust indictment and deferred hearings, came on June 16.”

While the raid and the indictments were given the widest publicity by the public press, the news of the dropping of the case by the

state's attorney was suppressed entirely or reported so quietly that very few noticed it.

General Executive Board Member Samuel Levin, who is manager of the Chicago Joint Board, issued a statement as follows:

The order wipes out all criminal charges against seven officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers indicted last November. Our offices were raided, all books, letter files and ledgers were hauled to the state's attorney's office. An assistant state's attorney issued a series of statements to newspapers calling the arrested men crooks, thieves, murderers.

Our seven indicted officers appeared in court six times, once each month, demanding trial. Each time continuance was granted on request of the state's attorney. Now the charges are wiped out. The state's attorney found that the charges were instigated by the former head of a strikebreaking agency, and no employer of reputation or decency could be found to testify. In fact, from the beginning, numerous employers, as well as the leading journals of the clothing industry, laughed at the affair as a farce.

We desire to state that our Chicago organization of 40,000 members, as well as the men's clothing industry in general, is in a better position because of the affair. It is the general public of Chicago, citizens who have no strong organization and no resources to support them, who are menaced by the ignorant, tyrannical officialism seen in this affair.

Having been named crooks, thieves and murderers by the state's attorney's assistants, we challenge him to re-open these cases and give to the public all such evidence as should be forthcoming at a jury trial. Our organization will be here during more than one state's attorney's term of office, and we shall challenge and fight to a finish again any such ignorance and tyranny as we have seen in the incident just closed.

Needless to say, the case was never re-opened.

It should also be added that many of the valuable records were returned by the state's attorney's office in a condition which made them entirely useless to the organization, although it had taken many months of labor to produce those records.

The breakdown of the Chicago conspiracy was one of a large number of joy-bringing episodes in the very busy life of the Amalgamated since the last convention.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FUND

It will be recalled that at the convention in May, 1920, the organization went unanimously on record in favor of an unemployment insurance fund. The resolution favoring unemployment insurance as a charge upon the industry is as follows:

RESOLUTION ON UNEMPLOYMENT

Under the prevailing system of industry the scourge of unemployment is the greatest menace of the wage worker.

Under a just industrial system every one willing to work will have an opportunity to work.

Inasmuch as employment of labor is caused by the consumption of the products of labor, each person creates work for himself by his

own consumption of goods. Consumption being constant, there can, under a rational system of industry, be no enforced unemployment: if there is an abundance of production there can only be greater leisure without diminishing consumption.

Under the present system of industry, an overabundance of production means unemployment for the workers, a stoppage of the flow of wages, and, therefore, misery for the workers and their families. Fear of unemployment is a sword always hanging over the workers' necks, and is responsible for a great deal of unrest and unhappiness.

The great plea of the workers is for constant employment. That is labor's universal demand in spite of the charges of unwillingness to work.

Ours is said to be a seasonal industry. We are told that because of that we cannot have employment during the full year.

The employer has his yearly profits, and it makes no difference to him whether they come in eight months or in twelve. But the worker's is a daily or a weekly income. Being always near his last dollar, a period of unemployment, which means a period of no wages, brings him intense sufferings.

Because the employer has money invested in the plant, and under the law has a proprietary right in it, and because the worker has no money invested in the plant and, therefore, no property right, the illusion is created that the employer alone has interests in the industry and the worker has "nothing to lose."

But the worker has a powerful claim upon the industry. He has not invested money in it, because he has none; he has invested in the industry his life and his energy, which are of still greater social importance. Without the worker, the industry cannot function. It is sad enough if the giving of one's life to the industry brings him only a bare living while working, but it is a burning shame that the burden of unemployment is thrown entirely upon the helpless worker.

How is the unemployment problem to be solved?

Justice dictates that the industry, which depends upon the workers to keep it alive, should take care of them when they are unemployed.

That can be done only by the creation of a special fund for the payment of unemployment wages; no gift and no alms, but wages from the industry to the worker. There is no reason why the industry, which pays a permanent tax to the various insurance companies in order to indemnify the employer in case of an emergency, should not likewise have a permanent fund for indemnification for lack of work. The welfare of the workers in the industry should be entitled to at least as much consideration as the property of the employer.

The committee, therefore, recommends that the convention go on record in favor of the creation of an unemployment fund. It is our opinion that such a fund should be created by the weekly payment by the employers of a given percentage of the payroll of our members, which shall not be deducted from the payroll but paid into the fund in addition to the payroll.

This resolution empowered the General Executive Board to work out plans for the administration of such a fund and directed the General Executive Board to bring this matter to the attention of the employers.

Shortly after the convention adjourned the union presented demands to the board of arbitration in Chicago for an increase in wages and an unemployment insurance fund. Hearings were held before the board of arbitration on July 1 and 2, 1920. At these hearings the union presented, in addition to figures showing a rise in the cost

of living since December, 1919, a comprehensive brief reviewing the whole problem of unemployment in the men's clothing industry. This brief, prepared by Dr. Leo Wolman of the Research Department, has since been published as a separate pamphlet by our Education Department. The argument of the union was in brief as follows:

1. Unemployment is beyond the control of the workers. It is due in large measure to conditions under which the industry is carried on. Its cost is therefore properly chargeable against industry just as any other element in the cost of production. The cost of unemployment compensation is comparable in kind to such other elements in costs as wages, maintenance expense for plant and machinery, and costs incurred for industrial accidents.

2. The cost of unemployment must be met from a fund, established and supported by the industry and segregated for the purpose of meeting that cost alone. In this way only can the burden of the cost be sufficiently felt by those who are in a position to take steps to reduce it. It is a cardinal principle in social insurance that specific allocation of the responsibility and burden is an indispensable first step in the eradication of the evil.

It thus followed the lines laid down in the resolution passed by the Boston Convention and placed a plan, tested by experience in dealing with workmen's compensation for industrial accidents, squarely before the employers and the board of arbitration. The proposal for unemployment insurance to be paid for by the industry also came to the fore in the discussions before the British Court of Inquiry on conditions of the transport workers in England. Ernest Bevin, arguing for the workers, put the whole matter very succinctly when he said: "If it is moral to have maintenance charges for docks then it is equally moral to have maintenance for labor." The British Court of Inquiry approved the plan in principle, but the English dockers have not been sufficiently strong to put into effect a definite scheme.

At the same time arbitration proceedings were held in the other important markets of Baltimore, Rochester, and Boston. Dr. Millis and Mr. Mullenbach of Chicago, together with Dr. Leiserson, acted as a board of arbitration in those latter cities. The same arguments and demands were made in those markets. Professor Tufts, chairman of the Chicago Board of Arbitration, delayed issuing his decision until the hearings in the other clothing centers had been concluded.

In the meantime the situation in the clothing industry, and industry generally, had become more depressed and it was evident that conditions would become worse. Professor Tufts, in his decision of August 17, 1920, denied the request for a wage increase on the ground that the conditions in the industry were not such as to justify a change in wages at the present time. He, however, took recognition of the demand for an unemployment insurance fund and his decision on this point reads as follows:

With regard to the creation of a non-employment fund, the board believes that the first step in any case is to investigate. It will there-

fore appoint a commission on which both parties are represented, with a chairman representing the impartial machinery, to investigate the subject and to report as promptly as is consistent with the necessary study.

The union designated Dr. Leo Wolman as its representative on the unemployment commission, but because of the critical situation in the industry, and the general industrial depression with the consequent increase in unemployment, no further action was taken.

Professor Tuft's full decision follows:

The board of arbitration for the Chicago market, consisting of Messrs. Hillman, Meyer and Tufts, met July 1 and 2 to consider the requests of the union for a readjustment of wages under the emergency section of the agreement, and for the creation of a non-employment fund.

The first question raised was whether the present situation justifies action by the board under the emergency section. The union showed that changes were under consideration in other markets, while the manufacturers claimed that no emergency existed of the sort for which the emergency section provides. The board ruled that the purpose of the clause was to provide a safety valve and that in construing the clause the principle of a broad rather than a narrow or technical interpretation, should be used. In any case of doubt it is better to investigate than to refuse to investigate.

On the question of whether readjustments should be made, the union claimed that the cost of living had increased since the award of December 22, 1919, and is still increasing and seems likely to increase further, and that increases are being given in various other industries. The manufacturers urged that, for the best interests of industry, prices should be kept as low as possible, and submitted information as to present conditions in the industry. The board holds that conditions in the industry are not such as to justify a change in wages at the present time.

With regard to the creation of a non-employment fund, the board believes that the first step in any case is to investigate. It will therefore appoint a commission on which both parties are represented, with a chairman representing the impartial machinery, to investigate the subject and report as promptly as is consistent with the necessary study.

When the New York employers opened fire upon the Amalgamated in New York, and the General Executive Board issued a call for a Million Dollar Lockout Resistance Fund, our fellow workers in Chicago pledged themselves to contribute a full half of that amount. A glance at the detailed report on that fund will show that they have more than made good. The Chicago Joint Board assessed the membership \$20 for those earning up to \$50 a week, and \$30 for those earning above \$50 a week. The first check for \$50,000 was received from Chicago at the General Office on January 3, 1921. It was the prompt and generous help from Chicago that enabled the New York organization to undertake its defense with all the vigor the situation called for. Much has already been said at our meetings and in our publications about that brilliant demonstration of working class solidarity. The Chicago Amalgamated has written one of the most beautiful pages in the history of the labor movement and given a higher meaning to labor solidarity. Such a huge sum

of money had never before been given by one group of workers to another. The Amalgamated again made a new and inspiring record.

In February, 1921, the employers made demands for wage reductions and asked the board of arbitration for a hearing. Such a hearing was held March 28-29. The employers formally presented to the arbitration board requests for a reduction of 25 per cent in wages, a leveling of peak wages of workers who were able to get a much higher wage owing to their scarcity in the last two years, and the automatic enforcement of standards of production.

A mass of data was prepared by Dr. Leo Wolman, Harry K. Herwitz, and other investigators for the union to show that, despite the drop in prices of food averaging 15 per cent, increases in other items of expense, such as rent and fuel, have destroyed the benefit that the workers might gain from lower prices of these commodities.

Professor H. A. Millis of Chicago University, chairman of the board of arbitration and successor to Professor Tufts who had left Chicago for New York, presided at the opening hearing. The session was public, and was attended by a large number of local officers of the Amalgamated, members of the Chicago Joint Board, Dr. William M. Leiserson, impartial chairman at Rochester, and many clothing manufacturers and their representatives.

All employers in the market under agreement were involved including the Wholesale Clothiers' Association of Chicago, the National Wholesale Tailors' Association, and Hart, Schaffner & Marx.

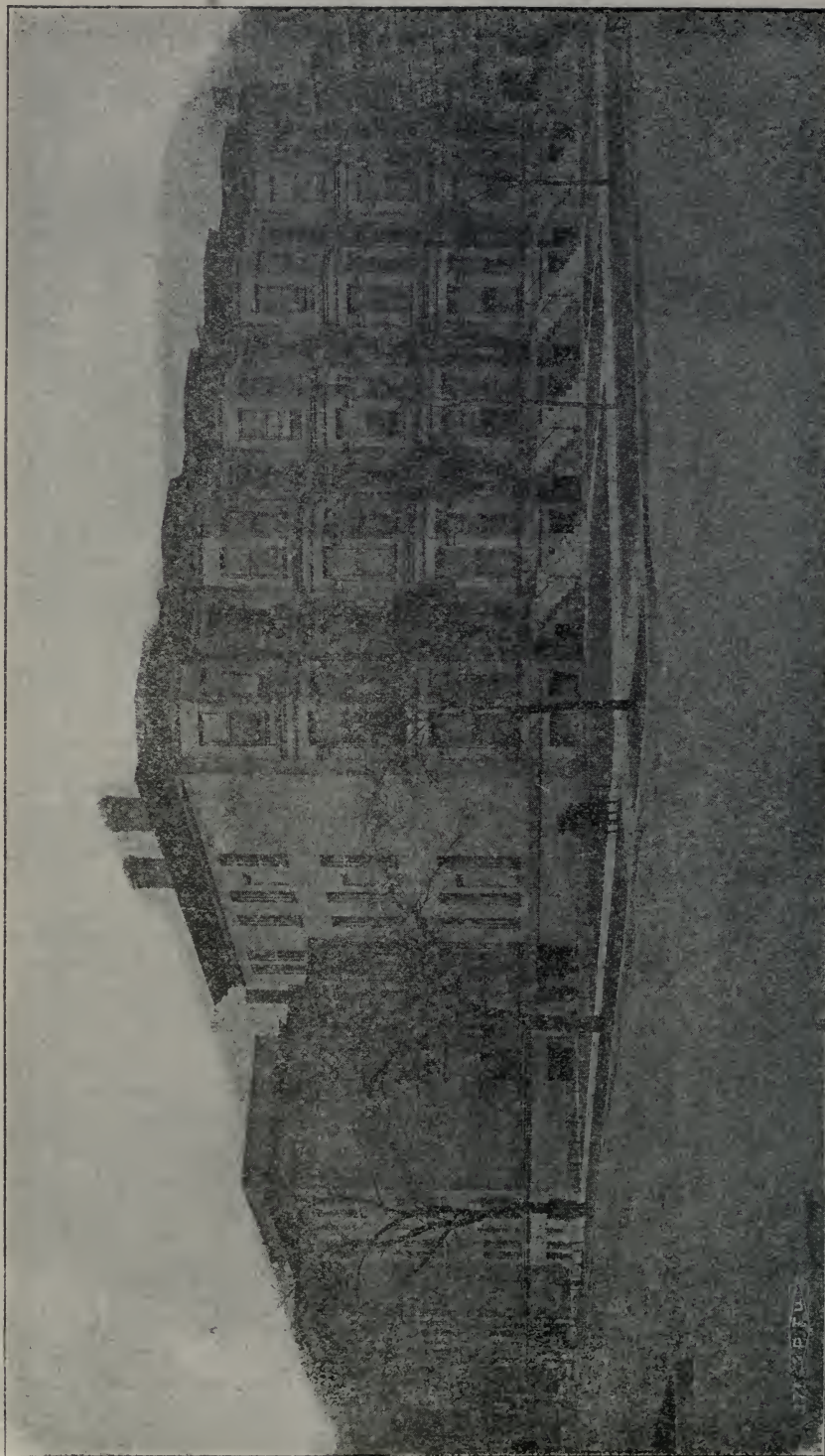
APRIL, 1921, DECISION

On April 14, 1921, the Chicago organization received a decision from the chairman of the board of arbitration, Professor Millis, calling for a reduction of 10 per cent in the earnings of tailors, with the exception of those who were awarded 5 per cent in the increase received by the organization during December, 1919.

The wages of the workers or sections falling within the 5 per cent class under the increase of December, 1919, were reduced 5 per cent.

Rates for tailors, examiners, bushelmen and bushelgirls were reduced 10 per cent. All workers employed by contractors received a wage reduction of 10 per cent.

The unsatisfactory decision did not hinder the organization's work. The Chicago Joint Board has done an unusually large amount of constructive work. The purchasing of two sites for AMALGAMATED TEMPLES, in different parts of the city, the progress made in the organization of an AMALGAMATED BANK, the highly successful educational work, the Amalgamated library, the organization of an emergency credit union for the relief of needy members, are in themselves an imposing list of achievements. And all that is aside from the daily routine for the protection of the members' interests in the factories. The efficient manner of handling the routine work makes all other constructive work possible; aside, also, from help given to fellow workers outside of our industry, such as \$60,000



SITE OF THE NEW HOME OF THE CHICAGO JOINT BOARD, ASHLAND BOULEVARD AND ADAMS STREET

177-270

to the Russian famine victims, \$5,000 to the struggling miners in Kansas under the leadership of Alexander Howat, substantial amounts to the miners in West Virginia and to many others.

During the past year the Chicago Joint Board has taken a very constructive step in the direction of regularizing employment in the market. Last summer the union inaugurated a plan by which the cutters in the tailor-to-the-trade industry, who were unemployed, or on part time, could be transferred to the wholesale clothing or ready made branch of the industry. There was then a heavy demand for workers in the ready made branch of the industry while most of the workers in the tailoring houses were unemployed. This is a natural situation, as the tailoring houses cater directly to the retail trade and their season begins when the ready made houses are beginning to slow down their operation.

Later, when the tailor-to-the-trade season began and the ready made industry slackened a readjustment was made and the workers shifted from the ready made houses to the tailor-to-the-trade houses. This dovetailing of work resulted in greater regularization of employment for the cutters in Chicago. In previous seasons it had not been possible to do this because some of the tailor-to-the-trade houses did not wish to release their workers for employment by other establishments in the market unless guaranteed that such workers would be returned to their original places of employment when their services were required. As all the workers in the market are now under the union's jurisdiction, this assurance could be given and an important constructive step toward reducing unemployment accomplished.

In the election for officers of the Chicago Joint Board 20,000 members participated. We very seldom hear of 50 per cent of the membership taking part in organization elections. That is proof of the great interest taken by the members in the affairs of the organization. When the National Reserve Fund was called for, the Chicago Joint Board was the first to take action. It assessed its members \$20 and \$25 each according to earnings, and at the time of this writing the larger part of the fund is already collected.

Any labor organization will benefit by taking the Amalgamated in Chicago as an example and guiding light.

Chicago has had many impressive May Day celebrations. The May Day celebration of May, 1921, was, however, the largest ever held by our Chicago organization. Over 15,000 of our members packed the Second Regiment Armory on this occasion. Addresses were made by General President Sidney Hillman; Dr. Herbert C. Bigelow of Cincinnati, and Manager Samuel Levin of the Chicago Joint Board. There was singing by the Amalgamated Polish Singing Society, the Bohemian Workmen's Singing Chorus, and the Lithuanian Society. The Amalgamated Band also played, under the direction of Nick O. Berardinelli.

The Amalgamated Band has been organized by the members of our Chicago organization. The Chicago Joint Board has done much

to encourage this activity on the part of the members with musical inclinations.

Probably one of the principal features of the Chicago organization is the centralization of its finances in the joint board. The money collected through dues goes not to the local union but to the joint board, where it is distributed and is subject to strict and frequent auditing by both the local and national offices of the union. The dues of \$2 a month, which are required of each member of the union, are at the outset allocated in the following way:

- 25 cents for building and maintenance.
- 50 cents for the national office.
- 20 cents for the reserve fund.
- 5½ cents for the local unions.
- 7½ cents for the papers published by the national office.
- 92 cents for the joint board.

RENEWAL OF CHICAGO AGREEMENT

On February 14, 1922, the first conference was held with the employers for the renewal of the agreement which expires this month.

On that date the following letter was handed by the employers to the Amalgamated:

Chicago, Illinois.
February 14, 1922.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
Mr. Sidney Hillman, President,
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sir:

Some time ago there was presented to you, in behalf of the Chicago clothing manufacturers, a memorandum in which were set forth the burdens experienced by the manufacturers under the agreement as it has worked out in practice.

The memorandum pointed out that whereas the spirit of the agreement calls for the most cordial co-operation of the union in meeting the situations employers have to face, the efforts to adapt the administration of business to the unprecedented conditions of the last two years have met with persistent obstruction and annoyance, with the result that the agreement has become in practice not an instrument of co-operation but one of repression and legal technicalities.

Supplementing this general statement, memoranda upon specific topics have also been presented, to wit: Stoppages, Selection of Workers, Restriction on Management, and Equal Division of Work.

The burdens resulting from a narrow restrictive approach to our problems on the part of the union and from the extraordinarily high wage scale obtaining in our industry must find substantial relief, and the manufacturers must be in a position to look forward to that kind of co-operation contemplated at the time the agreement was entered into in 1919 if present relationships are to continue. The following specific measures represent the minimum relief which the industry must have as a starting point for pulling it out of the depression in which it now finds itself.

Twelve Demands

1. Selection of workers. The power to select and allocate labor in all branches of the industry must be restored to the employers in order that there may be complete relief from the burdens and the inefficiency which have characterized the union's attempt to deal with this problem. The probationary period for workers must be lengthened to four weeks.

2. Discipline. The full right of discipline and discharge must be restored to management, the sole limitation upon that right being the undertaking on the part of management not to discriminate against members of the union. The burden of proof in all cases must be upon the workers to show discrimination. There must be no defense permitted for participation in stoppages.

3. Equal distribution of work. The application of this principle must be so modified as to permit the adjustment of man power to the conditions of business, to changes in manufacturing and sales policy, and to the adoption of labor saving methods.

4. Freedom of management. There must be complete freedom from interference on the part of union officials with orders of management and no discipline of members by the union shall be permitted which affects the employer adversely. The management shall have complete freedom in the purchase of materials and partially fabricated products such as canvas fronts, rolled linings, etc., now in use or similar products that may come on the market during the period of the agreement, and in the introduction and use of machinery and labor saving devices and methods. All restrictions upon mixing of fabrics and the height of lay must be removed.

5. Restriction of output. The application of standards in the cutting rooms must be revised so as to eliminate the five-year exemption clause now in force. Cutting standards must be automatically enforceable in slack and busy seasons alike, and each individual cutter shall be paid in exact proportion to the amount of work done instead of in approximate proportion as now contemplated. Trimmers must be put on piece work in the same manner as tailor shop workers. All standards must be so adjusted and enforced that the firm will secure at all times the best efforts of week workers.

6. Piece work. The employers must have complete freedom in the installation and extension of piece work in the tailor shops. They must have genuine relief from dilatory, annoying and expensive tactics in determining the rates.

7. Hours. The hours of work must be extended to the former basis of forty-eight per week.

8. Wages. There must be a general flat reduction of 25 per cent in all piece work and week work rates, to be effective not later than May 1, 1922.

9. Peaks. Piece work rates in any house which are excessive as compared with rates in other houses for substantially the same quantity and quality of work must be brought to a fair level.

10. Holiday pay. All pay for holidays and vacations must be abolished.

11. Final examiners. Final examiners (or inspector tailors) must not be included under the protection of the agreement.

12. Enforcement of remedies. There shall be such changes in any new agreement as shall be necessary to make the foregoing remedies effective.

Even with these specific measures of relief it will be impossible to meet the pressing problems of adjustment which the industry must face, and to put it on a basis to build up adequate volume of business in the interests of employers and workers alike, unless any agreement entered into shall make co-operation a fact and not merely a profession.

The clothing industry in this market is made up of various kinds of manufacturing units. First of all, the nature of the problem varies according to the size of the several houses; the problem of the ready-made house is not uniformly the problem of the tailor-to-the-trade or the cut-trim-make houses; the problems of the children's houses and specialty houses are not the same problems as the problems of the men's houses. Any effective co-operation must proceed from a recognition of the differences that exist in the market, and the handling of

situations that develop in the several houses during the life of the agreement must take cognizance of the conditions that the nature of the business of the concern in question imposes. In short, if the industry is to continue under a collective arrangement with the union, it must be an arrangement which provides not alone for collective bargaining, but for sincere and effective co-operation.

Very truly yours,
A. W. MEYER,
Chairman, Market Committee.

A series of conferences between the representatives of the union and representatives of the employers followed. The direct negotiations with the employers were carried on by President Hillman, General Executive Board Members Samuel Levin, A. D. Marimpietri, Sidney Rissman, Frank Rosenblum, Stephan Skala, and Dr. Leo Wolman of the Research Department of the General Office.

After several weeks of negotiations the following agreement was reached:

Preamble

On the part of the employer it is the expectation and intention that this agreement will result in the establishment and maintenance of a high order of discipline and efficiency by the willing co-operation of union and workers; that by the exercise of this discipline all stoppages and interruptions will cease; that good standards of workmanship and conduct will be maintained and a proper quantity, quality, and cost of production will be assured; that co-operation and good will will be established between the parties hereto.

On the part of the union it is the intention and expectation that this agreement will operate in such a way as to maintain and strengthen its organization so that it may be strong enough to co-operate, as contemplated in this agreement, and to command the respect of the employer; that it will have recourse to a tribunal in the creation of which their votes will have equal weight with that of the employer in which all of their grievances may be heard and adjudicated.

I. This agreement for collective bargaining is entered into between the Chicago Industrial Federation of Clothing Manufacturers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and is effective, subject to the qualifications contained in section III, from May 1, 1922, to April 30, 1925.

II.—Hours of Work

A. The hours of work shall be forty-four per week, to be worked eight hours on week days with a Saturday half holiday.

B. Overtime. For work done in excess of the regular hours per day, overtime shall be paid to piece workers of 50 per cent in addition to their piece work rates; to the week workers, at the rate of time and half.

III.—Wages

A. The standards of wages established by this agreement shall not be changed under this agreement, provided, however, that if either party shall become convinced that a change in wage standards is warranted it may give notice to that effect not later than ninety days prior to the anniversary of the date of this agreement and call for a conference on such change. If any change shall be agreed upon it shall become effective on such anniversary date. If, after a thorough canvas of the situation the parties find themselves unable to agree on wages before the anniversary date either party may terminate this agreement in good faith.*

B. Piece rates shall be fixed by collective bargaining, through

* The union also serves notice that it may at the same time bring up the question of an unemployment fund in good faith.

the medium of the price committee. This committee shall consist of the labor manager or other qualified representative of management, and a representative of the union, assigned from a group organized for the purpose, and especially equipped for price making.

When occasion arises to put an operation on piece work or to change an existing rate, the matter shall be referred to the price committee, whose duty it shall be to fix the rate. If the price committee is unable to agree, the matter shall be taken to the trade board.

C. The wages of cutters working under the standards established pursuant to the April, 1921, decision of the board of arbitration shall be as follows:

Group A.....	\$47
Group B.....	45
Group C.....	43
Group D.....	41
Group E.....	39

If there are cutters whose production is so exceptional as to preclude classification as above, an appropriate compensation may be fixed by agreement between the parties, with reference to the trade board in case of disagreement. Otherwise unclassified cutters shall receive the same compensation as Class C cutters.

The length of service feature of the April 1921 decision is discontinued.

Classification and re-classification shall at all times proceed promptly. In case of re-classification the labor manager or other designated representative of the firm, at the close of each four-week period, shall furnish the union deputy a list of proposed re-classifications. This list shall cover all cutters working during the period, provided, however, that no cutter shall be re-classified unless he has actually worked at least three full weeks during the period. If there are any cutters upon whose classification the deputy and the labor manager cannot agree the case shall go to the trade board but the case must be heard promptly in order not to delay classification.

IV. Preference

A. It is agreed that the principle of the preferential shop shall prevail, to be applied in the following manner:

Preference shall be applied in hiring and discharge.

Whenever an employer needs additional workers he shall first make application to the union, specifying the number and kinds of workers needed.

The union shall be given a reasonable time to supply the number of workers required, and if unable, for any reason, to furnish them, the employer shall be at liberty to secure them in the open market as best he can.*

In the like manner the principle of preference shall be applied in the case of discharge.

Should it at any time become necessary to reduce the number of workers, the first ones to be dismissed shall be those who are not members of the union. In all such cases the best efforts shall be mutually exerted to harmonize the interests of both parties.

B. The provisions for preference made herein require that the door of the union shall be kept open for the reception of non-union workers. Initiation fee and dues must be maintained at a reasonable rate and any applicant must be admitted who is not an offender against the union and who is eligible for membership under its rules. Provided that if any rules be passed that impose unreasonable hardship, or that

* The union undertakes in co-operation with the employers to draw up objective rules and regulations for the sending of workers to jobs and to organize and conduct an efficient employment office. A committee, composed of Mr. Gilbertson representing the employers and Mr. Wolman representing the union, are proceeding with an inquiry into the operation of an employment office.

operate to bar desirable persons, the matter may be brought before the tribunal herein provided for, for such remedy as it may deem advisable.

V.—Working Conditions

A. The full power of discharge and discipline lies with the employer. It is agreed that this power should be exercised with justice and with regard to the reasonable rights of the employee. The power of discharge shall be exercised only through the duly authorized and responsible representative of management. If the union, after investigation, finds that an employee has been discharged without just cause and that it cannot reach an adjustment with the representative of management, it may bring the case to the trade board. The decision of the trade board, unless appealed to the board of arbitration, shall be final.

B. This agreement provides for an orderly adjustment of differences and there is no provocation for direct action. Stoppages are, therefore, prohibited. If, however, a stoppage shall occur because the person in charge shall have refused to allow the employees to continue work, he shall be ordered to give work immediately to the employees, or in case the employees have stopped work, the respective representatives of the employees shall order the employees to return to work immediately, and in case they fail to do so within one hour after being ordered, any or all of the participants in or instigators of the stoppage shall be liable to discipline.

C. During slack season, if any, the work shall be divided as nearly as is practicable among all the employees.

VI.—Administration

The administration of this agreement is vested in the accredited representatives of the parties, as set forth below:

Deputies: Each of the parties shall designate one or more authorized representatives who shall have power to investigate, mediate, and adjust complaints. The representatives of both parties shall be available to give prompt and adequate attention to their duties and it shall be incumbent upon them to use every legitimate effort to settle any complaint or grievance submitted to them. To that end the union deputy when accompanied by the employer's representative shall have access to any shop or factory for the purpose of investigating complaints or grievances.

Shop Chairmen: The union shall have in each shop or floor one duly accredited representative authorized by the joint board who shall be recognized as the officer of the union having charge of complaints and organization matters within the shop. He may have an alternate to act in his absence who, when not functioning in this manner, shall have no immunity or privilege as an official. He shall be empowered to receive complaints and be given sufficient opportunity and range of action to enable him to make proper inquiry concerning them. When necessary for the shop representative to leave his place to investigate complaints the foreman may, if he deems it necessary, ask to be informed of the purpose of his movements, and the representative shall comply with his request.

It is understood the shop representative shall be entitled to collect dues and perform such other duties as may be imposed on him by the union, provided they be performed in such manner as not to interfere with shop discipline and efficiency.

It is expected that he will represent the co-operative spirit of the agreement in the shop, and shall be the leader in promoting that amity and spirit of good will which it is the purpose of this instrument to establish.

The co-operative spirit enjoined on the shop representative in the foregoing paragraph shall be expected in equal degree from the shop superintendent, who shall be expected to contribute his best efforts to promote harmony and good will in the shops.

Impartial Boards

Trade Board: Complaints or grievances within the scope of this agreement upon which representatives of the parties are unable to agree may be referred to a trade board for adjustment. The trade board shall consist of a chairman who shall be the mutual choice of the two parties to this agreement, and as occasion may arise of an equal number of representatives of the two parties, not to exceed five on each side. The chairman of the trade board shall maintain an office where he shall be available for the prompt hearing, mediation, adjustment or decision of cases that may be brought before him under the terms of this agreement. His decisions in such cases shall be final unless appealed to the board of arbitration.

Board of Arbitration: The board of arbitration shall consist of a chairman who shall be the mutual choice of the two parties, and should issues arise which in the opinion of the parties to the agreement require the enlargement of the board, two additional members may be appointed, either by the parties joining in the selection of such additional members or by each of the parties naming a member.

It shall be the function of the board of arbitration to hear appeals from the trade board and to interpret and apply the agreement, but not to add to its terms.

The salaries of the chairman of the trade board and the chairman of the board of arbitration are fixed and limited by this agreement and neither of said boards shall have any power to enlarge such jurisdiction, unless by mutual consent of the two parties to the agreement.

Both the Chicago Industrial Federation of Clothing Manufacturers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America agree to use their full influence and effort to secure observance of this agreement in spirit as well as in letter by their respective members. Neither party to this agreement shall adopt rules or regulations or issue any orders or impose any obligations on members individually or collectively, in conflict with any provision herein contained, or that will have the effect of nullifying or impairing any of such provisions.

The general president of the Amalgamated and the director of the Federation, or other official representatives of the employers, shall keep in close touch with the operation of the agreement and the administration of the impartial machinery.

The agreement was submitted to a meeting of the shop chairmen and then to the membership at mass meetings on April 14, 1922. The agreement was ratified at all meetings.

The new agreement, as may be seen from the text, is for a term of three years, but it specifically provides that the question of wages may be taken up each year. If no understanding is reached the agreement may be abrogated, which gives the agreement an annual lease of life unless both parties agree to continue it. Ninety days before the agreement anniversary the union may also take up with the employers the matter of an unemployment fund, which was decided upon by the Boston Convention, and which it is our hope to establish in this industry. The right to raise this question under a specific provision in the agreement gives the unemployment fund resolution of the Boston Convention a new status.

None of the employers' twelve demands was agreed to. The forty-four-hour week, the preferential union shop, the right of review in case of discharge, and equal division of work, remain untouched. The union has retained all of its rights.

A compromise was made on the employers' demand for a 25 per

cent wage reduction. The new agreement provides for a reduction of 10 per cent for workers in the tailor shops with the exception of general tailors, bushelmen, and all-around operators, paid by the week, for whom norms had been established under decision of March, 1920. In the case of these week workers it was agreed that there shall be a reduction of not more than 10 per cent, but in no event may wages be reduced below \$35. Thus there is established virtually a minimum scale for these week workers. The March, 1921, arbitration decision fixed the cutters' wages at from \$41 to \$49, with the rate for the average cutter at \$45. Under the new agreement this scale is reduced by \$2 a week, and the new agreement calls for a scale varying from \$39 to \$47.

The new agreement gives the union certain advantages not contained in the old agreement. Under the former arrangement any worker having a grievance or complaint, or having been disciplined, could take the matter up directly for review by the impartial chairman. The new agreement provides that all such cases must first be brought to the attention of the union and that the organization is the only agency which may take a case to the impartial machinery for adjustment. The individual worker has no standing before the trade board, but is required to act through the union alone.

The effect on the metropolitan press of the signing of this agreement at a time when there are wide-spread efforts to introduce the open shop in industries longer organized than ours, such as coal mining, is reflected in the following editorial on the settlement in the New York "Globe" of April 7:

A PROFITABLE PEACE

The most notable event in recent industrial history is the signing of a new contract between the Chicago manufacturers and the union in the men's clothing industry. Many employers are not now eager to negotiate new contracts with unions, because they think that unemployment has put the workers at their mercy. Some unions had a similar attitude when labor was scarce and the market favored them. For this reason it is the more important that so notable a group of producers as the men who fabricate men's clothing in Chicago should have elected to continue the system of industrial government which has been built up during the last eleven years.

Industry is well-nigh the only field of human relations in which it is customary to think that anarchy is better than government. Even social life is organized. Many, however, have tried to believe that in industry drift and chaos were better than an attempt at order and justice. Experiments have proved the contrary to be true. The first one of the Chicago manufacturers to test the possibilities of industrial government found it to be enormously attractive. Not since 1910 has Hart Schaffner & Marx had a strike, and during the years of peace and of good-will between employers and workers the firm so prospered that the other Chicago manufacturers as a competitive measure undertook to devise a kindred system.

The new agreement, which is scheduled to continue for three years, includes all the Chicago manufacturers and 40,000 workers. It provides for a 10 per cent reduction in wages, and the continuance of principles and practices already in vogue. These include impartial arbitration, prohibition of strikes and lockouts, the preferential union shop, the forty-four-hour week, time and a half for overtime, and an equal division of work during slack times. Under the agreement the question of

wages may be reopened if general permanent changes in the wages or hours of the clothing industry are recorded. The way was left free to begin conferences concerning the establishment of an unemployment fund. This is of immeasurable importance.

In a period of reaction such as this it is encouraging to get this practical demonstration of the value of democratic government in industry. Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has served well his generation in leading so numerous a band of workers into the paths of constructive statesmanship. A satisfactory government is worth more to workers and to employers than an uncertain war.

The agreement with Hart, Schaffner & Marx was renewed substantially along the same lines.

During the time of the negotiations the members paid their Reserve Fund assessment as reported above, and built up a large fund.

Our Chicago organization is coming to this convention with the market completely organized, with a form of organization that is probably the most efficient in the country, with a home of its own which will be available to the membership in the near future, with a bank which is now in process of organization and which will be owned by the organized clothing workers, and with a bouyant spirit ready for more and greater achievements.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK IN ROCHESTER

The constitutional government inaugurated in the Rochester clothing industry in 1919 has functioned despite all efforts against it made by those who do not wish the workers to enjoy rights in the industry.

While the Amalgamated and the Rochester Clothiers' Exchange were working out their problems at conferences in which the workers are represented, Industrial Autocracy was making desperate efforts to retain its weakening hold upon the industry. In our last report you were informed of a suit the firm of Michaels, Stern & Co. had brought against the Amalgamated for a permanent injunction and \$100,000 damages. The trial began April 12 and lasted more than three weeks. The Boston convention opened one week after the closing of the testimony on May 3, 1920. We were unable to include an account of the trial in our last report. We do so now.

General President Hillman was the first witness for the Amalgamated. He began his testimony Friday, April 23, 1920, and was on the witness stand for several days.

President Hillman related in detail the progress of the negotiations with the Rochester employers which led up to the collective bargaining agreement for the Rochester market. After the members of the Rochester Clothiers' Exchange signed an agreement with the Amalgamated in February, 1919, Michaels, Stern & Co. was the only firm to continue to fight the organization of its workers.

One of the sensations of President Hillman's testimony was his story about the alliance of the defunct United Garment Workers with the I. W. W. in Baltimore to fight the Amalgamated. That is an

old story for Amalgamated members. Not many in Rochester knew of that alliance, which was defeated by the Amalgamated.

Conversation with members of the firm of Michaels, Stern & Co. were related, leading up to the conversation that President Hillman had with Arthur Stern on the Tuesday following the strike at the Michaels, Stern & Co. factory, in July, 1919.

Hillman said that he first took up the firm's reported action in negotiating with the United Garment Workers, and that Stern had denied any knowledge of such negotiations, saying that he was not responsible for the statements appearing in the press. He then explained to Stern and Attorney Sutherland the status of the United Garment Workers.

"I told them the introduction of the United Garment Workers was never done in good faith by any employer when there was a controversy with their own employees," he said.

"Stern told me that he was always willing to deal with his own employees, but objected to dealing with outsiders. I asked him if he did not think that this was obviously unfair, pointing out that he, an employer of standing, had asked to have his counsel with him when he met me, while he denied his employees the same privilege.

"We next took up the question at issue. I distinguished between the immediate issues and the general issues. The immediate desire of the workers for a 20 per cent increase, elimination of discrimination against members of our organization, and the abolition of the spy system, I said, I would rather not discuss at the time. When they were taken up, I would rather act as advisor for a local committee. 'On these issues,' I said, 'we certainly can reach an agreement. The real problem is fundamental. We must have a system of deciding the daily differences that arise in the shop. The real question is whether you will accept the new way of dealing with labor problems.'"

"I was very frank with the firm when they sent for me," said Hillman, "and asked why they wanted an agreement, since very few of their employees were members of our union.

"They replied that it was necessary for them to draw on the general market for employees and that as all clothing workers were members of the Amalgamated, they preferred an agreement."

Judge Sutherland, the firm's counsel, interrogated Hillman at that conference concerning the acts of violence that had occurred at the firm's plants, and his reply, Hillman said, was in substance as follows:

"You know our position in the matter. We cannot benefit by violence; no organization does. We cannot take the responsibility for all individuals, however, and if there is any violence, no doubt the police will take care of it. The organization will do everything in its power, regardless of the outcome of this conference, to prevent violence. Then I think Stern said to me, 'If you deny these acts, we cannot reach an agreement,' and that concluded the interview."

Hillman testified that he had left that night for Toronto, after promising Stern to hold the strikers together for several days in order to give the firm time to make a decision in the matter. On his return from Toronto he called up the factory and was told Stern was in New York. He talked with Julius Anderson, superintendent of the Clinton Street factory, however, and told him that he considered himself released from his obligation. The next day he talked with Arthur Stern over the telephone and received the information that the firm had decided to enter into an agreement with the United Garment Workers.

Under Professor Frankfurter's questioning, Hillman next went into the history of the Amalgamated, although he was not allowed to relate the causes of its formation. In this connection a chart, introduced in evidence, pictured the present structure of the Amalgamated.

Vigorous objections were made by Attorney Sutherland to the introduction of some of this evidence. "The only thing we are in court for is to make these people let us alone," he said. "We do not care to hear the history of the organization."

Justice Rodenbeck ruled that the witness might show the growth of the organization but must stick to facts.

Professor Frankfurter offered to prove the economic and social gains which the Amalgamated has achieved for its members. Detailed evidence showing the advances in wages, the reduction in hours, the greater security of employment and the general improvement of the clothing industry was offered.

Judge Rodenbeck ruled that the introduction of such evidence was unnecessary, holding that the legal right to strike for betterment of conditions was not to be disputed. He said:

"I do not think it will be disputed that every man as an individual has a right to leave an employment at any time. They have a right to combine and leave in a body. Every man has a right to join the union. The union itself may counsel with him. I am inclined to think that a national organization cannot be treated as an intermeddler."

The preamble of the constitution of the Amalgamated was the occasion of much questioning by the attorney for the firm, Ex-Judge Sutherland. Hillman explained the ultimate objectives and the immediate aims of the organization in connection with an explanation of the preamble.

"It is the historic hope and aim of the workers to pass out of the status of wage earners," Hillman said. "But the immediate objective we had in mind in our conference with Michaels, Stern & Co. was the securing of an agreement through which wages, conditions of labor and other matters could be arranged. We desired to participate in legislation affecting us."

Attorney Sutherland apparently had been in touch with the labor-hating state's attorney of Chicago, for he produced minutes

of the Chicago Joint Board seized in a raid on the joint board office six months before, and asked for an explanation of an item of \$1,000 received from the Stag Tailoring Co. which had been forwarded to the strikers of the Michaels-Stern shop. Hillman explained that the Stag Tailoring Co. and its employees had violated their agreement with the union in regard to overtime work; that there was back pay owed to the employees to the amount of \$1,000, and that at a meeting of these workers they had voted to send this back pay to the Michaels-Stern strikers.

Alois P. Frank, a former Michaels-Stern employee, was a most effective witness for the Amalgamated. He described the inside "union" that existed in the Michaels-Stern plant from 1916 to 1918, which he declared was ineffective. Frank, who was a member of the grievance committee, testified that the committee had told the industrial relations manager of the firm that the workers were desirous of a "real organization."

In 1918 the cutters formed an organization, known as the Michaels-Stern Cutters' Co-operative Association. The day after this organization was formed it sent its grievance committee to Arthur L. Stern to ask for the back pay which they claimed was due them under the Rochester award by Arbitrators Ripley and Kirstein. Frank testified that on this occasion Stern told the committee "that was a poor way to start a union."

Frank related his story of the strike, saying that at a meeting some time before the strike the cutters of the Clinton Avenue plant had taken a vote on joining an outside organization, and that the vote was 72 to 12 in favor of such affiliation. This vote, Frank said, was counted in the presence of the superintendent of the factory.

Numerous strikers testified to conditions in the Michaels-Stern shops before the strike to show that this firm always was hostile to labor organizations, which showed that the agreement entered into by the firm and the defunct United Garment Workers without the consent of the workers was not an agreement between an employer and a labor organization.

On June 19 Justice Adolph Rodenbeck awarded the firm of Michaels, Stern & Co. a permanent injunction restraining the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America from union activity at the firm's Rochester factories, and granted the firm's plea for damages, the amount to be determined later.

Judge Rodenbeck's decision follows in part:

The strike was staged by the manipulations of the national organization to force the recognition of the union. This is the only conclusion from the history of the controversy between the parties preceding the strike.

The case turns upon the question as to whether or not force or what is equivalent to force was employed by the defendants to secure this recognition. If no threats, intimidation, force, violence or other coercive measures were employed, the defendants are not liable for they were within their rights in seeking to compel recognition by calling a strike. But the record shows that such means were em-

ployed. The method of picketing involved threats and intimidation. Picketing may be lawful or unlawful. The legitimate purpose of it is to inform the strikers and their union as to what is going on at the plants. When it unnecessarily goes beyond this and is conducted with the design and has the effect of intimidating those who may desire to remain at work or seek employment, it infringes upon human freedom and liberty of action. The right to work is protected by the law as well as the right to quit work. Whatever number of pickets was necessary to secure the reasonable and lawful purpose of the union is sanctioned by law but where the number is swelled to five or six hundred and at times to a thousand made up in part of workers from other factories, the unnecessary and unlawful purpose to awe and intimidate by numbers is apparent. Intimidation may consist in numbers alone without any actual violence. Many of the workers in plaintiff's factories were girls and in such a case a large crowd of pickets composed in part of women of foreign birth, with the calling of opprobrious names and expressions and gesticulations of violence, would be sufficient alone to intimidate without a single blow being struck.

The picketing was not "peaceful." Names were called. Girls going to work had to pass through a line of pickets in the earlier stages of the strike and "scab" and other opprobrious names, too vile to be mentioned, were called as they passed. No self-respecting woman would submit to such insults more than once and it is not surprising that from the day of the strike these methods were effective and large numbers left the employ of the plaintiffs who would otherwise have remained in their employ and others were deterred from seeking employment. So that the plaintiffs were reduced to the necessity of advertising for help and as soon as the unlawful picketing was checked the number of employees gradually increased until a full force of workers was secured.

Actual violence supplemented opprobrious epithets. There was no physical violence every day but that was hardly necessary. An overt act of this kind now and then would be a sufficient warning and a blow or disturbance now and then would be rumored about and be quite adequate as an object lesson. It is enough if violence was employed with sufficient frequency to warrant the conclusion that it was a part of the program for conducting the strike...

The defendants sought to interfere also with the contract of the United Garment Workers. While the strike was in progress the plaintiff's employees in large numbers joined the United Garment Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor but the strike and its methods continued just the same. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers were not satisfied with the unionization of the factories by the establishment of a local of the United Garment Workers but, on the contrary, continued the strike with renewed vigor and zeal as if the principle of an outside organization contended for had not been accomplished. These acts of the defendants in relation to the United Garment Workers furnish no ground for a cause of action but serve to illuminate the motives of the defendants and to emphasize the competition among labor unions and their selfish attitude toward each other. If all that was sought was the unionization of the plaintiffs' shops the Amalgamated Clothing Workers should have desisted when the United Garment Workers were recognized and a local union established. A United Garment Workers' union was under the ban by the defendants as well as a shop organization. Salvation it seems could be secured only through the upbuilding of an organization represented by the defendants.

The United Garment Workers had as much right on the ground as did the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The latter has no patent right on unionism. This intolerant attitude of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers toward the United Garment Workers savors of a species of domination which does not inspire confidence in their ultimate purposes.

If the Amalgamated Clothing Workers could obtain complete control of the labor market and the clothing manufacturers could combine into a perfect monopoly, wages and prices could be regulated to suit themselves at the expense of the general public, and if the same policy could be pursued in other industries the principle of organization contended for would defeat its own purpose so far as wages are concerned by raising prices as fast as the cost of production was increased. In a proper case the law will protect the general public as well as the individual from exaction and oppression from any source. It is the duty of government to protect the one against the many as well as the many against the one.

Monopolies and exclusive privileges are alike condemned whether of labor or capital as experience has taught mankind that an economic or industrial despotism has no more consideration for the general good than a political despotism and is an undue barrier to the exercise of personal liberty and freedom of action, the development of industries and reasonable competition in life.

But not only were the Amalgamated Clothing Workers opposed to the unionization of the plaintiffs' factories by the United Garment Workers but they were unwilling that independent contractors and home workers who were making garments for the plaintiffs should have the privilege of working for the plaintiffs. The members of the union had the right to refuse to work with non-union men or to work on non-union material in the contractors' shops but the defendants did not stop there but called a strike in some cases where but a handful of employees of the contractor belonged to the union. The strikes were not effective generally but they illustrate the extent to which the principle of the right to unionize is claimed to extend. Some of these contractors were engaged in making other garments as well as those of the plaintiffs but the defendants would paralyze the entire shop if they could do so to accomplish their purpose. If this principle is carried to its logical conclusion it would authorize a strike against any person or firm who did any work for plaintiffs in carrying on their business. House workers were persuaded by promises of strike benefits or by still more effective measures to quit working for the plaintiffs.

Thus by means that were in part lawful but in most part illegal, the defendants have sought economically to strangle the plaintiffs' business in order to compel them to recognize an organization against their wishes.

The use of force or its equivalent goes back to the beginning of the strike and under the history and circumstances of the case justifies a conclusion that such means were contemplated and intended when the strike was called. This purpose makes the strike illegal in its inception. . . .

A union cannot call a lawful strike with the intention of using such means to bring it to a successful issue. This rule is fortified in this case by the tremendous power back of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the situation of the labor market in the clothing industry in Rochester and the union of action with which the strike was immediately prosecuted. The law will not be defeated by the failure to express such intentions in writing or in preliminary oral representations but will, in a proper case, infer such intentions from the history of the case, the prompt application of unlawful methods after the strike has been called and the general conduct of the parties. It would be absurd to say that a group of men could combine for the purpose of using force or its equivalent to compel others to give up jobs or to prevent others from seeking employment whether the combination be called a strike or a conspiracy. It is a fair conclusion that the national organization was cognizant all the time of what was going on and that what happened occurred in accordance with its plan to compel recognition of the union.

If the defendants therefore intended when the strike was called to use threats, intimidation, force, violence or other coercive measures to induce plaintiffs' employees to leave its employ and to prevent others from taking their places in order to compel recognition of the union, their purpose was illegal and rendered them liable if united in action from the inception of the strike for such damages as the plaintiffs suffered. But if this intention was not present when the strike was called the defendants would still be jointly liable for the use of force or its equivalent when employed if they acted in concert.

The defendants sought to justify their course by evidence of the lawful purpose of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and their beneficial operations but the evidence was excluded on the ground that the lawful purposes of the organization would be assumed until evidence to the contrary was offered and that the beneficial character and operations of the union were no justification.

The right to seek by lawful means to unionize the plaintiffs' factories and to compel recognition by a strike, must be conceded and the alleged justification could only have been offered upon the ground that a balancing of advantages and disadvantages to employer and employees should in some way permit the course taken by the defendants. . . .

There has been a constant effort to preserve the character of our institutions and to condemn monopolies of all kinds as an undue interference with the fundamental principles of government. The government itself is restrained by checks and balances designed to prevent the growth of arbitrary power. No particular class or group whether of labor or capital can be permitted to dominate any other class or group or the general public to the exclusion of their reasonable rights. . . .

These rights and privileges cannot be extended so as to constitute an arbitrary domination of the reasonable rights of others or so as to be subversive of the government itself or so as to be contrary to the public interests.

Combinations both of labor and capital not amounting to monopolies, with reasonable restrictions upon both is the beacon light of future industrial progress and the limits of such combinations are the reasonable rights of others and the public under our form of government. . . .

The General Executive Board and the general president, acting under its direction, had the undoubted right to call the strike and in sending national organizers to Rochester the organization must assume the responsibility for their acts. All of the defendants are liable who knew or ought to have known of the concerted action for the common object and the national body is responsible as such. The calling of the strike was also ratified and its conduct sanctioned by the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the national organization must be held liable with the other defendants both for the initiation of the strike and its subsequent conduct.

This responsibility, however, does not impose a personal liability upon the entire membership but only upon those who are named as defendants and personally participated, directly or indirectly, in the wrongful act complained of. . . .

It cannot be possible that a great organization like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers can project and carry on a strike in the manner in which it was conducted in this case and avoid responsibility and liability for its acts. A concert of action by a labor organization and its members to compel recognition of a union or to redress grievances by means of threats, intimidation, force, violence, or similar coercive measures constitutes a conspiracy whether such intention was present at the inception of the strike or afterward and a national unincorporated labor union is liable for damages if its officers and agents acted within the scope of their authority as such in calling and carrying on the strike with the purpose of using such unlawful means, but the liability does not extend to the individual members who are not specially connected with such acts.

The plaintiffs are entitled to a permanent injunction restraining the defendants substantially in the terms of the temporary injunction heretofore granted and to damages to be hereafter determined.

A number of steps in Judge Rodenbeck's court were required before an appeal could be taken to a higher court. In the course of that procedure Judge Rodenbeck altered his original decision by a supplementary decision in which he declared that many acts of the Amalgamated members, previously questioned, were lawful. In his later decision August 3, 1920, the judge said:

It was lawful for the employees of the plaintiffs who were members of the Amalgamated to strike for the purpose of securing a redress of any alleged grievances, and for the purpose of inducing the plaintiffs to enter into an agreement with the Amalgamated providing for collective bargaining and arbitration of disputes.

It was lawful for officers or agents of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America or of the Rochester Joint Board to persuade or encourage employees of the plaintiffs who were members of the Amalgamated to strike for such purpose.

It was lawful for said officers or agents to endeavor to persuade employees of the plaintiffs who were not members of the Amalgamated to join in said strike. This right of persuasion was not abrogated by the action of the plaintiffs in entering into an agreement with the United Garment Workers. In furtherance of the purposes of said strike it was lawful for the said officers or agents to persuade persons not employed by the plaintiffs from entering such employ.

It was lawful for the officers or agents of the Amalgamated to assist and encourage said strike by contributing funds of the said Amalgamated and sending organizers and agents to Rochester.

It was lawful for such officers or agents to organize a system of picketing for the purpose of persuading the plaintiffs' employees to join the strike and of persuading other persons not to enter the plaintiffs' employ.

It was lawful for such officers or agents to persuade or endeavor to persuade "contractors" employing members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America from continuing to do the work of completing garments for the plaintiffs.

It was lawful for members of the Amalgamated employed by such contractors to strike in order that they might not be required to work on the completion of garments for the plaintiffs.

It was lawful for the members of the Amalgamated employed by such "contractors" to strike in order to induce said "contractors" to discontinue manufacturing the plaintiffs' garments.

It was lawful for officers or agents of the Amalgamated to encourage and assist a strike against a "contractor" for such a purpose.

It was lawful for such officers or agents to persuade employees of such "contractors" to strike for such a purpose.

Justice Rodenbeck declared that "it was not lawful, however, for the officers, agents, or members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to seek to accomplish any of the lawful purposes above specified by concerted action by the use of threats, intimidation, force, violence, or any other coercive or unlawful measures." A number of acts, listed by the judge, he declares were "unlawful acts and a conspiracy." Amalgamated members were restrained from picketing demonstrations in the vicinity of the shops, from interfering with the employees of the firm on the way to and from work, from disseminating statements "to the effect that the plaintiffs or their

employees are opposed to organized labor, or are opposed by any labor organization other than said Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America."

One of the most interesting parts of the injunction order was that which restrained Amalgamated members "from endeavoring to persuade the employees of the plaintiffs to violate or cause the abrogation or violation of the working contract between the plaintiffs and the United Garment Workers of America." This agreement was entered into by the firm and the United while the members of the Amalgamated were on strike.

Following the handing down of the supplementary decision in August, 1920, a number of technical moves were made by the attorneys in the case on both sides, in order to perfect the record for the purpose of appeal.

On February 3, 1922, the judge finally issued a permanent injunction. At the same time the question of damages was decided. Judge Rodenbeck did not award any damages but assessed legal costs amounting to \$2,469.95 on the union. Since the handing down of the final decision steps have been taken by our attorneys to prepare the matter for appeal. No action could be taken sooner because it was necessary to await the decision granting a permanent injunction and deciding the question of damages.

The list of witnesses who testified for the Amalgamated in the Michaels-Stern case included: General President Sidney Hillman, Abraham I. Pearlman, Dr. Leo Wolman, Gustave A. Strebel, John J. Koleta, Alois B. Frank, Fred A. Stein, Frank Bohrer, August F. Suss, Louis Panetta, Harry Bloom, Samuel Deitz, Harry J. Dunningan, George Fleischauer, James F. Maynard, Abe Cohen, Michael Francati, Mile Rizzo, Fred D. Herdfelder, Jacob J. Spitz, Sam Galinsky, Anthony Ramuglia, Daniel L. Rose, Jacob Wahl, Daniel O'Keefe, Leo A. Forster, John Rotondo, Gustave A. Lotz, Victor Contant, Concetto Mary Bruno, Vincenzina Tornatore, Elvira Mancina.

The Amalgamated's defense was conducted by Powell and O'Brien of Rochester, Lowenthal, Szold, Henderson, and Buckner, of New York, and Professor Felix Frankfurter of Cambridge, Mass. Professor Frankfurter volunteered his services.

RENEWAL OF AGREEMENT WITH CLOTHIERS' EXCHANGE, 1920

The relations between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Clothiers' Exchange were continued as provided in the agreement made early in 1919. In due time negotiations were taken up for the renewal of the agreement. After six weeks' work by committees the following agreement, marking a considerable advance in favor of the organization as compared with the old agreement, was reached and ratified by both organizations:

1. This agreement made between the members of the Clothiers' Exchange of Rochester, N. Y., as individuals acting through the said exchange as their representative, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, shall become effective after ratification by the

members of both parties, and the fact of such ratification shall be indicated by an exchange of notes between the president of the exchange and the president of the Amalgamated. The agreement shall continue in force until May 31, 1922.

2. The right of the workers in the industry to bargain collectively is agreed to, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is recognized as the organization of the workers, duly authorized to act as the agency for collective dealing with the employers. The employees in every shop shall elect representatives to take up their cases with the management in the first instance. If the shop representatives cannot agree with the management, then a union representative shall be called in. The employers shall appoint duly authorized representatives of the management, who shall be responsible for carrying into effect the terms and conditions of this agreement in all their shops.

3. The power to hire shall remain with the employer, but in cases where discrimination on account of union membership is charged, the impartial chairman shall have the right of review, and if facts are brought before the impartial chairman that appear to indicate that the labor policy of any house is calculated to undermine the union, he shall have the power to review that policy.

4. The power to discharge and suspend employees remains with the employer, but it is agreed that this power will be exercised with justice and due regard for the rights of the workers; and if any worker feels that he has been unjustly treated in the exercise of this power, he may appeal to the labor adjustment board hereinafter mentioned, which shall have the power of review in all such cases.

5. The right of the employer to make changes in shop management and methods of manufacturing is recognized; such changes to be made without loss to the employees directly affected.

6. There shall be no strikes, lockouts, or stoppages of work in any shop covered by this agreement.

7. The principle of equal division of work is recognized, and during slack seasons work shall be divided as far as practicable among all the workers in the shop.

8. The administration of this agreement is vested in a labor adjustment board consisting of representatives of the employers and of representatives of the workmen, together with an impartial chairman selected by both parties. The representatives of the employers and the representatives of the workmen upon this board shall have an equal vote, regardless of the number of representatives of either side, and in case of a tie vote, the impartial chairman shall cast the decisive vote.

All disputes or differences over questions arising under this agreement which the parties hereto are unable to adjust between themselves shall be referred to the labor adjustment board for adjustment or arbitration. This board shall have full and final jurisdiction over all such questions and its decisions shall be conclusive, except as may be otherwise provided by agreement of the parties hereto. Except where the board itself shall otherwise determine, the chairman of the board shall be authorized to take original jurisdiction of all cases and controversies arising under this agreement, and to adjust or decide them in accordance with rules of practice and procedure established by the board. Decision of the chairman shall be binding on both parties. It is agreed that William M. Leiserson shall continue to act as chairman of the labor adjustment board.

9. The board shall have authority to make such rules, regulations and supplementary arrangements, not inconsistent with this agreement, as may be necessary to carry into effect the principles of this agreement, or to apply these principles to new questions whenever they arise. It may also define, describe and limit the penalties to be imposed for the violation of any of the provisions of this agreement.

10. The expenses of the labor adjustment board shall be borne equally by both parties to this agreement.

11. Upon the petition of either party the labor adjustment board shall have the power to determine whether important changes have taken place within the clothing industry, or in industrial conditions generally, which warrant changes in general wage levels or in hours of work; and if it is decided that such changes are warranted, negotiations shall begin between the parties hereto. In the event of a disagreement, the question shall be submitted to arbitration.

12. Upon the petition of either party, any adjustment of wages of individuals or sections that may be necessary in order to remove serious and unjust inequalities in pay may be made at any time during the life of this agreement, provided that no request for such adjustment shall be heard by the impartial chairman until he has been authorized to consider it by the labor adjustment board. A decision by the impartial chairman in such a matter shall take effect and operate during and after the first full week after the date of the decision unless the parties otherwise agree.

13. A minimum wage for all beginners in the industry and a probationary period during which the employer shall be free to discharge such help without question shall be fixed by the labor adjustment board.

14. The regular hours of work shall be forty-four per week, to be worked eight hours on the five days preceding Saturday and four hours on Saturday.

15. For work done in excess of the regular number of hours per day overtime shall be paid at the rate of time and one-half.

16. The labor adjustment board is authorized to exercise sanitary control over shops covered by this agreement, and it shall have authority to make regulations designed to protect the health and safety of the workers in the shops.

17. It is agreed that home work shall be abolished and the labor adjustment board shall investigate and work out procedure to this end.

In connection with the renewal of the agreement the Amalgamated presented to the employers demands for improvements in wages. A hearing was held, at which representatives from other clothing markets were present. On August 20, 1920, Dr. Leiserson, chairman of the labor adjustment board, gave out the following decision:

Shortly before the first agreement between the Clothiers' Exchange of Rochester and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers expired on June 1, 1920, the union presented the following propositions to the employers and requested that they be made part of the new agreement:

1. Preferential union shop.
2. Equalization of wages with other markets.
3. Minimum wage for learners.
4. Abolition of home-work.
5. Regulation of apprenticeship.
6. Equal division of work during slack periods.

The employers made certain counter-propositions, and all of the matters in dispute except the matter of equalization of wages were either settled by the terms of the new agreement, which has been published, or provision was made for settling them under procedure provided by the agreement. No agreement could be reached with respect to the request for equalization of wages; and this matter was therefore submitted for arbitration to the chairman of the labor adjustment board.

Accordingly, an all-day hearing was held at the Seneca Hotel on August 5, at which representatives of both parties presented evidence

and arguments in support of their contentions. Subsequently the chairman held conferences in Rochester, New York City, and Chicago with the statistical experts of both parties and went over with them fully the statistical exhibits of wages and earnings in Rochester and in other markets, that had been submitted in evidence. The chairman also had conducted an independent investigation of his own into the wages and earnings of Rochester clothing workers, and the result of this investigation as well as the comparisons made with the wages in other markets, were submitted for criticism to the expert employed by both sides.

As a result of these extended investigations the chairman is convinced that the earnings of the piece workers in Rochester, with exception of a few sections, are on the average about the same as the earnings of the piece workers in Chicago, which is the chief competitive piece-work market. Most of the week workers in Rochester, however, are earning considerably less per week than the week workers in other markets. It is true that the clothing workers in Rochester have had more steady work than the people in other markets, but even if allowances were made for this fact, the Rochester week workers on the whole would still be earning less than the week workers in other clothing centers.

Under ordinary circumstances, it cannot be doubted that a request to equalize labor costs between competing employers and markets is a just request. The intelligent and informed public opinion of America no longer considers it sound industrial policy to permit employers to seek advantage in competing with one another by getting the same kind of labor at lower wages. Competition among employers should be in efficiency of management, salesmanship and service to consumers, not in getting cheap labor. The clothing worker in one market has a right to expect the same wages and standard of living for his family that other markets, where successful business is carried on, are able to pay.

If this were the only consideration, an increase to the clothing workers of Rochester would surely be justified. But the conditions and prospects of business at the time that increases are given must be carefully considered. At the present time the clothing industry throughout the country is experiencing acute depression and it will be as harmful to the wage-earner as to the employer to place any additional financial burdens on the industry. To grant wage increases at a time like this would merely postpone the day when prosperity can return to the industry again. It would appear like mockery to the worker to give him a wage increase at the very time when he is being laid off for lack of work, and an increase at such a time might well endanger the standards of living the clothing workers have already attained by creating an amount of unemployment that would result in cut-throat competition for jobs at any wages, no matter how low they may be. The best that can be hoped for at the present time is that existing wages and standards of living shall be maintained.

The chairman is therefore of the opinion that on account of the serious conditions prevailing in the clothing industry in Rochester, as well as in other clothing markets, no general increases can be granted at the present time. If, however, conditions in the industry should change so as to warrant an increase before the union would have a right again to request a wage adjustment under their agreement, due notice will be given to the employers and to the union that the chairman will take up the question of equalization of wages with other markets. The chairman reserves the right, as a condition of the present decision, to make such wage adjustments as may be necessary, if conditions in the industry should change so as to warrant such action before the agreement would permit an adjustment to be made.

(Signed), WM. M. LEISERSON.

Later Dr. Leiserson fixed the wage for learners at \$15 a week for a probationary period of six weeks. After six weeks the minimum scale must be \$16.

In January, 1921, the Rochester Joint Board received the following letter from the employers through the labor adjustment board:

January 28, 1921.

To Labor Adjustment Board
and
To Mr. Wm. M. Leiserson,
Impartial Chairman.

Gentlemen:

Under the agreement signed between the members of the Clothiers' Exchange of Rochester, New York, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, on or about the 3rd day of August, 1920, it is provided that, upon the petition of either party, the labor adjustment board shall have the power to determine whether important changes have taken place within the clothing industry, or in industrial conditions generally, which warrant changes in general wage levels; and that, if it is decided that such changes are warranted, negotiations shall begin between the parties.

We ask you to consider this communication as the petition provided for in the agreement. We contend that important changes have taken place within the clothing industry, and in industrial conditions generally, which warrant changes in general wage levels, as contemplated by the agreement.

Will you kindly appoint a place and date for a consideration of this matter, so that the proceedings necessary to your determination may go forward with all possible speed?

I am submitting this on behalf of the members of the Clothiers' Exchange of Rochester, New York, who are parties to the agreement.

Very truly yours,

MAX L. HOLTZ, President,

Clothiers' Exchange of Rochester, N. Y.

Herewith the union's reply:

To Labor Adjustment Board and
To William M. Leiserson,
Gentlemen:—

We have received the communication of January 28 from the Rochester Clothiers' Exchange which contains the contention that "important changes have taken place within the clothing industry and in industrial conditions generally which warrant changes in general wage levels, as contemplated by the agreement."

It is true that a number of changes have taken place in industrial conditions generally during the past six months but those changes have been of greater disadvantage to the workers than to the employers. Unemployment has impoverished thousands of our members in Rochester. The industry has not only ceased to give us a living annual wage, but it offers no guarantee of steady employment in the future.

Under these circumstances we feel that any wage readjustments along the lines of lowering wage levels would be a grave injustice to the workers.

What real good can be accomplished under these circumstances by opening negotiations for a new wage level? The union can prove to any impartial authority that the Rochester clothing workers cannot live on less money than they are now receiving. If the employers should make a public demand for a wage reduction, it would cause a

great deal of bitterness on the part of the workers who feel that they have already paid too great a price for the present depression.

It is, therefore, our opinion that for the best interests of all concerned, no change in wages should take place at this time.

Sincerely yours,

A. I. PEARLMAN, Manager,

Rochester Joint Board, A.C.W. of A.

March 10, 1921.

Public hearings on the employers' demands were held under the chairmanship of Dr Leiserson, on April 8, 9, and 11 in the ball room of Powers' Hotel. From 300 to 500 persons were present at each session, including employers, labor managers, members of the Amalgamated, and delegations from other local labor organizations.

Dr. Leiserson outlined the events that had led to the present arbitration, beginning on January 28, when the manufacturers first requested a change in the wage scale, down to the point where the union definitely rejected the proposed reduction.

The specific requests which the Rochester employers put before the arbitrator were:

"1.—A wage reduction of 25 per cent including adjustment of minimum wage and the wages for any operations in which the earnings are now excessive as compared with general levels.

"2.—Where scales are established, they request that all week workers shall be paid the new scale, and that no one shall receive more or less than the scale, except when justified by standards of production."

Leroy E. Snyder, executive director of the Clothiers' Exchange, opened the case for the manufacturers, outlining the requests which the employers were making. He listed the basic material which the manufacturers would present to prove their case.

After Snyder had spoken, Professor Willard E. Hotchkiss, executive director of the National Industrial Federation of Clothing Manufacturers, continued the argument for the employers. Their addresses occupied the first afternoon of the hearings.

On Saturday morning, April 9, after a brief summing up of the employers' side by Executive Director Snyder, President Sidney Hillman took the floor for the Amalgamated.

Questioning the figures purporting to show excessively high wages paid to Rochester clothing workers, Hillman insisted that not the single week's pay, but the average for the year, must be taken. "The clothing worker must live for the whole year, not only for the busy season," he declared. "The manufacturer does not figure his profits on his best month alone. He figures on the return for the year. Wages should be figured on the same basis."

An examination of the wage figures did not disclose any justification for a wage reduction.

Answering charges by the employers that the union was making for inefficiency, Hillman pointed out that the Amalgamated

agreement was signed only a little over two years ago. Up to that time the employers had full sway to introduce the best process and to weed out all but the most efficient workers. "And when we came in," he went on, "whom did we organize but just these efficient people, supposedly the pick of the industry? Since then production standards have been introduced and the union has co-operated in the installation of new processes and new machinery. We have stabilized the industry and made work more continuous. The union has been a factor for efficiency, not for inefficiency."

"Labor," concluded Hillman, "looks forward to progressive improvement in its standards of living. It is to the best interests of the country that labor get it."

Manager A. I. Pearlman of the Rochester Joint Board made an impressive statement of facts showing specific reasons why wages should not be reduced.

Pearlman pointed out that by decision of Impartial Chairman Leiserson the Rochester workers were morally entitled to a wage increase last August. They had foregone it, however, on the ground of the business conditions then prevailing. It was unjust, he held, to ask them, on top of this action, now to take a decrease.

Dr. Leo Wolman, of the Amalgamated Research Department, analyzed the figures submitted by the employers.

On May 3, Dr. Leiserson handed down his decision, denying a reduction in wages, and making some important changes in working conditions for the purpose of reducing labor costs. The conclusion from the evidence submitted, and the decision of the chairman of labor adjustment board, follow:

A careful consideration of all these facts leads inevitably to the conclusion that labor costs must be reduced. But at the same time the facts also show that there is little possibility of getting any worthwhile amount of cost reduction by cuts in wages. The wage levels in the Rochester clothing industry now are below the competitive markets, even when the recent decrease in Chicago is included. Moreover the union, having lent its efforts to stabilize wages in 1919 and having been denied an increase in 1920 by arbitration, has a right to expect that the levels of wages it helped to establish and maintain on a stable basis will not be forced down at the first sign of a break in prices. In industries where labor relations are chaotic and unregulated except by strikes and lockouts or dictatorship by one side or the other, there may be some cause for forcing wages down just as arbitrarily as they were forced up. But neither justice nor sound industrial policy can justify holding wages to reasonable levels by arbitration machinery and union agreements in the interest of industrial stability on a rising market and then when the market falls not using this same machinery to safeguard the workers' standards of living.

A glance at the tables of wages given above makes it evident that the wages of clothing workers in Rochester cannot be appreciably cut without denying to many of them proper standards of living. Thirtyfour dollars a week for men and \$22.50 for women are not high wages that can stand much cutting and this is all the clothing workers average when the weeks of unemployment with no wages are taken into account. The week workers who make up more than half the total average 20 to 25 per cent less than the piece workers, and

their wages could hardly stand any cutting at all, yet the labor costs of their operations are considerably higher than the costs on the piece work operations where the earnings are greater. To cut the latter, however, would be most unwise because it would tend to discredit the piece work system and thereby to increase costs.

Nevertheless there is immediate need of decreasing labor costs, for at the present high prices of clothing employers can get little business and the workers must suffer a great amount of unemployment. If no other method of decreasing costs can be found wages will have to be reduced in order that more work may be provided. This would be better than no cut at all with a great deal of unemployment. For lower wage rates, which increase the amount of business and employment, might bring greater annual earnings.

However, aside from some peaks of wages, especially among the underpressers, where earnings are considerably higher than the level of the market, and which may be cut without injury to any one, a better method of reducing cost is available than cutting wages. It is possible to transfer the week workers who are paid on a time basis, and whose unit costs of production are much higher than that of the piece workers, to a basis where they too would be paid according to production. This would increase production and thus result in a saving in labor cost much greater than could be secured in any other way.

The entire problem of wage readjustment at the present time arises out of the emergency created by the industrial depression from which the clothing industry is suffering. Something must be done to lower costs and prices in order that the industry may revive. The interests of all concerned require that more work be offered to the employees and this can only be done now by a sacrifice of some kind. In an emergency of this kind the chairman would have to reduce wages even though wages were comparatively low. Similarly, the chairman is of the opinion that the same emergency justifies a change in the wage payment plan from a time basis to a production basis, although if there were no emergency, such a change might not be justified. As an alternative, therefore, to a cut in wages, the chairman is of the opinion that time workers may properly be changed to payment by the piece.

This change from a time basis to payment according to production is, in the mind of the chairman, the most sound method of bringing industry out of the present depression. What is needed is lower costs and prices and at the same time increasing purchasing power of the people. By changing from week work to payment by the piece, the earnings of the workers would actually be increased and at the same time the unit cost of production, as experience has amply demonstrated, would be considerably reduced by the increased output.

In order to secure the substantial reduction in labor costs needed and in order at the same time to avoid a general reduction in the wages of the workers, the following decision is made:

1. Employers may require workers on any operation in the coat, pants and vest shops and all others included under the agreement except those hereafter mentioned to work on a basis of measured production which fixes the unit cost per piece in line with the existing piece rates in the market.

2. Costs in the cutting rooms appear to be on a reasonable basis and there is no reason for changing the existing systems of payment at the present time.

3. Off-pressing also requires special treatment because of special conditions affecting this operation. Here some lowering of labor cost is necessary. The main reason for the comparatively high costs at the present time seems to be that all the off-pressers, whether they have had ten years' experience or only one year, are held to the one standard of production that is fixed for the scale. For the present the only practical method of reducing costs on this operation is to

classify the pressers according to output. It is, therefore, ordered that three classes of off-pressers be created immediately, with scales respectively of \$41, \$43 and \$45. Any presser who is able to maintain the same quality of work that is fixed by the standard for \$41 and can press more coats in proportion to justify the scales of \$43 and \$45, shall be paid these weekly scales. Additional classes may be created if necessary, and, of course, those who do not produce the standards fixed are to be paid less in accordance with their production, as is now the practice in the market.

4. All the wage data submitted show that the earnings of piece work underpressers in coat, vest and pants shops are far above the level of the rest of the workers. Although this is a comparatively unskilled operation these men earn more than many of the skilled workers. This creates a serious and unjust inequality as well as unjustifiably high costs for this operation. Every shop, therefore, in which the average earnings of the underpressing sections are more than 25 per cent above the scales fixed for week workers on the same or similar sections, shall revise its piece rates to bring them down to between 20 and 25 per cent above the weekly scales.

5. The minimum wages of \$16 for learners after the six weeks' probationary period will not be necessary if workers are to be paid on the basis of cost per piece instead of on a time basis. This \$16 minimum is therefore abolished, but the \$15 minimum must remain, as the changes in cost of living that have so far taken place, in the opinion of the chairman, do not yet permit a worker to maintain self-support on less than this amount.

6. The decision is to be immediately effective.

Two days earlier the provision in the agreement against home work was put into effect.

Home work has been objected to by the Amalgamated ever since the original agreement was signed with the manufacturers. It has been reduced gradually through the efforts of the union.

When the agreement was renewed in August, 1920, it was agreed that home-work should be abolished. No date was set on which this article of the agreement should become effective, but the labor adjustment board, consisting of the union representatives and labor manager, was ordered to make an investigation and to work out procedure to this end. At a meeting of the board the following resolution was adopted:

"The board having investigated the matter of homework, as required by Article 17 of the agreement, resolves that after May 1, 1921, no more work shall be sent out to homes by any of the houses or contract shops covered by the agreement."

On September 1 the employers renewed their demands for a 25 per cent wage reduction. The Rochester Joint Board rejected it. The employers then applied to Dr. Leiserson for permission to reopen the wage question. A hearing was held on October 3. The union was represented by General Secretary-Treasurer Joseph Schlossberg, Manager Abraham I. Pearlman, and General Organizers Aldo Cursi and Gustav Strebel. The employers were represented by Mr. Oviatt, a lawyer, members of the exchange, and the labor managers.

Dr. Leiserson ruled against a reopening of the case. He directed negotiations between the union and the exchange for the reduction in labor costs along certain lines, indicated by him, without reducing wage levels.

That was the last case to come before Dr. Leiserson. He had resigned some time before. Mr. Allen T. Burns was chosen as his successor. That announcement was made jointly by Manager Pearlman of the joint board and President Holtz of the exchange on August 26. It was agreed by both sides that Dr. Leiserson should hear and decide the above case.

The Rochester membership was very active in the support of the lockout struggle in New York, Boston, and Baltimore. The assessment for the lockout resistance fund was paid with enthusiasm. The New York lockout employers were unable to get their work done in Rochester.

The Rochester Joint Board conducted a number of successful strikes against employers, who were not members of the exchange, for the protection of our members' interests.

A fine summer resort was maintained for the members at Manitoba Beach on the shore of Lake Ontario.

A very interesting educational program was carried out under the supervision of Educational Director Paul Blanshard.

The attitude of organized workers outside of our ranks to the Amalgamated may be seen from the following resolution:

"Whereas, Labor Day was set aside by act of Congress as a day on which all the workers of the nation may unite in a suitable observance of the same; and

"Whereas, The Central Trades and Labor Council of Rochester, at a regular meeting held on Thursday, August 18, 1921, went on record as declining to extend an invitation to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Boot and Shoe Workers to participate in the Labor Day parade of the workers of Rochester because of the fact that these organizations are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

"Whereas, The said organizations have at all times demonstrated a commendable spirit of sympathy, and courtesy, to all organized workers and have cheerfully contributed both moral and financial support in many instances, regardless of the particular affiliations of the organizations in need of their support; and

"Whereas, We believe the refusal of the Central Trades and Labor Council to invite the said organizations to participate in the Labor Day parade was undemocratic, discourteous, and detrimental to the best interests of all the workers of this city; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, the striking members of Rochester Typographical Union, No. 15, in regular meeting assembled on Tuesday, August 23, 1921, go on record as protesting against the said action of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Rochester; be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Central Trades and Labor Council, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the United Boot and Shoe Workers and published in the daily press and labor papers of Rochester.

"STRIKING MEMBERS OF

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, No. 15."

RENEWAL OF AGREEMENT, 1922.

At a formal conference held February 23, 1922, where the renewal of the agreement was discussed, the Rochester Clothiers' Exchange submitted to the Amalgamated a memorandum containing demands for a 25 per cent reduction in wages, the forty-eight-hour week, full power of discharge, and a number of other points. Herewith the memorandum:

Memorandum from the Clothiers' Exchange of Rochester, N. Y., to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America:—

Our experience with and under the working agreements with your union has brought about on our part the unescapable conviction that the continuance of contractual relations after the expiration of the existing agreement will be dependent entirely upon the willingness and ability of the union to lend itself whole heartedly to such modified provisions of and added provisions to the present agreement as will and must insure to the employers absolute freedom of management, supported by such a spirit and method of co-operation as will minimize, if not render wholly impossible, all unnecessary friction and hostile or conflicting ends to be striven for by the parties concerned.

We submit further, that any new or continuing agreement between us will be further dependent upon such readjustment of wages as will make possible a lower cost of production that will let us compete successfully and market our product to an extent that will insure the maximum of employment during the period of depression in which our industry is now enveloped.

We submit therefore that prior to further negotiations looking to a new or modified agreement between us, you first and without undue delay, must recognize the necessity of meeting us on the foregoing and specifically on the following considerations:—

1. Freedom in hiring workers.
2. Freedom in discharge of workers.
3. Complete immunity from interference with the normal processes of manufacture, whether these have to do with methods of manufacture, with use of machinery and labor saving devices, with methods of measuring and determining what is a proper output of workers, or with other means of insuring efficiency and proper conditions of costs.
4. Complete freedom in changing workers from week work to piece work.
5. Forty-eight-hour week.
6. Twenty-five per cent reduction of wages.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL WEILL,
Chairman Labor Committee,
Clothiers' Exchange of
Rochester.

The six demands of the Rochester manufacturers were thus substantially the same as the twelve demands presented by the Chicago manufacturers. Negotiations with the employers were taken up, with President Hillman acting as chief spokesman for the Amalgamated. Others who participated in the negotiations were Manager Pearlman, General Organizers Cursi and Strebel, and a negotiating committee, representing the shop chairmen, the Rochester Joint Board, and the local unions. The representatives of the shops were F. Nabér, Wm. Potter, Harry Levy, Elmer Wehnert, Stephen Serio,

Sam Cino, Peter Rogers, Herman Keller, Frank Parrone, Bill Degus, Ralph Molinari, Wm. Thomas, Louis Ranetta, Patsy Parente, Florence Ladra, Simon Moll, Fred Maynard, Albert Sherman, Frank Masline, Victor Podsiallo, Doser. Representatives of the joint board were Sadie Hurley, Dora Englert, Charles Rosen, Joseph Miller, John Greco, Rose Cominsky, Jack Levine, C. Genovese, N. Senewitz, Jacob Bauer. Representatives of the local unions, five from each, were William Snyder, N. Silvio, Paul Dummer, Julius Agress, Joseph Dinardo, Sam Ciaccio, Patsy Rocco, Charles Bruscato, John Baccaro, Charles Vaivoda, Joseph Welikis, Mike Velkys, Mrs. M. Arlauskilnie, M. Mikite, Mrs. Florence Ladra, Ida Bernstein, Sarah Riekles, Millie Silien, E. Fitzgerald, Dan Rose, Louis Rosenzweig, Sam Goldman, Hyman Lifshutz, Michael Stopek, Jan Goe, Peter Flasiński, Adolf Lukasiwicz, Bennie Krasowski, Herman Keller, J. K. Chapas, Madge Hauer, Tony Denattia, Emil Coleman. Subsequently to facilitate the work, a committee of ten for the direct negotiations was selected from the larger committee. The chairman of the committee for direct negotiations was Brother J. Levin.

After a number of conferences the following agreement was reached about the middle of April:

I

This agreement, made between the members of the Clothiers' Exchange of Rochester, New York, as individuals acting through the said exchange as their representative in the making of this agreement, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, being duly ratified by the members of both parties, shall become effective on May 1, 1922, and subject to the qualification contained in Section IX, shall continue in effect until April 30, 1925. This agreement supersedes all decisions, rules, and understandings concerning any subject matter specifically covered in these terms. It shall cover tailors, cutters, and trimmers.

II

The right of the workers in the industry to bargain collectively is agreed to, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is recognized as the organization of the workers, duly authorized to act as the agency for collective dealing with the employers. The employees in every shop shall elect representatives to take up their cases with the management in the first instance. If the shop representatives cannot agree with the management, then a union representative shall be called in. The employers shall appoint duly authorized representatives of the management, who shall be responsible for carrying into effect the terms and conditions of the agreement in all their shops.

It is expected that the respective representatives of both parties to this agreement shall represent in the shop and in their dealings the co-operative spirit of the agreement and shall be leaders in promoting that amity and spirit of good will which it is the purpose of this instrument to establish.

III

The power to hire shall remain with the employers, but in time of unemployment it is understood that consideration shall first be given to persons who have been employed in local shops doing work for members of the Clothiers' Exchange.

IV

The employer recognizes the obligation of workers who are members of the union, to pay their union dues.

V

The full power to discharge and discipline lies with the employer. It is agreed that this power shall be exercised with justice and with regard to the reasonable rights of the employee. The power of discharge shall be exercised only through the duly authorized and responsible representative of management. If the union, after investigation, finds that an employee has been discharged without just cause and that it cannot reach an adjustment with the representative of management, it may go before the arbitrator and show that the discharge was made without just cause, and the decision of the arbitrator shall be final.

VI

The right of the employer to make changes in shop management and methods of manufacturing is recognized; such changes to be made without loss to the employees directly affected.

VII

This agreement provides for an orderly adjustment of differences, and there is no provocation for direct action. Stoppages are, therefore, prohibited. If, however, a stoppage shall occur, the union shall immediately order the people to return to work and in the event of their failure to do so any or all of the participants in or instigators of the stoppage shall be liable to discipline.

VIII

The principle of equal division of work is recognized, and during slack periods work shall be divided as far as practicable among all the workers in a shop.

IX

In case the parties hereto find themselves unable to agree concerning any issue arising under the terms of the agreement, the dispute shall be referred to an arbitrator chosen jointly by the two parties to the agreement. The arbitrator shall be available at all times for the prompt hearing and decision of cases, and his decision, in cases coming before him under the terms of this agreement, shall be final.

The duties and jurisdiction of the arbitrator are fixed and limited by this agreement. He shall have no power to enlarge such jurisdiction unless by mutual consent of the two parties to this agreement. The expense of the arbitrator's office shall be borne equally by the two parties to this agreement.

X

(A) The wage levels established by this agreement shall not be changed under this agreement except as hereinafter provided. If either party shall become convinced that a change in wage levels is warranted, it may give notice to that effect not later than ninety days prior to the anniversary date of this agreement and call for a conference on such change. If any change shall be agreed upon it shall become effective on such anniversary date. If, after a thorough canvass of the situation, the parties find themselves unable to agree on wages, either party may, in good faith, give notice of the termination of the agreement, provided that the agreement shall not be terminated before

the anniversary date, nor before the expiration of thirty days from the date of said notice of termination. *

(B) Piece rates, standards of production, and wages of week workers in effect on May 1, 1922, cannot be reduced or raised during the term of this agreement, unless by the mutual consent of the parties to this agreement.

XI

The regular hours of work shall be forty-four per week, to be worked eight hours on the five days preceding Saturday and four hours on Saturday.

For work done in excess of the regular number of hours per day, overtime shall be paid at the rate of time and one-half.

XII

Both the Clothiers' Exchange of Rochester and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America agree to use their full influence and effort to secure an observance of this agreement in the spirit as well as in letter by their respective members. Neither party to this agreement shall adopt rules or regulations, or issue any orders or impose any obligations on members individually or collectively, in conflict with any provision herein contained, or that will have the effect of nullifying or impairing any of such provisions. It is not the intention that this agreement shall operate in such a way as to restrict output or impede processes of management.

* The union serves notice that it may also at the same time bring up the question of an unemployment fund in good faith.

On April 17 the new agreement was submitted to the Rochester Joint Board, at a special meeting, by President Hillman and Secretary Schlossberg. After a discussion the agreement was approved.

On April 18 and 19 the agreement was submitted to the membership at special meetings of all local unions. Those meetings were addressed by Sidney Hillman, Joseph Schlossberg, A. I. Pearlman, Gustave Strebek, Aldo Cursi, Arturo Giovannitti, Anthony Capraro, and Leo Krzycki. The agreement was ratified by the general membership.

None of the demands of the manufacturers were acceded to in the new agreement. The union retained all rights of the old agreement and made some new gains:

The employer recognizes the obligation of workers who are members of the union to pay their union dues.

Basic piece rates, standards of production, and wages of week workers may not be changed except by collective bargaining between the two parties.

The impartial chairman can no longer reduce wage levels or "peaks."

The principle of preference is definitely introduced into the agreement.

The union reserves the right to present the question of the unemployment insurance fund in either May, 1923, or May, 1924. The

language in regard to the unemployment fund is the same as in the new Chicago agreement.

The new agreement materially strengthens the position of the union as the representative of the workers in the shop. Under the old agreement, any worker disciplined or having a grievance could take the matter up directly for review to the labor adjustment board with its impartial chairman. The new agreement provides that the worker must act through the union in all cases coming before the arbitration machinery. In cases of discipline the case must first be taken up by the union, and it alone may ask for review by the impartial chairman.

Working conditions remain the same. The forty-four-hour week is retained. Overtime is to be paid for at the rate of time and one-half. There is to be equal division of work during slack periods.

The union accepted a wage reduction of 15 per cent, except that the wages of certain workers reduced by the decisions of the impartial chairman of October 11, 1921, are to be cut a lesser amount, so that the total reduction shall not exceed 15 per cent. The average reduction is therefore about $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This is the first reduction of wages for workers in the Rochester clothing market since the first agreement was signed. A year ago the employers requested before the board of arbitration a reduction of 25 per cent. That request was denied after hearings and no change in the general wage levels was made. Again, in September, 1921, the employers asked for a reduction in wages. That request was also denied by the impartial chairman, as has been related above.

The new agreement contains the same clauses as the Chicago agreement with reference to the right of each party, after giving ninety days' notice, to ask for a change in the wage levels either in May, 1923, or in May, 1924. Failing to secure an agreement either party may, should it wish to do so, abrogate the agreement on the anniversary date, in good faith.

A comparison of the three Rochester agreements, of 1919, 1920, and 1922, will show the progress made by the Rochester organization in dealing with the problems of the industry.

ORGANIZATION WORK IN CLEVELAND

The present two-year period began for Cleveland with a lock-out on April 19, 1920, by the Douglas Tailoring Company. The lockout lasted four days. The dispute was referred to Dr. Leiser-son, then impartial chairman at Rochester, for decision.

Dr. Leiser-son heard both sides and on May 24, 1920, gave the following decision.

The question to be decided in this case is whether the employees of this shop were locked out for four days, or whether there was a stoppage or unauthorized strike during those four days. If it was a stoppage the employees must pay for the loss. Mr. Philip Frankel represented the employer. Messrs. Glickman and Baccaro represented the union.

After the hearing, which was full and complete and took almost four hours, it became plain that the events which caused the suspension of work really dated back to the preceding week when two edge basters who were piece workers asked to be transferred to week work. The employer, instead of refusing this demand which was his right, and pleasantly having the matter adjusted or arbitrated in accordance with the agreement, became irritated about it and some kind of clash was inevitable under such circumstances. Probably the fact that he was coming down with some illness had a great deal to do with his irritation, but anyway he charged the union officials with bad faith and with instigating the request for week work.

The two edge basters gave notice and quit on Saturday, and on Monday a new man was hired to do edge basting. This man quit after he had been spoken to by the shop chairman about getting a card from the union, and the employer assumed the chairman had sent him away. He got into a heated argument with the chairman, as a result of which the latter rang the bell stopping work in the shop. The employer charges that the shop chairman did this on his own authority, but the latter claims he was told to do it by the employer. In any case, when the employees gathered around the time clock, the employer did not tell them to go back to work and have the trouble adjusted, but I am convinced from the testimony that he told them to ring in their time and go, or said something to this effect. It is also plain from the evidence that a committee met him after they went out, and something like an offer to get the people back to work was made.

In this sense, it might be said that they were locked out, but it was the duty of the union officials, as soon as they learned of the suspension, to order the people back to work, pending the adjustment of any grievances. They failed to do this, but instead conducted the case as if it was an authorized strike. Had they made an offer to go back to work, as it was their duty to do, and as Mr. Rosenbloom did on Thursday, then it would have been a clear case of lockout. But at no time before Thursday was such an offer made, and on the contrary, on Tuesday when a committee met representatives of the firm they refused to even negotiate because the general manager was not present.

Under the circumstances, it is evident that the suspension of work was both a lockout and a strike and both the employer and the

union were at fault. Just how much the loss should be borne by each side is difficult to determine, but substantial justice will be done if the employer is required to pay one day's wages to the employees, and they will be required to lose the other three days. The loss in production suffered by the employer in addition to the day's wages he will pay will tend to equal up the losses on both sides.

It is therefore decided that the firm shall pay one day's wages to all those workers who reported for work Monday morning—nothing is to be paid to those who were absent or laid off the preceding Saturday, though this might have been only for half a day—and this should make it plain to both parties that the method of collective bargaining and amicable adjustment between employers and the union pays better in the long run.

When the agreement with the employers' association expired on June 1, 1920, negotiations were begun for its renewal. Months passed before an understanding was finally reached on October 2. The renewed agreement provided for a preferential union shop, forty-four-hour week, standards of production, and impartial machinery. General Executive Board Member Rosenblum participated in the negotiations with the employers, assisting the Cleveland Joint Board.

In February, 1921, the employers, following the example set by others, demanded a large wage reduction. Industrial conditions were favorable for such a demand and it looked for a time as if Cleveland would be added to New York, Boston, and Baltimore as a lockout market. General Organizer Hollander and Joint Board Manager Spitz conducted negotiations with the employers and an adjustment in wages was made with each individual firm. The employers refused to act through their association.

On August 3, 1921, the Douglas Tailoring Company again locked out its employees. The Cleveland Joint Board replied with a strike against the firm.

General Organizer Louis Hollander sent the following report to the office:

"About August 3 this firm locked out the workers in order to operate a non-union shop. As a result the Cleveland Joint Board declared a strike against the firm. The workers are bound together solidly, and are determined to fight for months if necessary in order to convince this firm, as well as the other employers of the city, that the A. C. W. of A. is not a toy that they can play with.

"Owing to the depression in the clothing industry, the firm thought it would use the opportunity to break up the organization. But a number of other employers failed in their schemes against the Amalgamated, and this firm will fail as well.

"It is wonderful to watch the activity of the workers in this strike. We have a regular league of nations in that shop. You can find there Americans, Irish, Syrians, Italians, Jews, Bohemians, Russians, Poles, and Lithuanians. But they all understand one thing—that in order to maintain the American standard of living they have to fight with the real American spirit which is well represented by the A. C. W. of A.

"The firm tried to get its work done in Akron, Ohio. It has some stores in Akron, and one of the firm, DeSur, lives in that town. Because of that fact, he thought he owned the town, and that no pickets would reach him there.

"One nice morning, when DeSur got up and took his usual walk over the beautiful streets of Akron, he was amazed to see a dozen girls and boys who carried artistically painted signs notifying the public of Akron that the Douglas Tailoring Co. had locked out the workers, and that now the workers were out on strike. He got busy.

"As a result several workers were arrested."

On Friday evening, August 26, a great mass meeting was held in Carpenters' Hall, 42 East Market Street, Akron, Ohio, under Amalgamated auspices, to protest against the lock-out of union workers by the Douglas firm.

The Akron "Herald," official organ of the Akron Central Labor Union, stood by the strikers, and gave their story first page prominence. In its issue of August 26 the "Herald" contained a lengthy report on the strike. Referring to the injection of the race issue by the firm into the situation, the paper said:

"Friends of the Amalgamated will advise every one against any demonstration against these colored men. This is just what DeSur wants. He does not care if a race riot starts and perhaps scores of lives be lost if thereby his ends can be gained. If the people will keep their heads and one at a time go to him and protest in an orderly manner he will be defeated. Unless some violence results from his last desperate attempt he will lose by the trick because hundreds of people who were formerly more or less indifferent are now deeply interested. Hundreds stand on the street and watch the affair where only a few looked formerly. If DeSur would take some of the money he is spending on his pickets and apply it to the wages asked by his former union employees in accordance with their former scale, he could settle at once.

"Injunction Still Hanging Fire

"Last Friday DeSur got a temporary injunction in common pleas court which was served on several of the pickets to stop them from picketing in front of the store. The decision concerning making the injunction permanent has not yet been handed down.

"In the meantime the public of Akron is very deeply interested in the fight because of the great reputation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for winning all strikes and lockouts. This reputation has been greatly enhanced by the recent victory in New York, when after six months' lock-out and innumerable injunctions, the bosses were compelled to capitulate, withdrawing \$4,000,000 in damage suits, spending \$2,000,000 in the course of the fight."

On September 23 the strike was settled.

The settlement of the Douglas Tailoring Co. strike in Cleveland, Akron, and Canton, Ohio, was especially important to the Amalgamated because the strike was the first real test of the union's strength in Cleveland.

Not since the organization was launched in 1918 has it been forced to a real trial of power with the employers. Some of the latter therefore began to feel that perhaps the union did not amount

to much. After the settlement of a situation which might have developed into a general attack on union standards all along the line, they know that the Amalgamated is ready to protect the interest of the members in all circumstances.

For seven weeks the Douglas struggle lasted. The clothing workers proved capable of looking out for themselves and of protecting their standards of life and of working conditions. The energetic activity of General Organizer Louis Hollander, assisted by General Organizer Harry Madanick, was appreciated by the membership.

The settlement with the firm was made on a basis of piece work. The same arrangements were made for the entire market.

On December 31, when the agreement which was made in August, 1920, expired, it was extended to March, 1922.

Cleveland was hard hit by the industrial depression. The employers took advantage of the opportunity. But being organized, the workers were able to resist all attacks and reduce their effects to a minimum.

In the latter part of January, 1922, the National Tailoring Co. made a demand for a wage reduction of 20 per cent which was rejected by the union. The firm then attempted to put the reduction into effect arbitrarily. A strike followed. Every member of the organization pledged himself to support the strikers.

On February 3, 1922, a conference between the National Tailoring Co. and General Executive Board Member Lazarus Marcovitz and Brother D. Solomon, manager of the Cleveland Joint Board, resulted in referring the matter to arbitration. The arbitrators' decision was for a reduction of approximately 10 per cent. That decision also ended the wage controversy with the entire market, as all other firms accepted the same rate of reduction. The strikers returned to work February 6, 1922.

On March 3, 1922, the agreement with the association was renewed until August 1, 1923. The agreement provides for arbitration, union shop, and division of work in slack periods.

A vigorous organization campaign is now being conducted in Cleveland.

Brother D. Solomon now heads the Cleveland Joint Board as its manager.

G. E. B. Member Lazarus Marcovitz of Montreal frequently gives the joint board the benefit of his advice and help. Sister Mamie Santora of Baltimore, and Frank Rosenblum of Chicago, members of the G. E. B., have also assisted the Cleveland organization, as have General Organizer Louis Hollander, L. Krzycki, H. Madanick, and J. Kroll. A special word should be said for the consistent and energetic union activity of a number of local people in Cleveland, including Herman Charkoffsky, Louis Friedman, John W. Huzl, John Santillo, Mark Thomas, Frank J. Zavesky, Barney Cohen, Harry Levine, Joe Carozzi, A. P. Neville, Morris Kramer, Tony Caracciolo, John Oliver, Louelle Poppel, Antonneta Seidel, Mary Calabrese, Futina Orr, and Kathrine Wagner.

AMALGAMATED AT HOME IN CINCINNATI

Two years ago we reported on the great struggles of the clothing workers in Cincinnati for their right to organize. The Amalgamated is now fully established in that city and doing effective work for the improvement of the workers' conditions.

Four hundred Amalgamated members in all shops of the Milton Ochs Co., Cincinnati, O., were forced into a strike on May 27, 1920, when the firm refused to live up to the collective bargaining agreement entered into with the organization and arbitrate differences with the workers in the shops.

The differences with this firm dated back to the week when the active members were in Boston at the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated. Taking advantage of their absence the firm discharged a shop chairman on a trivial excuse.

General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum met Ochs in New York after the Boston Convention and sought to get him to agree to arbitration. Ochs was defiant and refused to arbitrate. Further conferences were held with Ochs on his return to Cincinnati by General Organizer Jack Kroll and Business Agents Zaffiro and Bernhardt of the Cincinnati Joint Board without result.

On May 26 Ochs discharged a presser for alleged restriction of output. All pressers stopped work until the man was reinstated two hours later. Later two finishers were fired. All other workers walked out. General Organizer Kroll succeeded in getting the workers to return pending Ochs' decision on the demand for arbitration. Ochs replied that he would not arbitrate, so the strike began at 9 o'clock in the morning of May 27. The Cincinnati membership took up the fight and assessed itself 10 per cent of its earnings for the support of the strike.

The firm applied to the courts for an injunction forbidding picketing. It succeeded in obtaining an injunction which limited the number of pickets and restricted the strikers' activities.

The court decided that the strikers might have ten pickets at the main factory and six pickets at the other shops, and that the pickets might carry banners and signs calling the attention of other workers to the strike.

The strike at the Ochs plant was one of a series of strikes and lockouts brought into the Cincinnati clothing industry by the "open shop" wave which has swept the country.

The following extract from a leaflet issued by the Cincinnati Joint Board during the organization campaign and circulated among

the clothing workers gives an idea of the general policy pursued by the employers in their efforts to reduce working conditions:

"In the past season three Cincinnati clothing manufacturers attempted to restore the forty-eight-hour week.

"When the workers protested by coming to an Amalgamated shop meeting, the bosses suddenly decided to maintain the forty-four hours.

"In some shops wages have returned to a pre-war level.

"While other bosses have not dared openly to reduce wages, they are employing new workers at reduced wages, which will eventually bring your wages down."

Brother Samuel Esterkin, secretary-treasurer of the Cincinnati Joint Board, gave the following estimate of the organization work in Cincinnati in *Advance* of September 16, 1921:

"While Cincinnati is often the last place that any progressive movement reaches, it is sometimes among the first when it comes to reactionary movements. This is particularly true as far as the struggle between capital and labor is concerned. We the workers of the clothing industry in Cincinnati can verify this statement by our own experience.

"The Amalgamated had organized and brought about union conditions in all clothing centers, had acquired the respect and admiration of the liberal minded people of the country, and brought fear into the hearts of the labor haters. All this had been done by the Amalgamated before they could come to Cincinnati with an effort to bring about better conditions, which clothing workers in other cities had enjoyed long before our bitter struggle took place. The manufacturers not only duplicated the methods of manufacturers in the big clothing centers, but they also used some methods of their own invention to fight the Amalgamated. But they failed in all their efforts to keep the Amalgamated out of Cincinnati. While we did not succeed in organizing 100 per cent, we did succeed in improving conditions 100 per cent.

"We hardly had time to entrench in our positions when along came the so-called 'back to normalcy' period, with its much advertised 'open shop' cannons. The Amalgamated was chosen as the first target. Shot after shot they aimed at the little headquarters of the Cincinnati Joint Board. But the 'open shop' cannon proved to be too weak to crush the Amalgamated, and while they have done some damage to our material welfare, they have failed utterly to destroy the Amalgamated spirit in Cincinnati.

"The unlimited moral and financial support of the Amalgamated General Office, combined with the wise counsel of the Amalgamated representatives and the wonderful spirit of the Amalgamated, have guided us safely through the hardest storms and bitterest struggles we have ever witnessed. Now the worst is over. The onslaught of the manufacturers has weakened. They have finally come to the realization that their 'open shop' ammunition is not strong enough

to do any real harm to our organization or to crush its spirit. With fear they await our next move. They know that we will not long remain satisfied with our present conditions.

"Our big move is on its way! While these lines are being written, plans for a vigorous campaign have been laid under the able direction of General Organizer Jack Kroll and Emilio Grandinetti. Our goal is 100 per cent organization, and we will go forward until complete victory rests upon the banner of the Amalgamated in Cincinnati."

The spirit of solidarity animating the Cincinnati organization is shown in a letter sent by the joint board to a group of striking cutters attached to the so-called "United Garment Workers of America." Herewith the letter:

"Striking Clothing Cutters and Trimmers, Ferdinand Samuelson, Secretary, Ninth and Plum Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

"To Our Fellow Workers on the Firing Line, Greetings:

"We wish to inform you that the Clothing Cutters' and Trimmers' Local 189, A. C. W. of A., went on record to expel and penalize any members of our organization who should go to work on your jobs. If there is any other way in which we can be of assistance to you, all the means at our command are at your disposal.

"Your for the solidarity of the working class."

"Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,

"Cincinnati Joint Board,

"J. B. WENSTRUP, President."

In return the Amalgamated joint board received a letter from the strikers, officially thanking the Amalgamated members for their stand in the matter. The affair has strengthened the morale of the strikers, and created a very favorable attitude toward the Amalgamated on their part.

THE GOLDEN FLEECE RULE

There is one clothing factory in Cincinnati whose owners have very carefully advertised it throughout the country by exploiting the Holy Scriptures in addition to exploiting the workers. The factory is known as the Golden Rule shop, run on what is blasphemously called "God's Plan." The workers in that factory are very badly in need of the union's protection. They became interested in the organizing campaign of the Amalgamated in Cincinnati. The interest of the workers in the Amalgamated did not harmonize with the Golden Rule interest of the firm to keep the workers unorganized. The workers were not allowed to go near the Amalgamated unless they gave up their jobs in the Golden Rule shop. In order to counteract the Amalgamated organizing activities the firm announced a 10 per cent wage increase of its employees' very low wages and the inauguration of the forty-hour-week without overtime pay

for extra hours. Incidentally, this announcement, coming at a time of universal wage reductions and demands by employers for a longer working week, gave the firm a tremendous advertisement whose value in money cannot be estimated.

Miss Ann Washington Craton, general organizer for the Amalgamated in Cincinnati, throws some light on the firm's "generosity":

While newspapers and magazines in general have heralded Nash's award to his employees as a forward step in industry, few know the facts in the case. These are that the fundamental issues involved are economic rather than altruistic.

The credit for the improved working conditions is due not to Nash's philanthropic zeal to have his workers properly clean their homes on Saturday in order to "make religious liberty a reality in industry." Rather it is because of the aggressive campaign conducted by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, against this notorious non-union shop.

Under the name of the Golden Rule prior to its exposure by the Amalgamated, the A. Nash Tailoring Company was operating one of the most successful "open shops" in the United States. The Golden Rule has been the guise behind which the firm has resisted unionism.

Nash, who used to be a Seventh Day Adventist minister but who now is a shrewd business man, modestly claims he "has cast out hell and has brought in heaven" by applying the Golden Rule in his tailor shop, "the only infallible, workable, industrial and economic law in the universe today."

Tripled Output

Nash found it a profitable belief, as he himself makes this statement. "I found that in the period of the Golden Rule operation our people had been turning out nearly three times as much clothing as ever before and that we were making more money than at any former time." Quoting again, one discovers that, in the name of religion, Nash made "a net profit of \$42,000 on an investment of \$60,000."

The Golden Rule was applied in the A. Nash Company at the time that the Amalgamated first partially organized the Cincinnati clothing market. From that time until the present day, Christianity and the Amalgamated have been synonymous with Nash. As the Amalgamated continued to raise the standards in the market, Nash introduced Golden Rule novelties, as an offset to organization and trade unionism. He tried profitsharing, the bonus system, stock selling, and workers' control, all schemes which increased production and turned out suits for the firm, adding little money to the workers' pay envelopes.

Efforts to Postpone Unionism

Then came the famous forty hours at a period when there was no work in the market. Previously there was a week's Christmas vacation with pay. All were frantic efforts on the part of the firm further to postpone the final day of complete organization.

The Amalgamated's exposure proved that the wages were several dollars a week lower than union wages; that there was no time and a half for overtime; that if a worker was five minutes late he was docked for an hour; that the week workers are forced to produce an amount of work which is very severe or be discharged; and that the workers have no voice as to what their standards shall be despite the much advertised "Workers' Control."

Publicly Nash fights unionism with forty hours and sentimentality. In private he uses the crude methods commonly used by all non-union firms—discharge, forcing a new applicant for work to sign an agreement promising never to join the Amalgamated, and police stationed

at the "Golden Gate" to prevent the organizers from talking to the workers.

In spite of these methods the Amalgamated's organization campaign is highly successful, for the workers are eager to be emancipated from exploitation and they believe that Industrial Democracy through Unionism is the only real workers' control.

The Nash Co. plan of industrial relations attracted considerable outside attention. The "Survey" sent its industrial editor, S. Adelaide Shaw, to make an impartial investigation. In an article published in that magazine entitled "Hitting the Trail in Industry," Miss Shaw appraises the conditions in the Nash clothing factory. Wages, she says are "about 25 per cent below the averages in the Amalgamated shops." Also she points out that what increases have taken place in the Nash factory in wages came during the boom period when the Amalgamated raised the standard for the whole market and the Nash Co. merely brought the wage up nearer the prevailing wage scale in the market. Thus the Amalgamated organization had its influence in raising wages in this unorganized factory. "The foreman or forewoman," says Miss Shaw, "hires and fires." There is no impartial board or union to protect the worker from arbitrary discharge. It is, concludes the article, "a shop that claims to have tried profit sharing but without ever having taken the workers into conference in regard to profits and costs; a shop in which no system of democracy prevails."

RELATIONS WITH OTHER FIRMS

On March 11, 1922, the workers in the factory of L. R. Marks went on strike when four of their fellow workers were discharged for attending a union organization meeting. At that time we had only the cutting room organized but when the workers were discharged the tailor shop people came out on strike, after a committee of tailors and cutters who had asked the management for an explanation of their arbitrary action had been rebuffed. The cutters, with no specific grievance of their own, walked out with the tailors to the last man.

The effectiveness of the strike is shown in the frantic and futile efforts that the firm has made to have work done in other cities. Goods were sent to Vineland, N. J., but, the workers refusing to do the work, the material was shipped back to Cincinnati unmade.

On March 18 the cutters and trimmers of the Stores & Schaefer firm joined the Amalgamated in a body. That was a great acquisition to the organization. These are the men who fought the Amalgamated bitterly in 1919 while members of the so-called "United Garment Workers." They now admit that they were misled at that time, and that they made a serious mistake in attacking the bona fide union of clothing workers. They say, however, that they are now ready to stand by the union which has really improved conditions for the workers in the industry.

The cutters of the Columbia Tailoring Co. also joined the Amalgamated on March 17.

The situation in Cincinnati has been much improved by the steady educational work carried on by the Cincinnati Joint Board. The general direction of the organization work has been in charge of General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum, with the co-operation of General Organizer Jack Kroll. Hyman Isovitz of the staff of business agents of the Chicago Joint Board visited Cincinnati on several occasions and assisted in the adjustment of prices. Others who have assisted in the work during the last two years are: Miss Ann W. Craton, E. Grassi, E. Grandinetti, A. Johannsen, G. Strebel, and S. Rissman.

In the latter part of April, 1922, agreements were renewed with the Globe Tailoring Co., and the American Art Tailoring Co. The new agreements are on the basis of the Chicago agreement. They were negotiated by Frank Rosenblum, with the assistance of Organizer Kroll and Business Agent Reichert.

One very encouraging feature is the great interest of the women members in the work of the organization.

PITTSBURGH FORGES AHEAD

Pittsburgh made her initial appearance as an Amalgamated center at the Boston Convention, and since then has forged steadily ahead. Two conspicuous achievements can be marked down to the credit of our local in the "Smoky City." The first is the maintenance of collective bargaining in such a newly organized city in the midst of a great industrial depression. In spite of the attacks by several of the larger firms, an agreement with the contractors has been maintained throughout the past two years and had just been renewed to run until February, 1923.

The second achievement is the recognition which we have succeeded in winning from the labor movement in Pittsburgh. During the lockout and strike of the United States Direct Clothing Co., the Amalgamated received the active support of the Iron City Trades Council. Describing this situation, *Advance* of September 14, 1920, says:

"The strike against the United States Direct Clothing Co. of Pittsburgh continues to be one of the sensations of the labor movement of this great steel manufacturing center. The remarkable demonstration of solidarity by the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in this struggle against an alliance of employers and a scab agency which calls itself the United Garment Workers has aroused support from members of many labor organizations.

"Delegates of molders, machinists, theatrical workers, bakers and other trades to the Iron City Trades Council spent two weeks in discussion of the fight of the Amalgamated against the scab agency which calls itself a labor organization. Because the scab agency is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the scab agents asked the Trades Council to help it in its scabbing operations for the clothing firm.

“Many delegates denounced the attempt of the scab agents to recruit strikebreakers for this firm. Several declared that they would not wear clothing which did not bear the label of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

“The label of the Amalgamated on my clothing means that the workers who turned out the garment receive high wages and have high working standards,” said one delegate. “The label of the United Garment Workers means low wages and low standards.”

The lockout of its employees was not a successful venture for the firm. It locked itself out of business.

The Pittsburgh local has maintained its position in the face of adverse conditions because of long unemployment.

Organizer Hollander ably assisted the Pittsburgh organization in the fight against the United States Direct Clothing Co., and also in the settlement of all other disputes. Pauline Clark and M. Malinger have also contributed much to the success of the local.

LOUISVILLE AS ACTIVE AS EVER

Local 120 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Louisville is a stimulating factor in the labor movement in that city. The local has accomplished very much by its vigor and aggressiveness, and other organizations have benefitted by its example. Local 120 has also the distinction of having the first woman business agent in the state of Kentucky. Miss Emma Saurer, a charter member and first treasurer of the local, was unanimously elected to that office.

In December, 1920, the firm of M. Goldberg & Sons broke its agreement with the Amalgamated, secretly signed an agreement with the United Garment Workers, and locked out its employees because they refused to obey the employers' command to leave the Amalgamated and join the defunct United. Local 120 took up the cause of the locked out workers with its characteristic aggressiveness and declared a strike against the firm.

At a meeting of the Louisville United Trades and Labor Assembly on December 28, a resolution was adopted endorsing the strike breaking “United” and attacking the Amalgamated. It was reported that this action was taken after the reading of a telegram from Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, to the effect that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was an “outlaw organization.” It was understood, however, that the action of the assembly was not supported by the rank and file of organized labor in the city. A number of members and officers of unions represented in that body gave Amalgamated Local 120 the assurance of their support.

Local 120 explained the Goldberg case in the following:

OPEN LETTER TO LOUISVILLE WORKERS

In the month of January, 1920, there was a strike declared by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the tailor shop of M. Goldberg &

Sons, this firm having refused to grant the 20 per cent increase to the workers that had been arranged by the organization in all the clothing markets in the middle west.

The strike lasted three days and a half, at which time Mr. M. Goldberg sent for the representative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union and after a conference of forty minutes they agreed to the union's demand. It was further agreed that they would conduct a union house under union conditions. This understanding was in effect up until December 15, 1920.

On December 15, 1920, Mr. Goldberg addressed the employees, all of whom were members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and informed them that he had signed a contract with the United Garment Workers and that the members of the Amalgamated were threatened with discharge unless they joined the United Garment Workers.

At this time there were employed in the tailor shop a total of eighteen people. Two solitary individuals, by the names of Smith and Vargo, joined the United Garment Workers. All the other people were locked out because they refused to join the United.

The firm of M. Goldberg & Sons are advertising extensively in daily newspapers here in Louisville, also in Indianapolis and Cincinnati, for competent tailors, which is evidence of their inability to obtain help.

The agreement entered into by the firm of M. Goldberg & Sons and the United Garment Workers was made without the knowledge or the consent of any of the employees. It is a clear case of some one deliberately assisting the firm of M. Goldberg & Sons to break the agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and make it possible for this firm to reduce the wages and to bring back, if possible, the old sweat shop conditions.

Rumors have been circulated in this city by Goldberg and others that some twenty odd members of the Amalgamated have transferred their membership into the United Garment Workers. This is a deliberate falsehood and we challenge any one to produce one single name outside of Smith and Vargo that has left our union and joined the United.

The firm of M. Goldberg & Sons have applied for an injunction to restrain the Amalgamated from picketing and from other lawful methods of spreading the truth about this fight to the public. The silence on the part of the officers of the Louisville Trades & Labor Assembly will lead many people to believe that they are in accord with Mr. Goldberg to obtain this injunction, notwithstanding the fact that the American Federation of Labor has for years been committed against government by injunction.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is the bona fide trade union of the men's clothing industry, because they have organized the industry 90 per cent throughout the United States and Canada and have protected the economic interests of the men and women who work in the industry. In addition to this, the Amalgamated was responsible for the introduction of the forty-four-hour week in the industry.

The rank and file of a great number of local unions in the city of Louisville are sympathetic with the Amalgamated and will support their cause. Statements made by Mr. Goldberg that all union men in Louisville are favorable to his side are deliberately false and untrue.

The men's clothing factories in this city were organized by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union. The fight made to improve the conditions from fifty-four hours a week to forty-four hours and from a wage scale as low as \$4 per week to the present wages of from \$12 to \$40 per week was accomplished by Local Union No. 120 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The United Garment Workers never made any serious efforts to organize the industry in this city and their conduct comes with bad

grace and we believe will be sufficiently distasteful to the honest men and women in the labor movement to be resented in no uncertain terms.

The fight is on and we request all self-respecting trades unionists and the friends of organized labor to remember that M. Goldberg & Sons deliberately and without notice broke the agreement voluntarily entered into with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local No. 120, and having this in mind, we shall expect them to act accordingly. The United Garment Workers have no tailors and Goldberg will be unable to obtain competent tailors until he makes an honorable settlement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local No. 120, of Louisville, Ky.

Respectfully,
 HERBERT BROWN, President
 ANNA SHEPHERD, Secretary
 EMMA SAURER, Business Representative

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING
 WORKERS OF AMERICA,
 Local No. 120.

James A. Ross, delegate from the Boilermakers' Union, was ejected from his seat in the Louisville United Trades and Labor Assembly for condemning the action of the assembly in this strike.

Ross, as secretary, signed a resolution passed by the Falls City Lodge, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, declaring "un-American" the indorsement by the assembly of the "United Garment Workers."

M. Goldberg & Son applied for an injunction against the Amalgamated, but the court refused to assist the firm against its locked out employees.

Max Waxman, owner of the "Co-operative Tailor Shop," whose employees were on strike, was more successful. He did obtain an injunction against the Amalgamated, limiting the number of pickets to six. In connection with the injunction the firm sought to have Sisters Anna Shepherd and Emma Saurer punished for contempt, but failed. Waxman and his group came to the largest clothing house in the city asking for work as contractors, declaring their willingness to settle with the Amalgamated. The firm had no work for them. The group put itself out of business by fighting its employees.

A strike in the Falls City shop was won. A number of other cases were adjusted satisfactorily.

Reports from Louisville show that during the slack season the union shops were working three days a week, with equal distribution of work. Not one person was laid off. In the non-union shops, however, all were laid off with the exception of the pets of the foremen who were working full time.

Local 120 has held several successful educational meetings with well known speakers. The local held a special meeting on February 24, 1922, to acquaint the entire membership with the necessity of the Reserve Fund. General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum was present for the occasion, and his message and explanations were received with genuine enthusiasm.

The people are willing, even anxious to pay their share, and consider it a privilege to contribute to a fund which they feel will in any event serve its purpose.

Mrs. Rachel Warshaw, an old lady making only \$17 a week, was the first person in the Louisville local to pay. She paid in full, with tears of joy in her eyes. Sister Warshaw had previously donated \$10, besides her assessment, to the Russian Famine Relief Fund. Her generous action was an inspiration to all the other members of the local. Assessments to the Reserve Fund up to \$25 were agreed upon.

Conditions in the unorganized shops in Louisville are wretched, and growing more wretched daily. All of these shops have cut wages, some almost 50 per cent. On February 10 the pants makers of the Falls City Clothing Co. could stand it no longer, and came out on strike. Those girls, who had listened to the boss, and been coaxed away from the union for so long, could endure their conditions no more. The employer told them he had to "compete with the sweat shops and prisons of the East," thereby putting them on a level with convicts. They were welcomed into the ranks of the Amalgamated.

In addition to the many active local workers, special assistance has been given in Louisville by General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum and General Organizers Ann Washington Craton, Nettie Richardson, Jack Kroll, L. Krzycki, and A. Johannsen.

Local 120 has weathered the anti-labor storm very bravely. The organization has maintained its strength despite all obstacles. The Amalgamated is proud of Louisville.

INDIANAPOLIS HOLDING ITS OWN

The clothing workers of Indianapolis were represented at an Amalgamated convention for the first time two years ago. It was the great forty-four-hour week triumph that led to the organization of the clothing industry in the Indianapolis market and brought it under the Amalgamated banner. Throughout the period of unemployment and the nation wide open shop campaign the Amalgamated in Indianapolis has held its own. The organization moved into its own headquarters at 323 Washington Street, participated in the Lockout Resistance Fund and collections for Russian Famine Relief, and is now active for the National Reserve Fund. A number of highly successful organization and educational meetings were held.

The following interesting report was sent to the General Office of the celebration of the local union's third anniversary, in 1922:

"Indianapolis Local 145 A. C. W. of A., celebrated its third anniversary on Friday, January 20, with characteristic middle western Amalgamated spirit, cordiality, and enthusiasm. The celebration was one of the most inspiring and interesting ever held in Indianapolis.

"It was particularly an event of significance as General President Sidney Hillman was in Indianapolis at a membership meeting for the first time in the history of the local. His presence gave the celebra-

tion more than usual enthusiasm. It is impossible for an eastern organization to appreciate the thrill and real meaning which is felt on the occasion of a visit from the general president to the middle western local organizations of the Amalgamated which are not in close contact with the General Office, and which because of their isolation are deprived of the close personal relationship with the general officers.

"For this reason it was a record event in the history of the Indianapolis local to have President Hillman present on January 20 at its third anniversary. This anniversary celebrated the organization campaign which resulted in the complete organization of the Indianapolis market in the three large shops, including the Kahn Tailoring Company which is one of the largest shops in that section of the country, outside of Chicago. Besides this firm there are two smaller ones, the August Julian Company and the Leon Tailoring Company.

"The celebration was in the nature of a mass meeting with speakers and an orchestra, followed by refreshments and a dance. Members and their friends and families were present, making it a typical Amalgamated crowd.

"The meeting was preceded by a supper party at the Hotel Severin, where Business Agents Jesse Montague and Ben Kwitney and active members of the local, entertained General President Hillman and General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum who, as director of the Chicago district, was one of the first participants in the early days of the Indianapolis local. Another familiar figure was General Organizer Jack Kroll, who came from Cincinnati to take part in the celebration. Still another guest was General Organizer Ann Washington Craton, who had no part in the organization period of the local but who is keenly interested in its present and its great possibilities for the future.

"President Hillman's entrance into the crowded headquarters and hall of Local 145 was the signal for an enthusiastic demonstration. The hall, which is perhaps the finest Amalgamated hall in any Amalgamated city, was beautiful decorated. Brother Ben Kwitny, business agent and one of the founders of the Indianapolis organization, was chairman. After reviewing the history of the local he introduced the first speaker, General Organizer Ann Washington Craton, who spoke on the Amalgamated spirit in the Middle West.

"General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum recalled his early experiences with the little group who bravely fought to establish standards for the Indianapolis tailors, and whose persistence resulted in the splendid local of today, one of the most active and vigorous in its section of the country.

"He was followed by General Organizer Jack Kroll, who was one of the first organizers to come into the town, and who contrasted the wages and working conditions and hours then and now. Indianapolis jumped from the lowest depths of wage slavery into splendid conditions under the Amalgamated with greater rapidity and with less sacrifice than any local. Its history and subsequent development in this respect are unique in Amalgamated history.

"William Henry, Socialist Assemblyman in Indiana, one of the warm friends of the Indianapolis organization from the beginning, made a brief talk, pledging his active support and interest in the future.

"General President Hillman made an inspiring address which was enthusiastically received. He discussed conditions in Europe and consequent conditions in the United States.

"It is safe to prophecy that in the event of future difficulties, which are not expected, Indianapolis Local 145 will be as aggressive fighters and as militant and as spirited as any Amalgamated members to keep the hard-won Amalgamated standards. The spirit of Indianapolis is the spirit of the progressive, eager Middle West. The American element, with its Americanism in its real meaning, is splendidly illustrated there.

"The following officers of Local 145 were elected at the January 6 meeting: Jacob Gerson, president; Lyle J. Burns, vice president; Ben Kwitny, financial secretary and business agent; Jesse Montague, business agent and recording secretary; Karl Baker, treasurer; John R. Laffey, sergeant-at-arms. The members of the joint board will be elected later."

The Kahn Tailoring Co. signed an agreement on the terms of the Chicago agreement. The membership ratified it April 21, 1922. In the negotiations Brother Rosenblum was assisted by General Organizer Kroll and Business Agents Kwitny and Montague. Eight hundred workers are affected by the agreement.

Sidney Rissman, Frank Rosenblum, Anton Johannsen, Jack Kroll, and L. Krzycki have assisted the Indianapolis organization.

Local 145 has proved worthy of being a part of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

HEALTHY CONDITION IN MILWAUKEE

Like a number of other cities, Milwaukee sent its first representation to an Amalgamated convention two years ago. It was one of the new acquisitions of our organization. Like all other branches of the Amalgamated, Milwaukee has passed through the industrial crisis of the past two years holding its own. It is coming to this convention in fine shape. Throughout this period the Milwaukee Joint Board has been active and wide awake.

The Milwaukee organization assisted the locked out members in New York, contributed to the Amalgamated relief fund for the Russian famine victims, and held a number of organization and education meetings for the members. Among those who addressed the members on those occasions were Mayor Hoan, President Hillman, Secretary Schlossberg, General Executive Board Members Rosenblum and Rissman, Organizers Nettie Richardson, Johannsen, and Krzycki.

It took a long time for the clothing workers in Milwaukee to organize, but since they have organized they have been among the most steadfast of the Amalgamated members.

Milwaukee has the advantage of being in close proximity to Chicago, from where representatives of the organization come as occasion requires to assist the Milwaukee Joint Board in its work. Those who have been particularly helpful are Frank Rosenblum, Sidney Rissman, Leo Krzycki, and Nettie Richardson.

In 1918 the Milwaukee organization had seventy-five members in good standing; in 1920, 500; and in 1922, 1,500 members with only 1 per cent in arrears, which is a great credit to the membership generally and to Manager Piepenhagen in particular.

ORGANIZING ST. LOUIS

The clothing workers in St. Louis have had a hard road to travel in their efforts to organize. They were opposed by a combination of labor-hating employers and the scab agency known as the United Garment Workers. In the month of July, 1920, we received the following report from that city:

“St. Louis is rapidly forging ahead of Chicago as an injunction city, where employers can run to the courts when they are unable to break strikes in other ways and get restraining orders against picketing and other union activity. The latest injunction against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in this growing clothing manufacturing center on the Mississippi River was signed last week in response to a plea from the Missouri Pants Co.”

Local 105 proceeded with its organizing work as conditions permitted. In October, 1921, a vigorous organizing campaign was inaugurated with General Organizer Paul Arnone in charge. A series of bulletins has been issued and distributed among the unorganized. The educational work at meetings and by means of leaflets is making itself felt among the workers.

In the month of February, 1922, we received this report:

“Last week the organization committee distributed cards calling the workers in four of the big shops to a shop meeting. The workers eagerly took the cards. This action did not please the bosses very much, and for some time the bosses and their agents were busily running around trying to stop the distribution of cards.

“In spite of the employers’ watchfulness, the shop meeting was well attended. Many women and girls were present. Other shop meetings are being arranged for the future.

“It is the belief of many workers that the unscrupulous actions of the employers, with their spying and bull-doing, will drive the St. Louis clothing workers to revolt. Quite a number of workers join the union every week. These workers are the new comers in the industry. Many of them are of the native stock. They are feeling the iron heel of the so-called ‘American Plan,’ which means for the St. Louis clothing workers low wages and non-union conditions. Let those who believe in the organization, and in the right of the workers to organize, march forward with their propaganda of or-

ganization. The organization has a good foot-hold in many shops. Let every clothing worker do his bit.''

The results of the organizing campaign are already visible. St. Louis will have a strong Amalgamated organization as a result of the organizing activities. Paul Arnone, Leo Krzycki, and S. Rissman are among those who have given special assistance in the St. Louis organization campaign, directed by Brother Frank Rosenblum.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

On September 24, 1920, Kansas City was officially welcomed into the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and a charter issued to Local 276 in that city. Since then the growth of the organization has continued steadily. The two largest firms in the city, the Kansas City Custom Garment Co. and the Mid West Tailoring Co., are operating under Amalgamated agreements. During its short life, our local there has secured for its members the forty-four-hour week, wage increases, and generally improved conditions in the shops. In short, Amalgamated standards have been established. With the guidance and assistance of G. E. B. Members Rosenblum and Rissman, and the co-operation of Organizer Kroll, Local 276 has made an enviable record.

THE VIGOROUS TWINS: ST. PAUL AND MINNEAPOLIS

From the day the first St. Paul local was chartered, in January, 1920, the Amalgamated became a factor in the clothing industry in St. Paul and Minneapolis. The workers, who had serious grievances against the employers, saw no possibilities for the improvement of their condition. The Amalgamated won their confidence and they rallied around its banner. The forty-four-hour week and other advantages were secured. As the organization expanded a joint board was organized embracing the Amalgamated locals in the two cities. The Twin City Joint Board is one of the livest labor bodies in the country.

At the time of the Boston Convention, two years ago, a strike was on against the firm of Guiterman Bros., which had begun February 14, 1920.

Writing to the General Office in August, 1921, and giving a review of the situation in the two cities, Brother Sander D. Genis, manager of the Twin City Joint Board said:

"Brother Rosenblum arrived in St. Paul on the day the strike against the firm of Guiterman Bros. was called. A mass meeting was held at the Shubert Theater, where Brother Rosenblum addressed the strikers. The strike lasted from February 14 to June 15, 1920. The way the fight was conducted was to the credit of Brother Rosen-

blum and Brother Johannsen who had charge. The strike will never be forgotten not only by the friends of the Amalgamated, but also by its enemies.

"When the strike was called we levied an assessment upon our membership 20 per cent for the first week, 10 per cent for the next ten weeks, 5 per cent for three weeks, and 2½ per cent for two weeks. About \$20,000 was raised in the Twin Cities. The membership responded to the call of the emergency very loyally, and the backing given by the General Office during that strike will also be remembered by the members of the Amalgamated for many years to come.

"The Twin City Joint Board carried on an educational campaign with the beginning of September, 1920, which lasted to April, 1921. A series of educational entertainments was arranged monthly. Speakers were sent by Brother Rosenblum and some were obtained from the Twin Cities. The Twin City Joint Board at the opening of those entertainments provided a very excellent symphony, which was followed by speakers and amusements. Brother Rodriguez from Chicago and Brother Leo Krzycki from Milwaukee were two of the speakers who took part in our entertainments.

"The Twin Cities have experienced some very hard times. The lack of employment, plus the campaign conducted by the Citizens' Alliance for the open shop, was quite a task for the organization to withstand.

"On January 21, 1921, a lockout was declared against our organization by the custom tailors. Those fighting us were J. T. Schusler and Frank Huntington, merchants; S. A. Green, a pants contractor; Kurzen Bros. and Liftman Bros., two cut-make-and-trim houses. Again we were put to the test, and in spite of the unemployment over \$8,000 was raised to support the strikers. The strike lasted until May 30.

"During the lockout we gained one shop in the city of Minneapolis, called the Twin City Garment Manufacturing Co., employing thirty-five people. We established forty-four hours in that shop and obtained minor increases in wages for the workers.

On June 20, 1920, Gordon and Ferguson, the largest clothing firm in St. Paul, signed an agreement with the joint board, providing for the forty-four-hour week, collective bargaining, and 14 per cent increase in wages. On January 7, 1921, the firm renewed its agreement with no change in conditions.

January 14, 1921, the B. W. Harris and H. Harris Company made settlements with the union on old conditions.

On April 7 wage increases of \$4 for women and \$5 for men were secured for the employees of Rothschild & Co. That was brought about through the efforts of Brother Samuel Levin, manager of the Chicago Joint Board.

In June settlements were made with a number of smaller shops.

In July a big organization campaign was inaugurated to be kept up until the clothing industry in the Twin Cities is fully organized.

On September 8, a strike against the St. Paul Garment Co., which

had been on for a long time, was won. The firm granted a wage increase of 5 per cent, and made other concessions to the workers.

The Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly arranged a tag day for the benefit of the South St. Paul stockyard strikers on Saturday, January 14, 1922. The Amalgamated was invited to assist in the work. A call was immediately issued to the Twin City girls for help, and they responded splendidly. Many came from St. Paul straight from work, without even taking time to eat lunch. They gladly contributed their half day for the good of the cause.

In April, 1922, an agreement was signed with the St. Paul Garment Manufacturing Co. for the year 1922.

The services rendered by Sister Nettie Richardson, Brothers Rosenblum, Johannsen, Krzycki, Kroll, and others have been highly appreciated by the membership.

LOS ANGELES ORGANIZING

Local 278, Los Angeles, was chartered less than two months before the Boston Convention. Since then a cutters' local, Local 273, was organized. These two locals are making efforts to organize the entire clothing industry in the city. In view of the general unemployment and adverse industrial conditions the progress made is gratifying.

The Universal Tailoring Co., one of the largest merchant tailors in the city of Los Angeles, signed an agreement with the Amalgamated in October, 1921. Three contracting shops which do work for the Universal Co. are also included in the agreement.

The firm of Singer & Silverberg, of Los Angeles, operating three large merchant tailor stores, signed an agreement in December, 1921. The three shops affected are the Eastern Woolen Mills, the Western Woolen Mills, and the Standard Woolen Mills.

The General Office received from the executive board of the Los Angeles organization a warning to the effect that only those who absolutely have to go should go out there. There is much unemployment and it is next to impossible for those who can only do section work to get a job. One has to be an all around tailor in order to get a job there.

"Of late," says the Los Angeles board, "we have had a number of members who come out here after making application to the sanitarium, with the idea that by being out here they can get to the sanitarium sooner. This is not the case. Admission to the sanitarium goes by order of application. Members are always notified by the sanitarium office when their turn comes, giving them sufficient time to arrive here. They come out here without any funds, and then come to us for assistance. While our hearts go out to our unfortunate brothers, and we do what we possibly can, still we are not able to take care of them."

Los Angeles is not a great industrial center. Insofar as the tailoring trade is concerned, there are no factories making stock.

There are two or three shops employing from twenty to thirty-five people each. The rest of the workers are employed in shops of five or less.

All work done in Los Angeles comes from store orders, and is being made up by people who can do several parts of the work. The eastern factory hand is not looked for there.

On Wednesday January 25, 1922, the Los Angeles organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America held a special mass meeting to which all tailors of the city were invited.

The cloakmakers, members of Ladies' Garment Workers' Local 52, were then on strike, and had been out more than six weeks. J. Lauch, the cloakmakers' manager, addressed the meeting. The audience learned a great deal about conditions and the labor movement in the Los Angeles clothing industry. As a result of his address, a collection to assist the cloakmakers was taken, and amounted to \$100. In addition to the collection, reports Manager Ely Berman, Local 278, A. C. W. of A., assessed each woman member \$1, and each man member \$2, for the cloakmakers.

Local 278 contributed its share to the Lockout Resistance Fund in the East.

An aggressive organization campaign is now carried on by the Amalgamated locals in Los Angeles.

EMPLOYERS ON THE HUNT FOR CHEAPER LABOR—OUT OF TOWN

One of the most conspicuous developments of the past two years in our industry, and especially in the New York market, has been the tendency toward the establishment of "country shops." By "country shop" is meant any shop set up outside of New York City, even though it is situated in a city of 40,000 or 50,000 people. The whole development is generally called "the out-of-town movement." It is, of course, nothing more than an attempt on the part of certain backward-looking manufacturers to escape union conditions in the large organized centers by transferring their plants to small centers where labor is unorganized, cheaper, and willing to be exploited in good old sweat shop fashion.

So marked had the movement become that late in 1920 a special committee known as the out-of-town organization committee, with General Board Member August Bellanca as chairman, and made up of representatives of the General Office and the New York Joint Board, was formed to carry on organization work in an aggressive and vigorous manner in these clothing shops which were springing up everywhere. This committee has maintained a large staff of organizers who have conducted Amalgamated activities in the following cities:

New York: Binghamton, Hudson, Kingston, Port Chester, Poughkeepsie, Troy, Utica.

Connecticut: Bridgeport, Colchester, New Haven, New London, Norwich, Stamford.

Massachusetts: Springfield.

New Jersey: Bayonne, Camden, Egg Harbor, Jersey City, New Brunswick, Passaic, Paterson, Plainfield, Raritan, Red Bank, Rutherford, Trenton, Vineland, Woodbine.

Pennsylvania: Allentown, Harrisburg, Norristown, Perkasie, Pottsville, Scranton.

New York manufacturers who have made this attempt to escape the union have inevitably found that no such escape was possible. Our organization has arrived in each city, practically, simultaneously with the opening of the new shop. Organization work has been actively carried on in all these new centers, in spite of industrial depression and the large extent of unemployment. There is no doubt but that these new clothing workers will soon play their part not only in maintaining present standards but also in pressing forward toward additional gains. It is the aim of the Amalgamated to enlist in its ranks all who are employed in the clothing industry and wherever the factories may be located.

Quite apart from the activities of the union, however, the manufacturer who, in his eagerness for cheaper and ever cheaper labor, turns from all the advantages of a market where an adequate supply of skilled workers is available and where there is a powerful union to help stabilize conditions, to the place with unorganized and unskilled workers, has many unexpected and very difficult problems of management to meet. These problems have caused many a manufacturer to make his peace with the union, and have been responsible for the failure of many of the shops opened to experiment in greater exploitation of labor.

A production manager now in Springfield, Mass., formerly with various New York manufacturers, writing in the "Daily News Record" of February 14, 1922, describes in detail many of the difficulties which must be met in establishing an out-of-town shop. He says in part:

SOME "COUNTRY" SHOP PROBLEMS

There are a number of problems connected with the starting and operating of a "country" shop—as all plants in smaller cities are called by New York clothiers. All of these problems may be summed up in one word—management. The manufacturer who is not willing to assume the duties, obligations, and worries of management would do better to stay in New York even if, and until, he must give up business. Nowhere but in New York can one be a manufacturer without manufacturing. In no other city is the contracting system so highly developed as to permit the manufacturer to shift the burden and responsibility of his own production to other shoulders. And, when a clothing man opens his plant in a city where little or no clothing is being made, he must assume the entire responsibility of his undertaking, just as the mill man, the shoe manufacturer, or any other kind of manufacturer usually does. He must become a manufacturer in fact as well as in name.

New York Workers Highly Skilled

Now, in New York the clothing worker is highly skilled and unusually efficient. Trained for years under trying conditions of high

tension and frequent changes in kinds of work, operations, shops, and foremen, he has no equal anywhere in the country. In fact, he is so efficient that many of the duties which are indeed managerial are, in New York contract shops, left to him. A key operator very frequently determines the production of the shop, and a pocket maker knows better how to make the pocket than his boss. In a "country" shop, the possible production of the shop and of any worker must be determined by the management, and the foremen must be able to demonstrate to the worker the best method of performing the given operation. While in New York the worker is both the brains and the hands, in a "country" shop the management is the brains working through the fingers of the workers.

Dependence on the Union

One of the most important problems of shop management is that of maintaining balance. In the making of a coat there are some eighty operations. One would assume that to maintain a constant equilibrium between these operations requires careful planning. As a matter of fact, this is no difficult problem for a New York shop foreman. The union and the telephone solve it for him. If he finds himself running behind in his pocket section, because that particular lot of work has four "bellows" patches with double stitched flaps, whereas all season he has been making plain flap pockets with a welt breast pocket, he calls up the union for a "jobber"—a skilled worker who does these odd jobs for \$5 more per week. Or, if his shape sewer is absent there is always one at union headquarters. A New York foreman need never worry about his shop becoming unbalanced—unless he is "in wrong" with the union. So efficient is the labor bureau, maintained by the organization, so efficient are the workers, so dependent are both manufacturers and contractors upon the union and the workers in handling of shop management problems, that I question whether the union is as much a detriment to their business as the manufacturers think.

Starting a Country Factory

In order to properly visualize the management problems of a "country" clothing factory, let us start with taking the train to the city, where we are going to make men's "half basted" coats. In New York we employed 200 workers. Here we must figure on 400, for, while eventually we will get 75 per cent of the New York production, at the beginning we will have to be satisfied with 40 per cent or less.

Good Teachers Imperative

You will notice that the foreman seems to be more of a teacher than anything else. And here we hit upon the first big problem in the management of the "country" shop—instruction. We must be prepared to teach, teach, teach all the time. Even after our organization is formed and is producing both quality and quantity, we will find it necessary to keep on teaching; for there is such a thing as labor turnover (even in New York, where labor is steadier than anywhere else in the country), and there is no union labor bureau to come to your assistance. The foremen must, therefore, be pre-eminently instructors; they must be thorough mechanics (which most of our New York contractors are not), and must have that patience and that ability to impart knowledge which make a good teacher.

Section Management Required

We find as we go along that to train 200 workers is a colossal job. One man cannot do it. We hit upon the section system. In New York one foreman and several young men to carry bundles constituted the shop management. Here we find that it will take a good man to take care of the coat as far as joining, let us say: that is to train the help, supervise the quality of their work after they have been taught the operations, and keep the work moving. It will take another good man to bring the coat from joining to sleeve sewing; and a third man, if our plant is large enough, to make sleeves, linings, and small parts.

After the coat is machined there is the finishing, pressing and examining; this constitutes a section in itself. We find that a man who runs a section of fifty people is doing a good day's work. We forget the one-man, big-boss system prevailing in New York. That goes very well with skilled labor. Here we have our distinct sections, and our section instructor-foremen who are independent of one another.

But an army of independent units is only a mob. Our sections have to be co-ordinated to bring about the best results in quality and quantity production. We find, then, that we must have a quality man or a designer or a head foreman—whatever you wish to call him—who will set the standard of quality in every section. And we find, also, that somebody must look after the production, must see that there is an even balance maintained throughout the shop, study ways of eliminating unnecessary effort, keep a minimum balance of work in each section, see that there is enough and not too much help on one operation, and so on. Pretty soon our section foremen report absences (for learners do become discouraged and quit) and there must be somebody who will interview applicants, try to select those who will cost the least to instruct and who are the most likely to remain after they have been instructed, make wages, send the "new" hands to the foremen who need them, etc.

Now, then, we have the duties of quality man, labor manager, and production manager to perform. Whether one man can perform all these functions depends upon the ability of the man and the size of our plant. Perhaps two will be sufficient, perhaps three are necessary. The fact is that these functions of management must be performed, and that if nobody performs them our plant will fail.

These functions, let it be remembered, must be performed in any shop anywhere. In New York they are performed by the union, by the workers themselves, and by the foreman-contractor.

It is the writer's conclusion that the disadvantages in the "country" shop are offset "by the level of wages prevailing in smaller communities," i. e., more intensive exploitation of labor.

The Tiffany Co., really the old firm of Morris Asinoff & Sons, Inc., of New York, now in operation in Springfield, is slipping its best work into union shops in New York City whenever possible. And this much is quite certain, that by the time the problems of management are solved the shops will be organized under the Amalgamated banner. The spirit of unionism is steadily gaining strength among the workers in the plant.

The Springfield story can be repeated in very slightly varied form for city after city. Take the S. & C. Co., for instance, a New York firm which locked out its New York workers and tried to set up a factory in Port Chester. After five months of "problems of management" it was forced to discontinue. And again, if it had not discontinued it would have had to deal with the union, for our organizers had been constantly and successfully on the job.

Fishman & Fishman, manufacturers of children's clothing, after a brief experiment with a "country shop" in Allentown, Pa., returned to New York. The same is true of Bober Bros., who moved to Woodbine, N. J., and of M. Frank & Sons, who established a shop in Hammonton, N. J., and of J. Lipschitz, who tried Red Bank, N. J., for a short time. These are just a few examples which illustrate the success of the "out-of-town" movement.

Then there is the Cohen & Goldman case, which is frequently

pointed out as the great example of successful escape from union wages. The truth is that the firm of Cohen & Goldman is right now dealing with the union for certain classes of work, and that even in the much-boasted-of Poughkeepsie plant the firm has been obliged to import, for the most important operations, highly skilled New York mechanics. The attempt to use only local help failed absolutely, and yet Poughkeepsie is a city where there is a fairly large supply of skilled operators, the Dutchess Pants Co. employing some 500 people, having been there for many years.

In cities where there is no trained labor supply the necessity for skilled help is multiplied many times. The manufacturers are again and again forced either to employ New York help, paying them very high wages as a sort of bribe for leaving the city, or else to try to send the high quality work to New York contract shops—which, of course, means union shops.

Realizing that the mere physical act of moving to a strange city does not mean getting rid of the union, the employers have done everything possible to discredit the Amalgamated. They have conspired with the seab agency known as the United Garment Workers. They have lied to the workers about the Amalgamated. They have played on race prejudice. They have raised the familiar cry of "Sovietism." Through it all we have continued our organization propaganda and in spite of unfavorable business conditions are meeting with success. Locals established prior to the last convention have in the main held their own. Some have done much more, and new charters have been granted.

In Vineland, N. J., where here are twelve contract shops handling New York and Philadelphia work, we have a fine local of over 400 members. In Troy a charter has recently been issued to a new and enthusiastic group of clothing workers. In Passaic, a practically dead local has been re-organized. In Trenton, N. J., the new home of Milton Simpson, formerly of New York, a successful organization campaign is well under way. In Connecticut, the joint board is made up of four locals, including the cities of New Haven, Bridgeport, New London, and Norwich, all of which, in spite of many minor difficulties, are making excellent progress.

Such is the so-called out-of-town movement. Whether it is a permanent tendency or merely a temporary experiment doomed to failure cannot be predicted. Just one thing is certain—if the country shop becomes a permanent feature in the industry, the workers will organize under the Amalgamated, so that the manufacturers who moved only to escape union labor conditions are doomed to dismal and complete failure.

The staff of the New York out-of-town organization committee has included August Bellanca, chairman, G. Artoni, J. Barry, Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca, Paul Blanshard, Mrs. Tina Caciei, Anthony Capraro, Frank Cancellieri, Pauline Clark, Frank Coco, Ann W. Craton, Mrs. Josephine Ferguson, I. Goldstein, A. Greco, Enrico Grassi, P. La Bruto, Katharine Lindsay, N. J. Nugent, A. Pio, Julius Powers, G. Sala, J. E. Shea, Forte Velona, Nathan Wertheimer.

BINGHAMTON

In the small cities of New York state the open shop fight has been carried on vehemently by organized manufacturers. Practically each city boasts its board of trade, or chamber of commerce, whose chief aim is to stamp out "Bolshevism," which to them means high wages, short hours, decent working conditions. In Syracuse, Utica, Poughkeepsie, Troy, Buffalo, Binghamton, the struggle has been and is still going on. The organization has been constantly fighting to maintain its foothold or to secure additional ground.

The New York firm of Berger, Raphael, & Wile, in an attempt to escape union conditions, opened in Binghamton, N. Y., in November, 1920, a non-union shop known as the Ideal Clothing Co. Promptly several of our organizers, Nathan Wertheimer, Ann Craton, Forte Velone, established themselves in the city and began organization work. They found a fertile field, for conditions in the "Ideal" Clothing Co. were "ideal" the wrong way for the workers. As a result of a regime of slavery the workers struck on January 6, 1921, for union conditions. Every attempt was made by this union-hating firm to defeat the strikers and drive the Amalgamated out of Binghamton. The attack on the organization culminated on May 24 in a vicious assault upon organizer Forte Velona. The attack on Brother Velona was described in the *Advance* of June 10, 1921, by Anthony Capraro, who went to Binghamton to make arrangements necessary for his comfort. Capraro wrote:

"Lying physically exhausted, with scars on one side of his face and burns on the forehead and chin, produced by acid, in addition to bruises all over his stomach and chest, Forte Velona, Amalgamated organizer, kidnapped by bogus detectives and almost murdered on Tuesday night, May 24, in the heart of Binghamton, N. Y., reaffirms his belief that the whole affair was engineered and executed by boss-hired thugs.

"At the time of the kidnapping Velona was retiring and was feeling quite at ease, since the usual bodyguard of private detectives afforded him by Berger, Raphael & Wile, clothing manufacturers, who fled from New York City to establish in Binghamton an 'ideal' shop, open to all but union men and women, based on the now famous 'American plan,' was at that moment missing. As a matter of fact, these gentlemen had failed to put in an appearance since the previous Saturday. No private detectives had followed Velona, as usual, on Monday and Tuesday.

"When approached by the two men, who posed as officers of the law, Velona was about a block away from the rooming house where he was stopping, and had just been left by the secretary of the local Amalgamated union, an Italian named Giuseppe Basolis.

"After the exchange of a few words purporting to inform the intended victim that the chief of police wished to see him, Velona was hurried into a limousine with curtains drawn and spirited in a direction that clearly showed the intentions of the thugs to get away instead of approaching police headquarters. Velona understood and protested.

"By this time the machine had reached the Susquehanna River Bridge and it was here that one of the two men in the car, while the other one was holding Velona down to his seat, pulled out a razor and holding him by the hair, told him in unmistakable terms that if he uttered a word he would have his throat cut. Terrorized by this threat, the victim tried to bring his hands to his neck and face and thereupon he felt that some liquid was being poured on his face. Fortunately the liquid poured on his face was deviated from his eyes by the spectacles he wore.

"Kicks on the stomach and chest followed this operation and then, in a state of unconsciousness, he was hurled from the running machine. The thugs had been repeating that if he didn't want to be killed the next time and dumped into the river he would better leave town and never approach the Raphael shop in Binghamton again.

"Velona found himself the next day in the City Hospital without having the slightest idea how he got there. He had been picked up by some Italian shopkeeper and put in the custody of the police, and through them taken in an ambulance to the hospital, which the sick man left for the home of some friendly people residing in Tantor Avenue the next day.

"The kidnapping is the repetition, on a larger scale, of another attack of which he had previously been the object. Sleeping in one of the rooms of the house in which he now is, one night some months ago he was hit on the forehead by a stone hurled through the window.

"Joking in spite of his bruises and exhaustion, Velona said that all this was quite an 'ideal' way of keeping the shop open for the scabs."

SYRACUSE

While no great progress in organizing new shops in Syracuse during the past two years can be reported, it can be said that there has been no recession. Whatever gains were made in the past have been held, and the local membership is earnest and enthusiastic for the union, prepared always to respond to the call of the organization.

One of the obstacles in the way of further progress in organization work in this market is the fact that it is a declining clothing center. Once an important market, Syracuse has dwindled to a mere shadow of its former importance. In the days of its prime, prior to Amalgamated history, it was one of the important union

label markets in the country. Today, there is but one firm left that carries the label and has relations with the U. G. W. This firm seems to be following the declining path of its predecessors.

Last August our agreement with the Dolan-Ferrie Co. was renewed to run until July, 1923. This agreement provides for the preferential union shop, forty-four-hour week, time and one-half for overtime, and provides also that whatever wage conditions and adjustments are made in Rochester shall apply to this house. Our relations with this firm for the last two years have been satisfactory.

In addition to the Dolan-Ferrie Co. we have working arrangements with two other small houses wherein preferential shop conditions are in force although no written agreements are in existence.

There are, also, two children's houses and one pants house, which are unorganized. These clothing houses employ women almost exclusively. Organization work was being carried on, but we were handicapped by the industrial depression. However, conditions are becoming more favorable and the organization work can again be resumed.

Local 96 of Syracuse deserves credit for the hearty co-operation it extended at the time of the New York lockout. Not only did it raise its full quota for the defense fund, but its members refused to work for the O. B. C. Co. which was organized to do work for a lockout house in New York. One of the phases of the situation was the securing of an injunction of the usual type, carrying with it a suit for damages. This injunction has never come up for a hearing, having been postponed from time to time until it quietly went to sleep and the case is now practically dead. The O. B. C. Co. is now defunct, but its memory lingers.

Syracuse, lying between New York and Rochester, can become a menacing situation for both these markets if unorganized. Amalgamated organizers and representatives who have been active there include Mildred Rankin, Gustave Strebek, Aldo Cursi, G. Artoni, and A. I. Pearlman of the Rochester Joint Board. Miss Ann Washington Craton has just been assigned to this field, and with the assistance that Rochester can render, Syracuse can be saved for organized labor.

BUFFALO

In Buffalo the attack upon our organization has been particularly bitter, and all credit is due our active membership in that city, which, though still small in number, has struggled heroically against almost overwhelming odds. The struggle in Buffalo is in many ways like the struggle in Chicago, where for ten years we made attempt after attempt to secure 100 per cent organization with only failure after failure to show for our work, and then suddenly in 1919 victory came. The same will be true of Buffalo. Slowly but surely we are gaining and sooner or later victory will be ours.

On June 22, 1920, immediately after the last convention, the

bosses joined issue and forced a strike by refusing to continue collective bargaining. The firms involved were H. Wile & Co., Frank & Lochner, Cohn-Himmel, Goodman & Rothschild, the English Woolen Mills, and a number of smaller concerns. The organization used every effort to avoid a general strike, but the employers were determined, and the strike had to come. It was a bitter fight. All the usual tactics of a union-smashing campaign were used to the most extreme limit. Injunctions were applied for and secured. Scabs were imported to break the strike, the United Garment Workers, as usual, being only too willing to serve in that capacity. Attempts were made to buy our organizers. All of these efforts failed, of course. But in spite of the wonderful spirit of our members, temporarily we were forced to accept defeat. On September 15, 1921, the fight was officially called off. The industrial depression had hit the clothing industry and for the time being crippled it. We realized that we must bide our time. In the words of President Hillman, commenting on the end of the strike, "The last word in the Buffalo market has not been said, and the workers will yet have their say."

Since the general strike, our membership has continued in the struggle with undaunted spirit. Last November General Organizer Harry Madanick assumed charge of a general organization campaign in the city, and with the end of the depression we may confidently look forward to real results in Buffalo.

The organization campaign in Buffalo was assisted by the following members and organizers who visited Buffalo on various occasions: General Executive Board Members Sidney Rissman, Frank Rosenblum; General Organizers Krzyeki, Cursi, Strebel, Artoni, and Caecici.

UTICA

When our last report went to print Utica was in the slump following the raids upon labor organizations and the strikes of the tailors and textile workers, which were lost. The powers that be in this locality were an especially hard-headed, Gary-like group of employers who were aided by a group of misrepresentatives of labor. The 2,000 tailors were condemned to a hard-driven slavish period of suppression. Blacklist of the strictest sort prevented any assertion of union principle.

The Utica Boy's Clothing Co., employing about 300 tailors, had been out of work at least four months when the lockout developed in New York. This firm was operating a union shop in Utica as well as in New York. After the lockout stopped their work they decided to give up the New York shop and take all the work to Utica, the business office only to be in New York. They sent notices to their people to return under open shop conditions and a wage reduction. This aroused a strong opposition and the workers unanimously went on strike. For months mass picketing was constantly maintained around the plant but because there is such a small organized element in the city—because Utica is a Garyized anti-union center—slowly

the firm was able to train in new people and fill the places of the workers. Pickets were kept about the plant until summer, but the firm was able to run the shop until hit by the business depression in the late fall. The firm cut the workers' wages three times in nine months.

Altogether wages dropped to less than half of the union rate. Pressers are getting \$12 to \$20. In November there was an active movement for organization among the new workers and the strike was officially called off by Local 104.

While the non-union shops were empty this winter, the one union shop was full and the work sent from New York was priced by a conference in the General Office between union officials and the firm. All other shops were given cuts of 25 per cent, but this shop was settled at a 10 per cent reduction.

In addition to the wage cuts there was imminent danger of a return to forty-eight hours. In fact two shops were already working on that schedule. But the General Office decided on an open campaign of agitation and education, and the manufacturers were so frightened at the effect on their workers that they gave this up for the time being.

Local 104 has lost members but not spirit. It has had a really excellent program of educational meetings addressed by General Organizers Frank Bellanca, Leo Krzycki, and Arturo Giovanniti, and entertainments and dances. Organizers Mildred Rankin, Frank Coco, Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca, Katherine Lindsay, Frank Cancelliere, Martin Dusevica, Gustave Strebel, Aldo Cursi, and Anthony Capraro, have also at various times lent their energies to the Utica campaign. The local is confident of great results and a speedy organization of Utica as soon as the new season begins.

IN MASSACHUSETTS

Our three locals in the small Massachusetts centers, HAVERHILL, LYNN, and WORCESTER, can report good progress. In Worcester, a demand for a 22½ per cent cut in wages was met, after negotiations failed, by a general strike which was adjusted after two weeks on a basis of a 10 per cent cut only.

SPRINGFIELD is still a mecca for anti-union employers. The success of the various Springfield ventures, however, has already been discussed in the section on the "out of town" movement.

Organizers Nathan Gordon, Hollander, Salerno, Ramuglia, and Abraham Miller have been actively at work with good results in this field.

REORGANIZATION OF THE CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD IN NEW YORK

When we met in convention two years ago there were two joint boards in the clothing industry in New York—the New York Joint Board and the Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board. New York was the only city where our organization had two joint boards instead of one. That matter had long been discussed among the membership in New York and at previous conventions. At the Boston Convention, it seemed as if the situation in New York was ripe for one joint board. The convention directed the General Executive Board to bring about an amalgamation of the two clothing workers' joint boards in New York.

Accordingly, the following communication was sent, shortly after the convention, to the local unions in New York:

New York, May 29, 1920

To New York Local Unions
A. C. W. of A.

Greetings:—

A number of resolutions were submitted to the Fourth Biennial Convention, held in Boston May 10-15, 1920, calling for the amalgamation of the New York Joint Board and the Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board. The committee on resolutions recommended that the General Executive Board be instructed to see to it that the two joint boards are united into one, and that that be carried out not later than ninety days from the time of the decision. Local unions which refuse to accept the amalgamation of the two joint boards shall be re-organized by the General Executive Board.

The recommendation of the committee on resolutions was accepted by the convention at the session of May 13, 1920.

Accordingly, you are requested to take up immediately the work of carrying out the action of the convention. Though the resolution allows ninety days for the consummation of this work, we ask you to act at once. The amalgamation of the two joint boards is imperative and the sooner it is brought about the better for all concerned. Do not wait until the ninety-day period is over.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I am,

Fraternally yours,
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

A series of conferences resulted in the adoption of the following

PLAN OF AMALGAMATION

The Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades shall be merged into the New York Joint Board and shall be known as the Children's Clothing Trade Board of the New York Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

The income from all the children's clothing locals shall go completely and intact to the New York Joint Board not later than July 19, 1920. The New York Joint Board of the A. C. W. of A. shall assume all financial obligations of the Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades.

Said trade board shall maintain its office and officers until election, which is to take place before July 30, 1920; the officers then elected to remain in office until the second next regular elections of the New York Joint Board.

The children's clothing locals shall be re-organized in the following manner: one local for each of the following trades for Greater New York: Operators, Pressers, Kneepants Makers, and Washable Sailor Suit Makers. The Turners and Italian members shall each have a branch of the Operators' local.

Control

The shops shall be divided on a district basis, the same as now prevailing with the New York Joint Board, one business agent for each district.

Officers

It is agreed that the present number of officers be reduced to the number actually required for the efficient conduct of the organization's business.

Election of officers

Each local and branch shall nominate candidates for salaried officers. In nominations and elections, Operators' and Pressers' locals and Italian and Turners' branches shall vote collectively. The Kneepants Makers shall vote for their officers; likewise the Washable Sailor Suit Makers. At least one presser representative shall be elected on the staff.

Each candidate for a salaried office must pass an examination by a board of examiners before his name may be placed on the ballot for election by a referendum vote by the membership.

The salaried staff shall consist of one trade manager and as many dues clerks and business agents as will be required for each section of the city. The dues clerks shall be nominated by the locals and appointed by the board of directors of the New York Joint Board, after having an examination. The dues clerks may be elected by the respective locals as local secretaries.

Grievance Committee

There shall be a grievance committee in each territory—New York, Brooklyn, and Brownsville—instead of heretofore existing executive boards. The grievance committee shall take up grievances and charges of the members.

Rebates on dues and initiation fee are to be credited to each local in proportion to the collections from its members on the present basis of New York Joint Board. Payments shall be made in accordance with arrangements that will be arrived at in a joint conference between the New York Joint Board and the Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades.

Representation to the joint board and board of directors shall be in accordance with the present representation system of the New York Joint Board.

This reconstruction plan shall go into effect not later than July 30, 1920.

At last there was one central body in New York, as in all other cities. The combined joint board proceeded with its work without any evidence of an impending break; on the contrary, with every appearance of the united body permanently remaining united.

But it did not remain permanently united.

The hardships caused by the long period of unemployment, which always have a depressing effect upon individual workers and organizations, had the effect in this case of rendering it difficult for the two newly united bodies to co-operate. The strain of unemployment, the long lockout struggle, and pressure from outside influence, was very heavy. A point was reached where it became necessary for the General Executive Board to meet in special session, in October, 1921, at New York, in the hope of adjusting the difficulties which had arisen.

Without taxing the members with a detailed account of the various episodes, and the steps taken, which have been fully reported in our publications, we shall briefly state that the General Executive Board came to the conclusion to consult the membership of the children's clothing workers' locals and determine their sentiment with regard to re-establishing a joint board in the children's clothing workers' trade.

The general officers then called for a referendum vote by the children's clothing workers on the question of a separate joint board and published the following statement in *Advance* of December 9, 1921:

THE SITUATION IN THE CHILDREN'S CLOTHING BRANCH IN NEW YORK

Upon the urgent demand of our members in New York the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, held May, 1920, at Boston, Mass., decided in favor of merging the New York Joint Board and the Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Workers into one body. That action was approved by the members of both joint boards. In due time the Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board was abolished by its own locals and practically all of its local unions affiliated themselves with the New York Joint Board.

Recently some of the local unions in the children's clothing branch of our industry have withdrawn from the New York Joint Board and attempted to form a separate joint board. The action, which was hasty and ill-advised, brought a great deal of confusion into the New York situation. If allowed to continue, the children's clothing workers' locals would become completely demoralized and the members would remain helpless against the employers. The General Executive Board came into the situation and made efforts to rescue the organization.

In order to establish the true sentiment of the membership, in whose name conflicting statements have been made, a referendum vote has been ordered under the auspices of the General Office. At the time of this writing the vote is being taken on the following question:

"Shall Locals 7, 19, 22, 55, 175 and 176 of the New York Joint Board, A. C. W. of A., apply to the General Executive Board, A. C. W. of A., for the right to organize a separate joint board for the children's clothing trade and ask for a charter for such joint board?"

Monday, December 5, and Tuesday, December 6, were the dates set for the vote. By the time this issue of *Advance* reaches the members the result of the vote will be known.

The committee representing the children's clothing locals in the conferences with the general officers pledged themselves to discontinue all activities of the unauthorized and illegal joint board until the General Executive Board grants a charter for a separate Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board in the event the outcome of such referendum vote should be in favor of such a joint board.

The general officers, therefore, herewith declare that THERE IS NO LEGALLY CONSTITUTED JOINT BOARD OF THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA IN THE CHILDREN'S CLOTHING TRADE.

Inasmuch as publicity has been given to the effect that Harry Cohen is acting as manager of a Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board, the general officers desire to make it known that they have not recognized Harry Cohen as such manager. The matter of Harry Cohen is separate and distinct from the case of the joint board. The outcome of the referendum vote on the matter of a joint board will not affect that of Harry Cohen. That must be disposed of before he is elected to any office in this organization. It is now in the hands of an investigating committee. When the committee's work is completed its findings will be published.

To sum up:

There will be no legal joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in the children's clothing trade until the organization of such a body is authorized by the General Executive Board.

The case of Harry Cohen is being dealt with independently of the case of the joint board.

The above statement is made in order to dispel all misunderstanding and confusion as to the attitude of the general officers and also because press publicity given to the matter of the children's clothing workers' management has proven misleading to our membership.

SIDNEY HILLMAN, General President,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary-Treasurer.

RESULT OF REFERENDUM VOTE

New York, December 7, 1921.

Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary-Treasurer,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
31 Union Square, City.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

The undersigned are representatives from the children's clothing locals appointed by the locals as watchers for the referendum vote undertaken by the General Office on the question of a separate joint board for the children's clothing trade. The five watchers at the five polling places were present at the General Office when the ballot boxes were opened. All ballots cast have been canvassed and we hereby certify that a proper canvas and counting of the votes cast has been made.

The total number of votes cast is 1,829; 1,631 for a separate joint board, and 198 against.

The slip attached shows the vote by local unions and polling places, which we certify to be correct.

Fraternally yours,

J. BERKOWITZ,	Local	7	I. SILVER,	Local	55
J. MESSINA,	Local	19	S. MARGOLIS,	Local	175
M. ALLEN,	Local	22	J. PORTNOY,	Local	176

TABULATION OF THE CHILDREN'S CLOTHING REFERENDUM

	Local 7		Local 19		Local 22		Local 55		Local 175		Local 176	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Clinton Hall	1	—	33	21	180	35	45	—	1	2	—	—
Manhattan Lyceum —	—	—	128	55	13	9	—	—	—	—	—	1
Labor Lyceum . . .	11	—	64	4	13	3	5	—	368	31	—	—
McKibben Street . .	396	10	97	6	7	4	3	—	6	—	4	2
112 Central Avenue	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	240	18
Total	424	10	322	86	213	51	53	—	375	33	244	18

Vote by Locals	Yes	No
7	424	10
19	322	86
22	213	51
55	53	—
175	375	33
176	244	18
Total	1,631	198

Following the referendum vote the general officers conferred with representatives of the locals and arranged for the organization of the joint board in accordance with that vote. It looked as if order were in sight. But the obstructive work was continued. The printing presses were hurriedly set in motion and a flood of circulars and leaflets made their appearance denouncing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and its representatives in the vilest and most vulgar manner. Mass meetings were held to arouse the membership against the organization. Disruptionists not only intimidated and beat up the loyal members, but they violently broke into the office of Local 22, which was loyal to the organization, threw out bodily the accredited representatives of that local union, and forcibly took possession of the office. There was but one path left open to Local 22, the courts. Upon an order from the courts the strong arm men disappeared, and Local 22 was again in a position to proceed with its work. Local 22, Jacket Operators and Tailors, is the largest local in the children's clothing branch.

At this juncture the fact should be gratefully recorded that the "Zeit," the Socialist Zionist daily, stood loyally by our organization. Under the editorship of the famous writer David Pinski, always an enthusiastic friend of the Amalgamated, the "Zeit" has been an ardent supporter of the Amalgamated since the paper first saw the light of day. But in the children's clothing workers' situation its generous help was especially valuable and appreciated because the "Zeit" was the only daily paper that brought the news to our members from day to day and urged them to stand by the organization.

STATEMENT OF THE GENERAL OFFICERS

The following statement was issued by the general officers:

The members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have already been informed of the efforts which are being made by the Gen-

eral Executive Board to adjust the situation in the children's clothing branch of our organization in New York in the best interests of the members.

A referendum vote was ordered on the question of organizing a separate Children's Clothing Joint Board. The vote resulted overwhelmingly in favor of such a joint board. The General Executive Board immediately proceeded to carry out the wishes of the membership, and took the steps required for the formation of a joint board.

At the meeting of the General Executive Board held just before the holidays in Chicago, the action of the general officers and of the individual board members was unanimously approved.

The board members returned from that meeting with the intention of concluding the work for a children's clothing joint board which was begun shortly before that meeting.

There are certain elements in the children's clothing situation which seem to be anxious to destroy our organization in that branch of the industry. They have conducted a campaign of misinformation and created false issues with the purpose of breaking up the unity of our organization. Their latest effort is to break up Local 22 and they have organized new locals under the names of Locals 10 and 12. The Amalgamated has no such local unions. There were local unions with those numbers in the past, but they voluntarily merged into one local union and have since been known as Local 22, which number is a combination of the two numbers—10 and 12. Local 22 has been for some time and is now the organization in that branch of the children's industry which was formerly covered by the separate Locals 10 and 12. The charters of those locals have been revoked, and a charter was substituted for Local 22. We were surprised and amazed to see Locals 10 and 12 used in the public print with the name of the Amalgamated attached to them. That was done without our knowledge and approval and without any sort of authority.

We, therefore, warn all the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and all other persons who may in any way be affected by the situation, that the use of the names of the so-called Locals 10 and 12 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is a fraud and an imposition. There are no such locals in the Amalgamated. The members are warned not to permit themselves to be misled by those announcements, statements, and whatever else might go out in the name of Locals 10 and 12.

The members are also warned not to pay dues to dues clerks or anyone else unless they receive official per capita stamps of the Amalgamated for the dues paid by them.

We take this occasion to appeal to our loyal members in the child-Cohen, against whom charges have been preferred, is being dealt with. Mr. Cohen has been notified on three different occasions to appear before a trial committee and refute the charges made against him. He has so far refused to do so, thereby placing himself in the position of admitting his guilt. We may expect that the committee will soon render its decision in spite of the attitude of Mr. Cohen.

We take this occasion to appeal to our loyal members in the children's clothing branch not to be a party to the conspiracy of wrecking the organization that has been your protection for the past years. And we serve notice upon our enemies that the national organization will proceed with the investigation of the charges that have been preferred against any individual and will not be deterred in its efforts by any threats of splitting the organization.

We are confident that the great majority of the rank and file will support the national office in its efforts to protect the integrity of the organization.

The General Office and members of the General Executive Board

will proceed with the work of establishing order in the children's clothing trade until a legal joint board is established and the interests of the members properly safeguarded.

SIDNEY HILLMAN, President

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Secretary,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers
of America.

It should be explained that Harry Cohen had been manager of the former Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board. He left his office in January, 1920, and went into business. About September, 1921, he announced his candidacy for office of trade manager of the Children's Clothing Workers' Department of the New York Joint Board. Harry Cohen was informed by the general secretary-treasurer that there were certain charges against him to which he would be required to answer before his name would be submitted to the membership as candidate for any office in the Amalgamated. The turmoil above referred to followed. Several attempts to have Cohen appear before an investigating committee were fruitless. The enthusiastic rallying of the loyal membership to the support of the organization and the defeats sustained by the disrupter finally led to Harry Cohen appearing before an investigation committee consisting of Charles W. Ervin, editor of the New York "Call," B. C. Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily "Forward," and Morris Rothenberg, an attorney.

REPORT OF INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE

The committee began its work January 6, 1922. January 25, 1922, it submitted its findings in the following report:

The undersigned committee was selected by the officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and approved by Harry Cohen to pass upon certain acts of Harry Cohen, formerly an official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which in the opinion of the officers of such organization call for an explanation. The committee having held sessions on January 6, January 9, January 16, and January 23, 1922, at which Harry Cohen and other witnesses were examined, and after careful consideration of the testimony heard, find as follows:

The testimony showed that Harry Cohen for some time prior to December 1, 1919, was the manager of the joint board, Children's Clothing Workers, affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. That prior to December 1, 1919, he tendered his resignation as such manager but that the Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board requested him to continue for at least two weeks longer. At this time Harry Cohen was also a member of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Harry Cohen left the employ of the joint board, Children's Clothing Workers, on or about January 24, 1920, and went into business for himself, becoming a partner in the firm of C. & W. Thread Company, which engaged in the selling of thread, but he continued to be a member of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America until February 4, 1920.

During the month of December, 1920, a general lockout of the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America took place which

lasted until about June of 1921, when the workers returned to the factories. According to the testimony of Sidney Hillman, the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, certain persons came to him during the course of this lockout and told him of the existence of a number of checks which showed payments by the firm of the Specialty Clothing Company, to several persons connected with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Later, these checks came into Mr. Hillman's possession. Among these was a check dated December 2, 1919, from the Specialty Clothing Company to the order of Harry Cohen.

On December 2, 1919, the date of the check, Harry Cohen was still acting as manager of the Children's Clothing Joint Board and was on the payroll of such joint board, although his resignation from that office was in the hands of the joint board.

A further charge against Harry Cohen is that, on April 11, 1921, he received by check the sum of \$500 from the Dunmore Clothing Company shortly following a strike at that firm, which Cohen helped to settle. On the date of this payment Harry Cohen was in business for himself as a member of the firm of C. & W. Thread Company, and was no longer connected with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, either as an employee or as a member of the General Executive Board.

A great deal of testimony was given before the committee by Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Joseph Schlossberg, secretary and treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as well as by Harry Cohen, relating to the events which transpired in connection with the movement for the organization of a separate joint board for the children's clothing workers' locals and the attitude of the officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in connection therewith.

Considerable testimony was also given before the committee relating to the candidacy of Harry Cohen for manager of the newly formed Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board and the position taken by the officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in regard thereto, Cohen claiming that he was not told of any charges against him until he accepted the nomination for manager of the Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board, and that during the lockout the general office of the Amalgamated requested him to render services to the organization in connection with the lockout.

There was also testimony relating to an alleged improper attempt to obtain control of Local 22 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and as to the steps taken by the officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to prevent such action.

During the course of all this testimony the motives animating the various persons connected with those events, as well as the fairness of their conduct in regard thereto, were called into question.

The committee has received and heard such testimony only with the object of obtaining a complete picture of the entire situation, but they consider that it is not within their province, nor that any useful purpose will be served by their expressing an opinion on those various matters. The committee has made this clear at the hearings and the parties have agreed that the decision of the committee is to be confined to the matter of the money received by Harry Cohen from the two firms mentioned.

In regard to these moneys, the facts established by the testimony are as follows:

Harry Cohen admitted that he received \$500 from the Specialty Clothing Company and \$500 from the Dunmore Clothing Company on the dates mentioned. He claims, however, that both of these sums were loans which he received to be used in connection with the business which he entered.

As to the \$500 received from the Specialty Clothing Company, Harry Cohen testified that while on December 2, 1919, the date of the check, he was still in the employ of the Children's Clothing Joint Board, he had already tendered his resignation before that time and was about to go into business. That he was only remaining in office as an accommodation to the organization and that, therefore, he did not consider it wrong to borrow money which he needed in his contemplated business.

Mr. Lifshitz, a member of the firm of the Specialty Clothing Company, which has since gone out of business, appeared before the committee and corroborated Harry Cohen's testimony, that the \$500 was a loan. He said that he felt very friendly toward Cohen and that when Cohen told him that he needed the money, he was glad to assist him. Mr. Lifshitz further testified that when the Specialty Clothing Company dissolved, the \$500 debt from Cohen was split up, Lifshitz taking one-half of it and Lippman Cohen, his partner, the other half.

Harry Cohen produced before the committee a paid check for \$250 dated May 1, 1921, to the order of Mr. Lifshitz, which he claims was in part payment of the loan of \$500. He also produced a paid check for \$100 dated May 2, 1921, given to Lippman Cohen, Mr. Lifshitz's partner, in part payment of the other \$250. The balance Harry Cohen testified was repaid at the rate of \$30 per week.

The committee is satisfied from the testimony that the \$500 received by Harry Cohen from the Specialty Clothing Company was in fact a loan to him which he has repaid, and that the \$500 was not given to him or received by him with any improper or dishonest purpose.

In regard to the sum of \$500 received by Harry Cohen from the Dunmore Clothing Company, the testimony showed that this sum was received by Harry Cohen on April 11, 1921. The check was not produced before the committee. At that time Harry Cohen was not an employee of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, but was in business for himself.

The facts brought out by the testimony in regard to the Dunmore Clothing Company payment are as follows:

Shortly before Harry Cohen received the \$500 from the Dunmore Company a strike was in progress at the factory of the Dunmore Clothing Company. It was a sympathy strike called during the general lock-out in aid of establishing union conditions in a knee pants factory controlled by the owners of the Dunmore Clothing Company. It appears that Harry Cohen was requested by some one, precisely who it was not established, to give his assistance in settling the strike, and that he interested himself in the matter and was instrumental in actually settling the strike. Shortly after the workers went back to work at the Dunmore Clothing Company, according to Mr. Cohen's testimony, he met a member of the Dunmore firm on Broadway and asked him to do him a favor and loan him \$500. Such member of the Dunmore firm, according to Cohen, agreed to do so and later gave Cohen a check for \$500. Cohen testified that he needed the money in his business and used it therein. There was no definite date fixed for the repayment of the \$500, but Cohen produced a paid check dated April 20, 1921, to the order of the Dunmore Clothing Company, which he claims was part payment on the loan of \$500. He further testified that at the time he paid this check he gave a note to the Dunmore Clothing Company for the balance of \$250; that this note was not paid when due and was renewed, and that the renewed note has not yet matured. The member of the firm of Dunmore Clothing Company who gave the \$500 to Mr. Cohen did not appear before the committee to testify because, as the committee was informed, he is out of town and will not return for some time to come.

The committee has gone very carefully into the circumstances relating to the receipt by Harry Cohen of the \$500 from the Dunmore Clothing Company. It has heard the testimony of several workers from that

shop who told of what a member of the firm of Dunmore said to them in regard to the circumstances under which the strike was settled, and the committee has also examined Harry Cohen very closely since they regarded the receipt of said sum by him following a strike at the factory which he helped to settle as a suspicious transaction. Although the committee has given credence to the testimony of such workers insofar as it goes, nevertheless after carefully considering all of the evidence in connection with the receipt of the \$500 the committee is of the opinion that the evidence does not warrant a finding other than that the \$500 received by Harry Cohen from the Dunmore Clothing Company was a loan to him which he has partly repaid.

There is, however, another aspect to the matter:

According to the undisputed record, at the time Harry Cohen received the \$500 loan from the Specialty Clothing Company he was still the manager of the Children's Clothing Joint Board and also a member of the Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The money was borrowed by him from a manufacturer with whom the union had relations. Cohen had made the acquaintance of the manufacturer not in any social way, but by virtue of his dealings and contact with him in the course of his employment by the union. At any time a situation might arise between such firm and the union which might require action on his part. As a member of the General Executive Board of the union, Cohen might at any time have been called upon to pass judgment or take action with regard to such manufacturer from whom he borrowed the money. Under such circumstances he would be more than human if he would be wholly uninfluenced by the fact that he was under obligation to such firm. Cohen claims that he was about to leave the employ of the union. The fact remains that he was in its employ when he got money and that he remained a member of the General Executive Board for some time after leaving its employ.

The act of any union official in borrowing money from a manufacturer with whom the union has relations is, in the opinion of the committee, unethical and to be condemned. It creates an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion in regard to the union's officials, and shakes the confidence of the members of the union in their leaders. It serves to engender rumors of corruption which are circulated among the workers, among the manufacturers and among the general public, which undermine the very foundation of the labor movement.

If the constitutions or by-laws of unions do not already contain a provision prohibiting their officials from borrowing money from manufacturers employing members of such respective unions in their factories, it seems to the committee that such express provision ought to be enacted.

The committee is also of the opinion that the act of Cohen in asking \$500, even in the form of a loan, from the Dunmore Clothing Company, after he had been instrumental in settling a strike there, was improper.

True, he was not an officer of the union or connected with it at the time, but such an act on the part of any individual is to be condemned. It creates the appearance of compensation or favor for the services rendered in effecting a settlement of a strike. It lends color to the suspicion that the intervention of the person in the settlement is not disinterested, and that the settlement is brought about because of ulterior motives. It creates the suspicion, as it did in this case, of corruption, which ultimately must have a most injurious effect upon the union involved, as well as upon the labor movement in general.

MORRIS ROTHENBERG,

B. C. VLADECK,

CHARLES W. ERVIN.

Dated, January 25, 1922.

Upon the publication of the above report the general officers gave out the following declaration:

DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL OFFICERS

“When Harry Cohen announced his candidacy for the management of the children’s clothing department of the New York Joint Board last September, he was told by the General Office that his name could not be placed before the membership as a candidate unless he cleared himself of certain charges that there were against him. Harry Cohen fought for a long time against an investigation of those charges. Several times he was called to appear before an investigating committee but each time he failed to come. In order to confuse the minds of the members against the real issue, that of the charges, a false issue of a separate joint board for the children’s clothing workers’ was created. That false issue was kept alive by blocking the efforts of the General Office to organize a joint board for the children’s clothing workers. When the efforts of the General Office to present the truth to the members finally broke through the clouds of misinformation and confusion, Harry Cohen agreed to appear before a committee consisting of Morris Rothenberg, B. C. Vladeck of the ‘Forward,’ and Charles W. Ervin of the New York ‘Call.’ The General Office submitted the facts to that committee. The committee held several sessions and handed down the following decision:

[Here the decision is quoted, and the statement continues:]

“The meaning of the above decision is clear. There can be no misunderstanding of it on the part of any intelligent and clear-thinking person. The decision explicitly condemns the action of Harry Cohen in accepting financial favor at the hands of the employers of our members. This decision makes it impossible for Harry Cohen to hold any office in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

“The General Office will now proceed with the organization of a legal joint board for the children’s clothing workers, for which a charter has already been granted by the General Executive Board.”

It was amazing to see with what dexterity the enemies of the organization interpreted the committee’s verdict as a vindication of Harry Cohen and a defeat for the Amalgamated. Unfortunately, the committee omitted to say in writing what its findings say in a voice of thunder, namely, that decency requires that Harry Cohen should immediately leave his place in the children’s clothing locals. The Amalgamated’s enemies took advantage of that omission to pronounce the decision a blow at the organization and a triumph for Harry Cohen. As a result, conferences called to resume the interrupted work for the organization of a joint board were fruitless.

But our work of enlightening the misled membership never let up, and proved effective. After strenuous efforts a legal joint board of children’s clothing workers was organized. That joint board is now functioning as the legal central body of children’s clothing workers’ locals.

In the struggle with the forces of disruption the general officers had the active support of a group of New York members who came from the shops to give assistance.

Brother Philip Wiener of Local 5 agreed to take the management of Local 22 when the activities of the disrupters threatened the integrity of that local organization and the danger was great. Brother Wiener protected the local union from attack and attended to the shop complaints brought by the members.

Brother Abraham Herschkowitz, of Local 5, was very helpful in solving the difficulties in Local 19.

When the investigating committee's work was completed, G. E. B. Member Hyman Blumberg of Baltimore was asked by the general officers to come to New York and take up the work of organizing the new joint board. He devoted himself to that task, worked tirelessly, and after many disappointments finally succeeded in bringing order out of chaos. He has brought the affairs of the children's clothing workers' branch fully under the organization's control. He skillfully adjusted a number of differences among the several local unions and made it possible for the joint board to function. Brother Blumberg's work in this situation cannot be overestimated.

Brother Joseph Gold is now manager of the Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board. He has the benefit of Brother Blumberg's advice and assistance whenever required.

PROGRESS OF THE SHIRTMAKERS

We decided at the Boston Convention to launch an extensive campaign to organize the shirtmakers in all parts of the country. The time seemed ripe for organization. In October, 1919, after a three months' strike, the shirtmakers of Greater New York had won a quite remarkable victory, and individual settlements had been made favorable to the workers with the majority of firms in the city. This result stimulated workers elsewhere, and a general spirit of unionism seemed to be developing.

In accordance with the decision of the convention it was announced in *Advance* of June 11, 1920, that the shirtmakers' campaign was on, with August Bellanca in charge of a large staff of organizers stationed in the various shirt centers, both large and small, of the eastern part of the country. In New York, Philadelphia, Troy and a number of small centers, especially in Schuylkill County, Pa., most encouraging results were attained immediately. In Troy the shirt cutters' local, formerly affiliated with the United Garment Workers, came into the Amalgamated on September 23, 1920. At Corona, Long Island, a general strike lasting ten weeks, which was forced by the manufacturers, ended in victory for the workers. The shirt industry, however, like all other industries, soon began to feel the bad effects of the industrial depression. There was no work. Busy seasons were short, slack periods usually long, unemployment prevailed everywhere. In such circumstances the progress made at first could not be expected to continue. Outside of New York City few

gains can be reported during the past year and a half, although organizers agree that the spirit is ripe for organization just as soon as there is work in the shops. In New York City the Joint Board of the Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union has been constantly fighting to hold the ground won in previous struggles and to make further gains.

The great achievement in New York City, however, has been the establishment of the principle of collective bargaining in the industry. Here really remarkable progress has been made.

After the general strike of 1919, a chaotic condition prevailed in the market because, although union conditions had been established by mutual consent, a great difference existed in wages in the union shops. This resulted from the fact that at the end of the strike there had been a general increase with no attempt to equalize previously existing inequalities between shops. The usual bidding of contractor against contractor prevalent in an unorganized market therefore continued under the union regime.

During the past two years great strides have been made toward bringing order out of this chaos. A great deal has been done through the impartial machinery to standardize rates, and although work has been very slack during the entire time, wage regulations and adjustments have been carried on in an orderly manner.

In January, 1921, the shirt manufacturers threatened a lockout to enforce a reduction of wages. This move, however, was forestalled by the union and at a conference on January 31 the manufacturers formally made demands for a 15 per cent reduction for cutters, a 25 per cent reduction for operators, and a 20 per cent reduction for pressers. Adjustments with individual houses were then made on this basis. The following June, 1921, the shirt industry seemed to be improving, and acting on this situation the union asked that a part of the February reduction be given back to the workers. The request was granted by the impartial chairman, and an increase of 10 per cent was accordingly given the operators, and one of 5 per cent to the pressers. The cutters were not included because it was admitted by both parties that they had already had practically all of their decrease restored to them.

In January, 1922, the manufacturers asked that wages be reduced to the standard set by the settlement of February, 1921, claiming that conditions in the industry were so bad that wages must be reduced, and also claiming that out-of-town non-union competition was making it impossible for them to secure orders. The impartial chairman decided that conditions warranted the reduction, and it went into effect February 1, 1922.

In 1919 settlements were made with individual houses; in 1920, there was a sort of general verbal agreement, and in January, 1922, the first written agreement was signed between the United Shirt Manufacturers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The agreement provides that the principle of the union shop shall prevail; that there shall be a two weeks' probationary period, after

which discharge shall be for cause only; that ten holidays with pay shall be allowed; that the principle of equal distribution of work shall prevail; that there shall be no strikes or lockouts, and that a committee shall be appointed to establish standards in the cutting room. The administration of the agreement is vested in a board of arbitration, made up of an equal number of representatives from each group, with an impartial chairman mutually agreed upon. M. Kolchin of the General Office assisted in negotiating the new agreement.

The shirtmakers' campaign is still on! Organizers P. Lo Bruto, Mrs. Cacici, and Fiorello should be particularly mentioned for their activity in this connection. We confidently expect very soon to have the shirtmakers as well organized as the clothing workers.

CANADIAN ORGANIZATION CONFERENCE

Industrial conditions are no respecters of geographical or political lines. To them the industrial world is a unit. They rise for all countries and fall for all. In the days of great industrial activity Canada shared the advantage with the United States and other countries. The clothing workers in the northern country were alive to the possibilities and secured for themselves rights and improvements which they had been unable to secure before. On the eve of the Boston Convention our members in Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton obtained substantial wage increases, as reported by the G. E. B. on that occasion.

When the industrial depression came two years ago it hit Canada as it did every other country. Under such conditions the workers suffer doubly: through lack of employment, and through lowering of labor conditions. Earnings are first reduced by insufficient work, and then again by a reduction in wages, which employers are able to force upon the workers under such conditions. Sometimes, also, the lower wages, which press down earnings, are still further lowered by a lengthening of the working week. The misery of the people is an opportunity for their greater exploitation and oppression. Thus a period of industrial depression is a great menace to the people. It forces back true civilization, the welfare of the people.

The clothing industry in Canada was affected by the adverse industrial conditions as all other industries were. The Amalgamated in that country coped with the new situation there as it did in the United States.

On October 30 and 31, 1920, a conference was held at Toronto of representatives of Amalgamated organizations in Canada. Delegates were present from the Montreal Joint Board, the Toronto Joint Board, and Local 210 of Hamilton, Ontario. General President Sidney Hillman and General Executive Board Member Lazarus Marcovitz also attended. The conference took up the matter of unemployment in the Canadian clothing industry, and the need for further organization work in Canada. The conference especially took cognizance of the attempt of employers to move from the larger centers to the country towns.

MONTREAL WEATHERS THE STORM

Montreal is the largest clothing market in Canada. The clothing workers' organization in that city was built up by a long series of struggles, including bitterly fought lockouts. When the industrial crisis came the workers were not as helpless as they had been in similar circumstances in the past. Through their organization they took up every struggle forced upon them. In some cases they won completely, in others they succeeded in reducing to a minimum a hardship which would otherwise have been inflicted upon them in full.

The Society Brand shop locked out its cutters June 7, 1920. After two weeks the differences were referred to arbitration and the cutters returned to work.

Late in November, 1920, the employers took up with the union the question of wages for the ensuing season. It will be recalled that the workers in Montreal received an increase in May, 1920, while the workers in the markets in the United States did not receive a similar increase at that time. While negotiations were pending with the association, a number of firms attempted to take advantage of the depressed industrial situation to force a breakdown in the standards which the Montreal workers had been able to build up for themselves. The Montreal Joint Board was compelled to call a number of shop strikes against these employers.

The Samuel Wener Co. sought to cut wages from \$8 to \$10 a week and planned to lay off many workers. A strike led the firm to agree to maintain the old conditions and all returned to work.

The Robinson Clothing Co. closed its shop on October 29, 1920, after the workers refused to agree to a reduction in wages and discharge of part of the force. The firm sent for Board Member Marcovitz on November 15 and promised to maintain the old conditions and to work under market arrangements. Work was resumed on the 17th.

Strikes were called on November 19, 1920, against the Miller Clothing Co., Spector Clothing Co., and Gold Bros., because attempts were made to cut wages and reduce the working force.

One of the worst cases was a lockout by the firm of H. Vineberg & Co. The firm demanded a reduction in women's wages ranging from \$3 to \$8 a week, a cut in men's wages of from \$5 to \$15 a week, and the absolute power of discharge.

When the workers rejected its demands, the company locked out its 200 employees. On December 8, 1920, the union declared a strike against the lockout. A week later the strike was settled on prevailing market conditions.

In the meantime negotiations had been carried to an amicable conclusion with the association houses in the Montreal market. The workers agreed to forego the increase granted in May, 1920, but to make no other changes in working conditions. The increase of May,

1920, had been put into effect, but shortly afterwards the entire industry in Canada was affected by the industrial depression, and the shops had been closed, in the main, during the entire summer and fall of that year.

A settlement having been reached with the association houses, the same conditions were made the basis for re-adjustments with Vineberg and other shops in the Montreal market which, though having agreements with the union, were not members of the association.

On April 14, 1921, the manufacturers demanded wage reductions, absolute power of discharge, forty-eight hours a week, and piece work, to go into effect upon the expiration of the agreement June 1, 1921. Negotiations for the renewal of the agreement were soon undertaken. On July 14 a new agreement was reached with the following as the chief features: same wages, preferential union shop, production standards, and impartial machinery.

On August 11, 1921, the shop of the Robinson Co. was on strike for one day. About seventy-five workers were involved. The firm wanted to reduce wages and the working force. After the strike the firm agreed to reinstate all workers and to make no wage reductions. All returned to work the next day.

In September, 1921, the employers' association made a demand upon the union for a reduction in wages. The joint board rejected the demand. After a series of conferences it was agreed to leave the matter to arbitration. The hearings were held Saturday and Sunday, December 10 and 11, at the office of the chairman of the board of arbitration, Dr. William M. Leiserson. The Amalgamated representative on the board was Attorney Bercovitch, K. C. and a member of the provincial Parliament; the employers' representative was an engineer named Hunter.

On December 28 Dr. Leiserson handed down his decision as follows:

1. The request of the Manufacturers' Association for a wage cut of 15 per cent for all male workers and 20 per cent for all women workers is not justified by the facts presented to the board.

2. A reduction in labor costs of from 10 to 15 per cent is justified, however, and is necessary in order to get work for the shops. Because of the necessity for reducing costs the request of the union for restoring the \$5 and \$3 increases made last year is out of the question.

3. In order to secure the reduction in labor costs without cutting wages, the workers are to be given a period of four weeks within which to increase their production an average of somewhere between 10 and 15 per cent. While this increase in production must naturally vary from section to section, and the board will be guided by the total increase in the shop and in the market, nevertheless it expects the increase in production in the women's sections

named above to be closer to 15 per cent while the rest may be nearer to 10 per cent.

4. If, at the end of the four weeks' period this increase in production has not been given by the workers, then a wage cut averaging about 10 per cent will have to go into effect in order to get the lower costs that are necessary.

5. This decision is to go into effect on January 3, 1922. Beginning with that day the workers in all the shops must begin to increase production. On January 30, the production records for the four weeks in January will be tabulated for every shop, and they will be compared with the production and cost during the preceding season. If the January record shows an average increase in production between 10 and 15 per cent, then no wage cut is to be made. If production has not come up to this average then beginning with the first pay roll week in February a wage cut of 10 per cent will go into effect.

6. For the purpose of carrying out this decision a production commission is hereby created to consist of representatives from the association and the union. This commission must ascertain what the production and the wage bill of each shop were last season so that the unit cost per garment, whether coat, vest, or pants, may be established. The commission will also get records of the production and wage bills of the same shops during the four weeks in January, and tabulate and compare them with the records of previous production and costs. On or about February 1, 1922, the board of arbitration will meet again to hear the reports from the production committee, and to see that the decision is carried out in accordance with the records of production.

The case for the union was presented by Dr. Leo Wolman, head of the union's Research Department, H. K. Herwitz, also of the Research Department, General Executive Board Member L. Marcovitz, and committees from the joint board and the local unions of the city.

During the whole period of the hearings, large numbers of union members were present, following with keen interest the telling arguments made by the spokesmen for the union. It was conclusively shown that since the last wage arrangement was made in Montreal, in December 1919, the cost of living in that city had not only not gone down, but on the contrary, it had actually increased. There was, therefore, no basis for any reduction in wages.

It was declared in no uncertain terms that the Amalgamated had no intention of permitting wages ever to go down to the low levels which were known in the days before the industry was unionized or prior to 1915. If the cost of production was high, it was pointed out, it is the employer's business to seek a remedy in his methods of management in the shop. It was not proper to make the workers, through wage reductions, carry the whole burden of reducing costs so that the employer could carry on competition.

Since production standards had been introduced, it was shown, costs had gone down. If production standards had not been more

generally introduced, if there were some places which did not already have them, the blame was not on the union, but on the manufacturers themselves.

On January 5, 1922, the firm of H. Vineberg & Co. attempted to introduce the open shop and forty-nine-hour week, and to reduce wages. A strike was declared. That was one of the several strikes against the forty-nine-hour week and other hardships. A settlement was made the next day, which was violated by the firm and a strike was again declared on January 11, 1922.

The Leiserson decision was predicated on an immediate resumption of work at full capacity in the Montreal market. Dr. Leiserson had intended that the change in production standards would be based on four full weeks of work in the shops. However, it soon appeared that because of the slackness of work in the Montreal market it would be impossible by February 1 to come to a fair conclusion as to the improvement in production contemplated and to carry out the specific terms of the arbitration award. Negotiations between the association of manufacturers and General Executive Board Member Marcovitz and representatives of the Montreal Joint Board were started to determine what should then be done in view of the facts in the situation. Finally, on January 16, 1922, the following was agreed upon: Instead of the 10 per cent wage cut authorized under the Leiserson decision, if there were no corresponding increase in production, it was agreed that there should be a wage reduction averaging 7 per cent. The reduction was not horizontally applied, but a slightly larger percentage of decrease was made in the wages of the higher paid workers and a correspondingly lower reduction made in the wages of the less highly paid workers.

A settlement having been reached with the association houses, a similar settlement was made in the Vineberg case on January 16. The workers stood firm on the question of a change in working conditions, and the Vineberg firm withdrew its demand for the forty-nine-hour week. The agreement with Vineberg provided for no change from the forty-four-hour week of the Amalgamated.

At the time of this writing a strike is pending against the Dominion Clothing Co. On March 18, 1922, the firm brought suit against the union for an injunction and \$10,000. damages. The firm secured a temporary injunction. On March 31, 1922, the injunction was modified by Superior Court Justice William A. Weir to permit picketing. On April 21, 1922, the date when the case was set for trial, the firm abandoned its suit. That was the first injunction issued in Canada against our organization.

Among those who lent their efforts to the organization work in Montreal and the nearby cities were President Hillman, General Executive Board Members Marcovitz, Blumberg, Rosenblum, Levin, and Rissman, General Organizers G. Artoni, Gustave Strebél, Isaac Bainbridge, R. Bernstein, T. Boschi, T. Mathieu, and E. J. Audet.

TORONTO HOLDING FAST

The specter of unemployment made its appearance in Toronto early in the present period. In May, 1920, several shops closed down, some of them permanently.

In November, 1920, the employers made a demand for a large wage reduction. The joint board refused to accept it.

In the meantime negotiations were proceeding with the Amalgamated representatives and the manufacturers in the Montreal market as has been related above. There was no change in the situation in Toronto pending the outcome of the negotiations in the other large Canadian clothing centers. The workers in Toronto had received a similar increase to that granted to the Montreal workers in May, 1920, namely \$5 for the men workers and \$3 for the women workers. Few workers had received the benefit of this nominal increase because of the stagnation resulting from the industrial depression in the Toronto clothing industry during the summer and fall of 1920.

The question of wages was referred to arbitration. Dr. Sharman, the impartial chairman in the market, rendered a decision reducing wages to the extent of the \$5 and \$3 wage increase granted in May.

In the course of the past two years strikes were conducted against firms which had attempted to break down the standards established in the industry by the organized workers. The most important strike was that against the Scotland Woolen Mills. About that strike, which was won after a fight of one week, Business Agent Tovey wrote to the General Office:

"This company has long been established in the Toronto market. During the last two years it took on a new lease of life and grew immensely. The Amalgamated had organized the cutting room. The pants department was in the hands of a contractor. A few of the coat shop workers were also members of the organization. Yet, although we had held several meetings with them, they were too timid to take a stand for the union shop.

"Wages in the coat shop were below the trade scale. The firm, knowing that things were slack around town, sought to cut the price of making pants. The contractor tried to hand on the cut to the hands, who of course sought the support of the union. Intervention by the union was resented on the ground that the pants makers were not employees of the firm.

"The union gently but firmly indicated that it would protect its members, and the firm decided to test the issue. It was quite persuaded that the rest of the shop would let the pants makers fight their own battle unaided. But the Amalgamated is not a craft or-

ganization, and when the issue was properly put up to the workers, they came out 100 per cent, prepared to fight to the finish.

"It was a particularly gratifying sight to the local officers, especially the staunch support of the cutters, as they had been exceptionally well treated by the designer who had charge of their department, and strike action on their part looked to the firm like ingratitude. But the traditions of the Amalgamated were gloriously upheld and the cutters lined up with the rest of the organization. This made success assured, as it always does.

"Coming at a particularly slack season of the year, this victory is a glowing tribute to the growing power of our union in this city."

In October, 1921, the Toronto Clothing Manufacturers' Association made a demand upon the union for a reduction in wages.

A series of conferences were held in which H. D. Rosenbloom, Frank Rosenblum, Lazarus Marcovitz, and Hyman Blumberg participated. An understanding was reached February, 1922, on the same basis as Montreal.

General Executive Board Member Lazarus Marcovitz is looking after organization matters in all Canadian markets. While his headquarters are in Montreal he also gives attention to the other cities. Brother H. D. Rosenbloom, manager of the Toronto Joint Board, is in immediate charge of the situation in his city. He has had the advice and assistance of Board Members Frank Rosenblum and Hyman Blumberg, who also assisted in Montreal and other cities. President Hillman and General Organizers Bainbridge and Strelbel have also given attention when necessary to conditions in Toronto.

THE CLOTHING WORKERS IN HAMILTON

Hamilton, the smallest of the three principal markets in the Canadian clothing industry, sustained its share of fire during the wage reduction and open shop onslaught made by the employing class in the United States and Canada. In order to resist the various attacks a number of individual strikes and one general strike were necessary.

The wage reductions as demanded by the employers were opposed and were made as small as conditions permitted.

Local 210 has now undertaken a campaign of organization.

LONDON A NEW RECRUIT

London, Ontario, was not in the Amalgamated ranks two years ago. It was at the close of 1920, when the present "Open Shop" drive was in full swing, that the General Office received an application from the clothing workers at London for a charter for a local union. A charter was issued to Local 249. The young organization soon found itself on the firing line. It was compelled by the Green, Swift Co. to take up a fight against a wage cut and anti-union

discrimination. The strike began January 28, 1921, and was ably conducted by General Executive Board Member L. Marcovitz and General Organizer I. Bainbridge.

Brother Mosher, president of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, though his organization had no immediate connection with our industry, set a fine example of labor solidarity by coming to our aid in London.

On February 12, Grand President Mosher wrote to Miss L. Elson, secretary of Amalgamated Local 249, at London, granting her request for assistance, as follows:

“Grand Division,
 “Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees
 “A. R. Mosher, Grand President.
 “M. M. Maclean, Grand Secretary and Treasurer.
 “General Office P. O. Box 395, Ottawa, Canada.

“Ottawa, February 12th, 1921.

“L. Elson, Secretary, Local 249,
 “Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
 “81 Askin Street, London, Ont.

“Dear Miss Elson:

“I am in receipt of a letter to-day from Brother Bainbridge, asking me to communicate with our locals in London to have them support your organization. I take it that he wishes me to reply to you. I am enclosing, herewith, copy of letter that I am sending to our locals in London, also copy of my letter to W. R. Wray. I trust that these will be found entirely satisfactory. I am also writing you another letter which might come in handy for general purposes. I am indeed glad to learn that the prospects are good for a settlement of your dispute with ‘Green Swift’ this week.

“With best wishes, I am,

Yours very truly,

“A. R. MOSHER,
 “Grand President.”

The letter referred to above, to the London locals of the railroad employees’ brotherhood, urged them to rally to the support of the A. C. W. local because it is an “organization which obtains results for the workers.”

W. R. Wray is an overall manufacturer in London. Brother Mosher urged him to use the Amalgamated label.

The last letter enclosed by Grand President Mosher to Secretary Elson of the A. C. W. local was described by him as possibly coming

“in handy for general purposes.” It contained the following statement:

“Ottawa, February 12, 1921.

“Miss L. Elson,
“Secretary, Local 249,
“Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
“81 Askin Street,
“London, Ont.

“Dear Miss Elson:

“This is to advise you that the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees is deeply sympathetic with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and believe that they have done a great work for the workers in the clothing industry. I can assure you that our local branches throughout the Dominion of Canada will support the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union label wherever possible, and you are at liberty to make this known to employers at any time that you care to do so.

“Your very truly,

“A. R. MOSHER,
“Grand President.”

The strike lasted two weeks. It was settled with a complete victory for the Amalgamated, with the exception of six cases of reduced wages.

SHERBROOKE, QUEBEC

On January 3, 1922, Local 268, Sherbrooke, Quebec was chartered. Immediately after the local was organized the Walter, Blue Co. began to discharge the officers of the organization, but a stand was taken and the rights of the members protected. The local is now making steady progress. General Executive Board Member Marcovitz, General Organizers Mathieu and Audet, and Business Agent Duquette of Montreal have contributed to the success attained.

VOTES OF THE GENERAL MEMBERSHIP

The referendum vote is an established institution in our organization. During the past two years the referendum was resorted to but once. It was on the action of the Boston Convention, which included constitutional amendments adopted by the convention, election of General Officers and members of the General Executive Board and the selection of the seat for the 1922 convention.

The matters for referendum vote were submitted to the membership in the following manner:

New York, May 29, 1920.

To all Local Unions,
A. C. W. of A.

Greetings:—

The Fourth Biennial Convention A. C. W. of A., held at Boston, May 10-15, 1920, has decided upon the following changes in our constitution, which are hereby submitted for ratification by the general membership through referendum vote.

1) Article VI, Sections 3 and 7 be changed so as to increase the amount of the yearly salaries for the general president and the general secretary-treasurer, from \$4,000 for each to \$7,500 for each.

3) Article VII be amended by the addition of sections 9, 10, 11, copies of which amendments are given on the ballot.

The purpose of these amendments is to establish a safe system of control for taxes and assessments by local organizations.

3) Article XV, section 2, now reads as follows:

"Sec. 2. The initiation fee charge for members shall be optional with the local unions subject to the approval of the General Executive Board."

The convention adopted the following resolution:

"Be it resolved that the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America goes on record against the actions of local unions for establishing high initiation fees for new members. High initiation fees are a relic of the old type conservative craft unions.

"Therefore be it resolved that no local union or joint board shall charge for new members an initiation fee higher than \$9.90. And that the General Executive Board shall see to it that this rule is enforced."

That resolution will make section 3 read as follows:

"The initiation fee for new members shall not exceed the amount of \$9.90."

If this is carried it will replace the present Section 2, Article XV, as above quoted.

You are hereby requested to call a special meeting in accordance with Section 4, Article IV, and vote on the several matters submitted. The ballots, properly sealed and signed by the presiding officers and recording secretary, shall be forwarded to the undersigned to reach him not later than June 29, 1920.

Fraternally yours,
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

New York, May 29, 1920

To Joint Boards and Local Unions,
A. C. W. of A.

Greetings:—

In connection with the referendum vote now being taken on the action of the Fourth Biennial Convention, I beg to inform you that the convention decided that all referendum votes be supervised by the joint boards.

The joint boards are accordingly asked to elect the proper committees and make such other arrangements as might be necessary for the carrying out of the above resolution. The locals are asked to give the joint boards full co-operation in this work.

Fraternally yours, .

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
General Secretary-Treasurer.

BALLOT

REFERENDUM VOTE

On limiting initiation fee

Shall section 2 of Article XV be changed to read as follows:

"The initiation fee for new members shall not exceed the amount of \$9.90."

FOR

AGAINST

FOR	AGAINST

BALLOT

REFERENDUM VOTE

On amending Article VII, Finance, by adding the following sections:

Sec. 9. Whenever a joint board or local union decides to levy an assessment or tax upon its membership, it shall immediately notify the General Office of that fact, and give full particulars in connection with such assessment or tax, the information to include the amount of the levy upon each member, the method of collecting it, whether by payment in full at one time or by installments.

Sec. 10. The General Office shall provide a uniform assessment or tax stamp to be used by all local organizations for such collections. No local organization shall collect an assessment or tax, without issuing a stamp to serve as a receipt for the payments made by the member. Locals shall purchase those stamps to serve as a receipt for the payments made by the member. Local shall purchase those stamps from the General Office. The General Office shall fix a price for the sale of such stamps, to be as near the cost of the stamps as possible.

Sec. 11. Each and every payment of such assessment or tax shall be entered in the day book and recorded on the members' ledger cards or ledger pages in the same manner as the payment of dues is recorded, and the stamp as provided by Sec. 10 be affixed and cancelled in the space provided therefor

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

in the members' dues books. No joint board or local union shall print its own stamps for the above purpose. Shall sections 9, 10 and 11 be added to Article VII.

FOR AGAINST

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VOTE ON INCREASES IN SALARIES FOR THE GENERAL PRESIDENT AND GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

The Fourth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, held at Boston May 10-15, 1920, voted to increase the salaries for the general president and the general secretary-treasurer from \$4,000 a year to \$7,500. Accordingly, you are asked to vote on the following change in the constitution:

Section 3, Art. VI, of our constitution reads as follows:

"The general president shall devote his entire time to the services of the A. C. W. of A., and shall receive as compensation the sum of four thousand (\$4,000) dollars per annum."

The convention decided to substitute the words "seven thousand five hundred dollars (\$7,500)" for the words "four thousand dollars (\$4,000)"

Section 7, Art. VI, of our constitution reads as follows:

"The general secretary-treasurer shall devote his entire time to the services of the A. C. W. of A. and shall receive as compensation the sum of four thousand dollars (\$4,000) per annum. He shall give bonds to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars (\$15,000), in some first class surety company, the cost of the bond to be paid from the funds of the A. C. W. of A."

The convention decided to substitute the words "seven thousand five hundred dollars (\$7,500)" for the words "four thousand dollars (\$4,000)"

BALLOT

NO. OF VOTES
FOR AGAINST

Amendment of Sections 3 and 7 of Art. VI. as stated above

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BALLOT

Vote on the place for the Fifth Biennial Convention May, 1922.

FOR AGAINST

Chicago

--	--

(Seal)

Chairman

Secretary

The above is a part of the referendum vote for which a call was issued May 29, 1920.

* * *

Vote should be returned to the undersigned not later than June 29, 1920.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
General Secretary-Treasurer.

BALLOT
REFERENDUM VOTE
ELECTION OF GENERAL OFFICERS

Nominations made by the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, May 10-15, 1920, Boston, Mass.

	FOR	AGAINST
For general president Sidney Hillman, Local 39, Chicago		

	FOR	AGAINST
For general secretary-treasurer Joseph Schlossberg, Local 5, New York		

ELECTION OF GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Vote for thirteen only

		No. of votes
August Bellanca	Local 63, New York	_____
Hyman Blumberg	" 36, Baltimore	_____
Samuel Levin	" 61, Chicago	_____
Lazarus Marcovitz	" 173, Boston	_____
Anzuino D. Marimpietri	" 39, Chicago	_____
Frank Rosenblum	" 61, Chicago	_____
Paul Arnone,	" 63, New York	_____
Frank Cancelliere	" 176, New York	_____
Harry Crystal	" 15, Baltimore	_____
Morris Edelstein	" 145, Philadelphia	_____
J. P. Friedman	" 4, New York	_____
J. Gold	" 5, New York	_____
H. Heller	" 5, New York	_____
J. A. Logis	" 218, Baltimore	_____
Harry Madanick	" 15, Baltimore	_____
A. Miller	" 8, New York	_____
Peter Monat	" 262, New York	_____
A. I. Pearlman	" 14, Rochester	_____
Morris Riskowitz	" 248, New York	_____
S. Rissman	" 61, Chicago	_____
Benne Romano	" 63, New York	_____
Mamie Santora	" 170, Baltimore	_____
Nathan Siegel	" 2, New York	_____
Stephan Skala	" 6, Chicago	_____
Thomas Uzarski	" 38, Chicago	_____

REPORT OF BOARD OF TELLERS
ON REFERENDUM VOTE

New York, July 1, 1920.

Mr. Joseph Schlossberg,
General Secretary-Treasurer, A. C. W. of A.
31 Union Square,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

We, the undersigned, elected by the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, as a board of tellers to canvass the votes cast in the international referendum on the actions of the convention, beg to submit to you the following report:

We have examined 107 sets of ballots from 107 local unions. We found all ballots in proper order with the exception of three. These three came from Local 12, New York; Local 54, New York, and Local 278, Los Angeles, California.

On the ballot of Local 12 the original number of votes cast in the election of the general president and the general secretary were erased and other figures substituted. That voided the ballot and we omitted it from the count. We included all the rest in the official count.

In the case of Local 54, the ballot containing the names of the candidates for the general executive board was rendered void by the crossing out of the original figures and the substitution of others. The ballots pertaining to the other parts of the referendum were duly counted.

Local 278, Los Angeles, returned the ballot blank with a statement that, because the candidates were unknown to them, they took no vote. Local 278 is a newly chartered local union.

The aggregate number of members participating in the referendum vote, as shown by the ballots from 107 local unions is 40,648.

The result of the referendum vote is as follows:

For general president, Sidney Hillman, 39,207 for and 1,441 against.

For general secretary-treasurer, Joseph Schlossberg, 38,449 for and 1,657 against.

For members of the General Executive Board:

August Bellanca, 32,848, elected
F. Rosenblum, 29,613, elected
Samuel Levin, 27,525, elected
H. Blumberg, 26,875, elected
P. Monat, 26,764, elected
M. Siegel, 26,124, elected
A. D. Marimpietri, 24,360, elected.
A. Miller, 24,145, elected
L. Marcovitz, 23,667, elected
S. Skala, 21,774, elected
M. Santora, 21,190, elected
T. Uzarski, 18,192, elected
S. Rissman, 17,240, elected
J. P. Friedman, 16,403.
P. Arnone, 16,120.
H. Heller, 14,723.
B. Romano, 13,769.
J. Gold, 12,692.
H. Crystal, 12,267.
H. Madanick, 8,601.
A. I. Pearlman, 6,404.
Frank Cancelliere, 5,799.
J. A. Logis, 5,595.
M. Riskowitz, 5,311.
M. Edelstein, 5,231.

The votes on the constitutional changes were as follows:

Amendment to Section 2 of Article XV was accepted by 16,642 votes for to 8,555 votes against.

Amendment to Article VII was accepted by 21,023 votes for to 3,223 votes against.

The amendments to Sections 3 and 7 of Article VI were carried by 20,367 votes for to 4,046 votes against.

The selection of Chicago for the next convention in 1922 was ratified by 14,880 votes for to 919 votes against.

We herewith certify to the election of the general officers and General Executive Board members and the adoption of constitutional amendments and the action on the seat of the next convention, as given above.

Fraternally yours,

BOARD OF TELLERS,

PHILIP WIENER

J. CATALANOTTI

M. NITZBERG

H. BLUMENREICH, Chairman

JOSEPH SHEA, Secretary

SUMMARY OF REFERENDUM VOTE

General Officers Elected

For general president, Sidney Hillman, Local 39, Chicago.

For general secretary-treasurer, Joseph Schlossberg, Local 5, N. Y. C.

General Executive Board Members Elected

August, Bellanca, Local 63, New York.

Frank Rosenblum, Local 61, Chicago.

Samuel Levin, Local 61, Chicago.

Hyman Blumberg, Local 36, Baltimore.

Peter Monat, Local 262, New York.

Nathan Siegel, Local 2, New York.

A. D. Marimpietri, Local 39, Chicago.

Abraham Miller, Local 8, New York.

Lazarus Marcovitz, Local 172, Boston.

Stephan Skala, Local 6, Chicago.

Mamie Santora, Local 170, Baltimore.

Thomas Uzarski, Local 38, Chicago.

Sidney Rissman, Local 61, Chicago.

All constitutional amendments were carried. Chicago was ratified as the seat for the next convention.

RESIGNATION OF THOMAS UZARSKI FROM MEMBERSHIP IN THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

At the meeting of the General Executive Board held at Montreal, June 9, 1921, a letter, dated June 7, 1921, was received from Thomas Uzarski of Chicago resigning as a member of the General Executive Board. The resignation of Brother Uzarski was accepted with regrets.

THE FIRST OF MAY

The Amalgamated membership celebrates International Labor Day, the First of May, with increased enthusiasm each year. When May Day draws near the General Office sends out a call to the membership to celebrate.

The May Day Call of 1921 was issued when our great lockout struggle was on. The call was dated March 30, 1921, and read as follows:

CALL FOR MAY DAY CELEBRATION

To the Joint Boards & Local Unions of the
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Greeting:—

We are now entering upon the fifth month of our great struggle in the defense of our organization against the lockout conspiracy. With the splendid progress already made we are at the threshold of complete victory. The enemy is losing ground. Our ranks are firm and steadily marching onward.

Within the short space of three months we have nearly completed our Million Dollar Lockout Resistance Fund. When the call for the great defense fund was issued, the enemy scoffed at us and ridiculed our call as empty boastfulness. Now it is practically an accomplished fact. We are near the \$1,000,000 mark already, and if the amount, when completed, is not enough to bring the struggle to the final triumph, more money will be contributed by the members, as much more as will be required.

The raising of such a vast defense fund, by workers whom the employers had undertaken to STARVE into submission to the sweatshop regime, is in itself an achievement of colossal magnitude. The spirit behind it is unconquerable. Organized workers imbued with such a spirit are invincible. No power on earth can defeat them. When they are challenged to fight, they are capable of giving a good account of themselves. The lockout conspirators in New York, Boston, and Baltimore are now in a position to give competent testimony on that score.

The conspirators thought that they would be able to strike us down physically, and they hired an army of sluggers, but tens of thousands of workers cannot be blackjacked, and the violence of the strong arm "guards" failed of its purpose.

The conspirators then attempted to overwhelm us by endless lawsuits—the only suits they are now able to produce. At the time of this writing there are pending in the courts of New York state suits by the employers against our organization for damages aggregating NEARLY TWO AND A HALF MILLION DOLLARS. But the more desperate their efforts to destroy our organization, the more powerful we grow, and the more our victory is assured.

The Amalgamated membership may well be proud of the fighting powers of the locked out workers and the magnificent support given them by the rest of the membership.

In the teeth of all conspiracies and conspirators; in the teeth of all foes and traitors; in the teeth of hosts of hired spies and provocateurs, and despite the great financial and moral strain, we are forging ahead, marching onward and holding high our victorious banner.

And from the fighting front we are sending this message to the Amalgamated members:—

The First of May is coming. We have celebrated this day every year in the past, and shall also celebrate it this year.

Every year had its own reason for the May Day celebration. So has this year its own reason. The American labor movement is now under fire. Its enemies, who have long been looking for an opportunity to destroy it, think that they have finally found their opportunity in the long period of unemployment. Under the vicious cry of "Open Shop," war has been declared upon the labor movement. The beginning was made with the Amalgamated, but the campaign of lies, calumny, slander, and criminal conspiracies is intended against all labor organizations in America.

In these circumstances, the celebration of a labor holiday is an occasion for reviewing the fighting forces, taking inventory of the gains made, and renewing the pledge to continue the struggle to the victorious end.

In the past we celebrated on the First of May the great improvements in working and living conditions attained by our organization for the membership and the upbuilding of the organization. We celebrated the successful forward march from the sweat-shop to civilization. Today we shall celebrate the great progress made by us in repulsing the onslaught upon our organization.

As in the past, we shall also on this occasion send greetings to our fellow workers in all industries and in all countries. Our interests are identical with theirs, and like them, we are looking forward to a happy future, where the workers will be able to live their useful lives in peace and joy.

Accordingly, all local unions and joint boards of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are called upon to make appropriate arrangements for the celebration of the great working class holiday. Meetings should be arranged with programs of education and entertainment.

We shall meet the coming May Day in high spirit and in our best fighting trim: After four months of struggle we are now stronger and more confident than ever before. The employers undertook to crush our organization and they failed signally. They went to court to ask for our dissolution and were sadly disillusioned. They libeled and slandered us with graft charges and promised the public a government investigation into those charges. But they did not get further than irresponsible slander and attempts at character assassination. The promised investigation, though courted by us, has not materialized.

On the eve of May Day we call out to our members: "We salute you, brave soldiers of a just Cause. Hold fast; we are winning!"

Long live the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America! Victory is ours. Let us celebrate and rejoice!

Fraternally yours

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

General Secretary-Treasurer, A.C.W. of A.

The following May Day Call was issued March 13, 1922:

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

Greeting:—

Spring is here. Nature is awaking with new life, bringing greater vigor to the spirit of the world's toilers. In this rejuvenated spirit Labor will celebrate its great Spring Day, the First of May. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America will again, as in the past, join the enlightened workers of the world in the annual celebration.

Our interest in May Day is not that of an individual industrial group; not the interest of the daily routine; our interest in this Day is that of an integral part of the great industrial army of the world. The First of May is the one day in the year that is dedicated to the proposition that the interests and purposes of the working classes of all countries are identical and their common cause is to make the world free. May Day's message of International brotherhood and solidarity of the workers is the only hope of the suffering world today.

Since the inauguration of May Day as Labor's Day by the International Congress at Paris, in 1889, the world has changed enormously for good and for evil. In our own country the tyranny of labor-crushing capitalism has become a national menace.

The federal legislature was frightened by the new and growing Colossus, the Trust, which was crowding out Small Business, and enacted anti-trust laws. For a time "Down with the Trusts!" was a great American slogan and the issue of political battles. As Big Capitalism tightened its grip upon the country it defeated all opposition. The cry of "Down with Trusts!" gave way to a fine distinction between "good and bad trusts."

In time that, too, died out. The Trust, in its larger meaning of Big Capital, now dominates the industrial and political life of the nation and controls the press, the mold of "public opinion." The crusade against the trusts has been replaced by that against the labor movement. The call for the "Open Shop" has taken the place of "Down with the Trusts!" Instead of ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION we now have ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION. Congress accepts a Lever act against profiteering. By the authority of that act the mine workers' strike is declared illegal and the miners are driven, under penalty of imprisonment, back to work. The strike is broken and the workers defeated. Then the court rules that the penalty clause of the Lever act is invalid and the profiteers cannot be punished. The law has sharp and poisonous teeth for Organized Labor, but is toothless for those who rob the people. The New York state legislature enacts a law limiting the extorting powers of the gas companies; the court rules that an 80-cent rate and a \$1 rate are "confiscatory" and the people must pay more—and that at a time when labor is told that it must be "deflated" because "prices are coming down." When labor organizations attempt to resist the confiscation of their wages through merciless reductions, there are injunctions, dissolution suits, arrests and imprisonment to break their resistance.

Organized labor and those who are seeking its destruction now stand face to face. None so blind as not to see it. In the war against labor "Big Business" and Small Business" are one, and with a common cause. Organized labor will fight the battles forced upon it by its enemies and ultimately usher in the era of industrial freedom.

In our May Day Call a year ago we said:

"In the teeth of all conspiracies and conspirators; in the teeth of all foes and traitors; in the teeth of hosts of hired spies and provocateurs, and despite the great financial and moral strain, we are forging ahead, marching onward and holding high our victorious banner."

At that time the lockout was on. Since then we have won the great lockout struggle. But that was only the winning of A struggle; THE struggle, in the great and broad sense, is always on.

This struggle, which will end only when the workers are freed from the present wage status, is symbolized by May Day.

Under present conditions May Day has a greater meaning to us today than ever before. It brings us a clearer realization of our great historic mission, the achievement of the workers' emancipation.

You are, therefore, asked to make appropriate arrangements for the celebration of the First of May by our membership. Let us have a celebration befitting the occasion and our organization. Again let

the voice of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America ring with the message of international solidarity to our brothers and sisters in every land.

The May Day festival will be followed closely by our Fifth Biennial Convention at Chicago. Both will be memorable events.

Long live the brotherhood of Labor! Forward with united efforts for new achievements!

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary-Treasurer,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

May Day is deep in the consciousness of our membership and celebrated with a religious fervor.

OUR ORGANIZATION

We have today 148 local unions and sixteen joint boards, in thirty-six cities, fourteen states, and two provinces.

Since the last convention we have issued twenty charters and withdrawn sixteen. Of the latter number six charters were cancelled because the local unions merged with others.

AMALGAMATED MEMBERS BY NATIONALITY

Native born	Hungarians	Finnish
Hebrews	Norwegians	Serbians
Italians	French	Bulgarians
Polish	Irish	Spanish
Bohemians	Scotch	Turkish
Lithuanians	Greeks	Rumanians
Slovaks	Swedish	Austrians
Russians	Danish	Dutch
Germans	Canadians	Australians

CHARTERS ISSUED TO LOCALS SINCE MAY 1, 1920

1920: June	23—	Local 232, Buffalo, N. Y.
July	21—	" 177, Allentown, Pa.
		" 183, Boston, Mass.
	28—	" 275, Chicago, Ill.
August	4—	" 163, Red Bank, N. J.
	6—	" 258, Baltimore, Md.
September	9—	" 196, Troy, N. Y.
	23—	" 276, Kansas City, Mo.
October	16—	" 233, Toronto, Canada
	18—	" 198, Passaic N. J.
December	10—	" 249, London, Canada
	29—	" 242, Baltimore, Md.
1921: January	4—	" 179, St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn.
	25—	" 22, New York, N. Y.
February	24—	" 126, Cleveland, Ohio
August	2—	" 274, Montreal, Canada
October	18—	" 273, Los Angeles, Calif.
1922: January	3—	" 268, Sherbrooke, Canada
	10—	" 103, New York, N. Y.
	19—	" 197, Troy, N. Y.

CHARTERS CANCELLED

1920:	December	29—	Local 183	Boston, Mass.	Merged with Local 181
			"	225 Baltimore, Md.	Merged with Local 52
1921:	January	25—	"	10 New York, N. Y.	Reorganized as Local 22
			"	12 New York, N. Y.	Reorganized as Local 22
	September	7—	"	164 New Philadelphia, Pa.	Out of existence
	November	11—	"	229 Joliette, Canada	Out of existence
				14— " 60 Philadelphia, Pa.	Merged with Locals 75 and 140
1922:	January	31—	"	165 Brooklyn, N. Y.	Merged with Local 11
			"	125 Cleveland, Ohio	Out of existence
			"	163 Red Bank, N. J.	" " "
			"	168 St. Paul Minn.	" " "
			"	177 Allentown, Pa.	" " "
			"	182 Boston, Mass.	" " "
			"	184 Springfield, Mass.	" " "
			"	185 Lawrence, Mass.	" " "
			"	258 Baltimore, Md.	" " "

LOCATION OF LOCALS

We have local organizations in the following states and provinces:

States in the United States

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles

CONNECTICUT: New Haven, Norwich, Bridgeport, New London

ILLINOIS: Chicago, Streator

INDIANA: Indianapolis

KENTUCKY: Louisville

MARYLAND: Baltimore

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston, Lynn, Haverhill, Worcester

MINNESOTA: St. Paul, Minneapolis

MISSOURI: Kansas City, St. Louis

NEW JERSEY: Newark, Passaic, Woodbine, Vineland, Paterson,
Trenton

NEW YORK: New York City, Rochester, Buffalo, Troy, Syracuse,
Utica

OHIO: Cincinnati, Cleveland

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Scranton

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee

Provinces in Canada

QUEBEC: Montreal, Sherbrooke

ONTARIO: Toronto, Hamilton, London

OUR OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS**Periodicals****Published Weekly**

Advance	—	English
(Advance—French Department)		
Fortschritt	—	Yiddish
Il Lavoro	—	Italian
Prace	—	Bohemian

Published Bi-Weekly

Industrial Democracy	—	Polish
Darbas	—	Lithuanian

Published Monthly

Rabochy Golos	—	Russian
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General

Documentary History of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, including reports of Nashville, New York, Rochester, Baltimore, and Boston Conventions. Volumes 1, II, III.

Report of General Executive Board to Baltimore Convention, May 1918.

Report of General Executive Board to Boston Convention, May 1920.

Education Department Pamphlets

The Rise of the Clothing Workers, by Joseph Schlossberg, 1921.

Problems of Labor Organization, by Joseph Schlossberg, 1921.

Recent Developments in Trade Unionism, by George Soule, 1921.

27 Questions and Answers on the Open Shop Movement, by Paul Blanshard, 1921.

A Proposal for an Unemployment Fund in the Men's Clothing Industry, by Leo Wolman, 1922.

Amalgamated Calendar, 1922.

AMALGAMATION OF NEEDLE TRADES WORKERS

Modern economic life runs along lines of increasing consolidation and concentration. Large units crowd out or absorb small ones, and an interdependence is created among individual enterprises and industries. Modern technique is giving tremendous advantage to the large enterprise. It is making the smaller one increasingly more difficult; in many cases impossible. There is, therefore, ever greater scope in ownership and management of business institutions. The greater power derived from the wider jurisdiction is wielded by the owners of industry, as employers of labor, against the workers. To the employers their greater power comes almost unconsciously because of the greater unity in ownership and control. There is no propaganda necessary to bring that about. The natural course of concentration of control in industry unites the employers against the workers in the most effective manner. For that reason while employers as a class all fight labor, Big Business is better equipped for it and is doing it more efficiently than Small Business.

Labor Movement is another term for Labor Struggle, Class Struggle. Labor Movement without struggle is an impossible contradiction. It was the workers' struggle for rights and a better life that gave birth to the Labor Movement, and since its coming into being the Labor Movement has been compelled to fight for its life all the time. Enemies without number are seeking to destroy it, and danger lurks in every direction.

For the same reason Labor Movement is a synonym for Labor Unity. The movement is strong only to the extent that it unites labor. In this era of industrialism, with the masters of industry controlling every part of our lives, labor must be united along the entire class line industrially, politically, and intellectually. In former days that was a "wild dream" of idealists and theorists. Today it is a vital necessity. If the labor movement continues along the old and narrow lines it will be at its own peril. Labor cannot afford to be organized along narrower lines than its adversary, Capitalism, if it intends to live and do things.

It is in obedience to the dictates of this situation that there is today a marked tendency in the labor movement to greater, broader, and more inclusive unity; in the sense of responding to realities—a more scientific alignment.

The imperative need of greater unity has always been clear to the Amalgamated. But we have been unable to go beyond the limits of the particular branch of our industry. In European countries the workers employed in all branches of garment making are united in one body. In America each branch, and part of a branch, is separ-

ately organized. It is organization on lines of division. All we could do was to establish a compact, closely knit, and efficiently working organization in the men's clothing branch of the garment making industry. Under the ethics of the American labor movement, the affairs of any other branch of the garment industry must not concern us, and it would be a violation of the sanctity of the principle of autonomy for the workers in other garment making branches to be interested in our affairs. Actually the sense of labor solidarity among the workers in the garment trades has been above that. The workers in one branch have, in times of stress, come to the aid of the workers in another. Thus have we aided the Cloakmakers, Capmakers, Fur Workers, and others. But that has been voluntary assistance, which could be withheld if the organization were so inclined. There has been no organic unity, no constitutional relationship or obligation.

Time and again the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America went on record, at conventions and otherwise, in favor of one inclusive organization of all workers in the wearing apparel trades. At our first convention we formed an amalgamation with the Journeymen Tailors' Union. It was not of long duration. Because of pressure from the A. F. of L., the Journeymen Tailors' Union withdrew from that amalgamation. Despite that experience we have repeatedly made known our desire and hope for the formation of one all-embracing clothing workers' organization. In our report to the Boston Convention we stated that "the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America have definitely put themselves on record in favor of one organization for the workers in the needle trades." Also that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, at that time in convention at Chicago, had before it a proposition from its General Executive Board for the formation of an alliance or a federation of the needle trades. We said: "That does not go as far as we wish. Our ideal is one organization for all branches of men's and women's wear in the same sense as the Amalgamated is one organization for the workers in all branches of men's clothing. We do not, of course, presume to impose our views upon others. If the proposition for a federation of needle trades organizations means a step in the direction of our goal, it is encouraging, and to that extent a victory for the principle of one international organization." The Boston Convention unanimously adopted a resolution favoring one organization for all branches of the needle trades and saying: "We believe that the situation calls for such a compact organization and hope that it will materialize before long. We welcome every move in that direction and direct the General Executive Board to co-operate in the promotion of such movement."

There can be no mistake as to the position of the Amalgamated.

On July 3, 1920, we received the following communication dated June 30, from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

We beg leave to inform you that the convention of our international union, held in Chicago, Ill., last May, after discussing the advisability of bringing about an alliance of all the garment workers' unions

of America, has charged us with the important duty of taking the initiative in this matter. We address this communication to you as the initial step in this direction.

The logic of events and the legitimate causes which have prompted the formation of national departments in the mining, building, printing, and other industries point with directness to the identical necessity of forming a similar federation in our industry. Needless to say, a tailors' federation of half a million workers would be a powerful instrument for the workers' welfare, with a scope of unlimited usefulness. We are convinced that technical difficulties which may lie in the path of the realization of this project can be easily overcome, after full discussion, by sincere determination.

In adopting this recommendation, our convention has made its attitude unmistakably clear, that the industrial alliance be of an industrial nature exclusively; that each affiliated union preserve its autonomy as before, and that none of the component parts of this alliance is to interfere in the internal affairs of the other, but they are to stand together when circumstances require it.

We accordingly beg leave to invite your organization to participate, through delegates, in a conference to discuss and advance this plan. We suggest that this conference be held during the latter part of October. In order that the date and place may be made agreeable to all, we kindly request you, when acknowledging this letter, to indicate the week in October and the city for the meeting most convenient for your organization.

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,
President.

P. S. A similar letter has been forwarded to:

The International Journeymen Tailors' Union of America

The International Fur Workers' Union

The United Garment Workers of America

The United Cloth Hat, Cap Makers and Millinery Workers of America.

We accepted the invitation and replied as follows:—

July 15, 1920.

Dear Brother Schlesinger:

Your letter of June 30 inviting the General Executive Board to participate in a conference for the purpose of bringing about an alliance of all garment workers' unions of America was submitted to the General Executive Board, at its session in this city, last week. It was decided to accept your invitation and participate in the conference. The date and place are left to the discretion of your organization.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

The conference opened at Hotel McAlpin, New York, December 9, 1920, a day after the beginning of the New York lockout, and was in session December 9, 10, and 11.

The organizations represented were: Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, International Journeymen Tailors' Union, United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers and Millinery Workers of America, and International Fur Workers' Union. The aggregate membership represented approximated 400,000.

The Amalgamated was represented by President Sidney Hillman, General Executive Board Member August Bellanca, and Assistant General Secretary-Treasurer Jacob S. Potofsky.

One of the first acts of the conference was to pledge the aid of the organizations to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the lockout struggle. The resolution of support read:

"We, the delegates representing the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Journeymen Tailors' Union, International Fur Workers' Union, United Cloth Hat and Cap Workers' Union, with a total membership of 400,000, assembled at the Hotel McAlpin for the purpose of forming a Needle Trades Alliance,

"Recognize that the clothing manufacturers of New York and Boston have declared war on the clothing workers of these cities by breaking relations with the unions, summarily dismissing the impartial chairman and destroying the machinery for government in industry, hoping thereby to bring about a return to the sweatshop system;

"Do hereby condemn the action of the manufacturers as a move calculated to destroy the organization of the clothing workers and to throw industry back to the old sweatshop system, from which all the workers in the needle trades have suffered.

"Tender our unqualified support to the clothing workers in the fight that has been forced upon them."

At the first session the conference constituted itself, adopted the above resolution, and elected a committee on resolutions.

At the second session two reports were brought in by the committee on resolutions: One for the formation of a federation, the other for an amalgamation. President Hillman and Thomas Sweeney of the Journeymen Tailors' Union advocated the second form. The majority of the committee were for a federated form of organization. In the official minutes President Hillman's argument in support of amalgamation is given as follows:

"Sidney Hillman, speaking for the report No. 2, for amalgamation, said in substance, that to meet successfully the present attempt of the organized employers to crush organized labor, we must put the organization in a condition where it may yield the utmost power, and that we are not justified in losing one ounce of power if we can help it. Amalgamation is the only form of organization that will bring about the desired efficiency and effectiveness."

The federation form was accepted and "Needle Trades Workers' Alliance" was chosen as the name for the new body.

The following preamble was adopted:

"The international unions of the workers in the needle industries of America, having come together in conference in response to the powerful sentiment existing among the workers of their organizations for the formation of an alliance of all the unions in the clothing trades, have formed a Needle Trades Workers' Alliance of America.

"The interests of the workers of the needle trades industries are to a great extent similar and identical. Ever since they have been organized the unions in the needle industry have demonstrated their kinship and solidarity toward each other in times of peace, as well as in times of strike, in the full consciousness that the interests of the workers in the needle trades are interdependent and closely linked together. This sentiment of solidarity was the basic idea that gave birth to the movement for an alliance of the workers in the needle trades and swept aside all difficulties that lay in the path of its realization.

"The formation of an alliance of all the garment unions of America, for defensive and offensive purposes, was always the great objective of the workers in these trades. Its timeliness, nevertheless, was never more emphasized than at present, when strife and struggle confront the needle industries and when the employers exhibit an ever growing attitude of arrogance and disregard of the interests of the workers. The Needle Trades Workers' Alliance of America, representing 400,000 organized workers, will be a power for good exerting a strong and beneficial influence on the garment making industry in a practically unlimited sphere of usefulness and service.

"The first conference of the five international organizations in the needle trades, namely, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the International Furriers' Union, the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, have, therefore, adopted the following basic principles of organization:

"1. The Needle Trades Workers' Alliance of America is to be a federation of unions of workers in the needle trades, and its executive agency shall consist of an executive council to be composed of three members of each affiliated organization. From this executive council the alliance is to elect a president, a secretary, and a treasurer.

"2. Each union affiliated with the Needle Trades Workers' Alliance of America is to preserve its autonomy as before. None of the component parts of the alliance are to interfere in the internal affairs of the others, and the powers of the executive council are similarly limited.

"3. The alliance is to act in an advisory capacity for the various affiliated international unions with regard to strikes, lock-outs, organizing work and trade matters, and is to assist the affiliated organizations in times of struggles with their employers by every means at its command."

A per capita of $\frac{1}{2}$ cent per month per member was decided on.

The following were elected on the temporary executive council; permanent members were to be elected later by the respective organizations:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers: Sidney Hillman, Jacob S. Potofsky, August Bellanca.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union: Benjamin Schlesinger, Abraham Baroff, Samuel Lefkovits.

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers: Max Zaritzky, Max Zuckerman, Max Kaplan.

International Fur Workers' Union: Morris Kaufman, A. Wenneis, H. J. Algus.

Journeyman Tailors' Union: Thomas Sweeney, C. N. Bolander, K. G. Eneborg.

Benjamin Schlesinger was elected president, Max Zuckerman secretary, and Thomas Sweeney treasurer.

The conference made a tremendous furore. The capitalist press in New York and other cities was alarmed and manifested great nervousness. The New York "American" of December 10, 1920, carried the following headlines:

THE NEEDLE TRADE UNIONS AMALGAMATE
ALLIANCE ORGANIZED HERE WILL CONTROL 400,000 WORKERS — ITS SCOPE IS NATION WIDE
"ONE BIG UNION" TO ABSORB A. F. OF L. IS HINTED
EMPLOYERS PLAN FIGHT TODAY

The New York "Times" of December 11, 1920, carried a two-column article which began:

"The tentacles of the newly formed 'one big union' of needle trades workers, comprising five organizations of about 400,000 workers, began reaching out yesterday to all manufacturing centers for every local union in the garment industry."

Comment in *Advance*, December 17, 1920, under the heading

"HOW THEY FEAR 'ONE BIG UNION'"

"The formation of the Needle Trades Workers' Alliance has thrown a deadly fear into the camp of the exploiters. Their press has denounced the new body as a 'One Big Union,' which is 'un-American,' 'un-patriotic,' and, above all, against the interests of capitalism.

"The most instructive part of the vitriolic attack upon the Alliance is the rejection by the capitalist press of all assurance from authoritative sources that the new body is not a 'One Big Union' and the insistence of that press that it is.

"In this case capitalism is exhibiting a healthy instinct. While it is true that the Alliance is only of an advisory character, permitting the component organizations to retain their old autonomy and sovereignty, there is danger of the needle trades workers ultimately constituting themselves a 'One Big Union' for purposes of offense and defense. After all, our masters are not much interested in the manner in which we transact our business, whether we do it separately or jointly; they are, however, vitally interested in whether we are ACTING separately or jointly. They argue correctly that the same causes which have brought the needle trades workers together into an advisory alliance must inevitably lead them from advice to action.

"What are those causes?"

"There is, primarily, the economic factor—all of the people affected being wage workers, which makes their class interests identical with those of all other workers in all other industries.

“There is, secondly, the industrial factor—all the workers being engaged in branches of the same wearing apparel industry, which makes a closer alignment imperative.

“There is, also, the sociological factor—the members of all of the organizations involved belonging to the same nationalities and speaking the same languages, which creates a favorable atmosphere for the closest and most sympathetic sort of co-operation.

“There is, finally, the spiritual factor—all workers embraced within the new Alliance holding, generally speaking, the same advanced social, political, and economic views.

“Those being the causes which have brought the Alliance into being for advisory purposes, who can vouch for it, the exploiters ask, that the same causes will not soon transform it into a centralized and compact fighting instrument?

“It is true that at present the exploiters see spooks called forth by their own guilty conscience to disturb their peace. But the fear of the exploiters is fully justified, as every intelligent economist may assure them.

“We find gratification in the exploiters’ recognition of the great power, both actual and potential, of the organized needle trades workers.”

Our lockout struggle emphasized the potentialities of the new body. The resolution of support for the Amalgamated in that struggle made our enemies feel decidedly uneasy. Labor, in its organized might, shook its finger at its enemies and frightened them. Unfortunately, it was nothing more than a shaking of the finger and a gesture. The new Alliance proved to be a still-born child. The Alliance was “to assist the affiliated organizations in times of struggles with their employers by every means at its command.” It was organized at the time of our lockout; the fight lasted a half year; all open shop forces were arrayed against us; yet, the Alliance never met once during those stormy days, after its adjournment on December 11, 1920, and has never met again to this day. The employers quickly realized that their fear was in vain and that the majestic gesture need not be taken seriously. The encouragement that the failure of the Alliance brought to our enemies increased our hardships and made our struggle more difficult. Though the Amalgamated favored a closer form of organization, we accepted the looser form as better than no organization, but even that did not materialize. The opposition to amalgamation was based on the assumption that the rank and file “are not ready” for it; it seems that others, not of the rank and file, “are not ready” for it, or for any form of needle trades workers’ organization.

The failure of the Alliance was painful in itself; it was doubly painful because of the fact that there was, and still is, the possibility of a real, live, and effective organization of needle trades workers. Much as we regretted it, we could not help accepting the fact that there was no Needle Trades Workers’ Alliance. The General Executive Board, at its session in Montreal, June, 1921, took official cognizance of that fact. That was so reported in the *Advance*.

That caused the secretary of the Alliance to publish a statement in the "Headgear Worker," official organ of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, a copy of which he sent us and it was published in *Advance* of July 15, 1921. Herewith the statement:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF NEEDLE TRADES
WORKERS' ALLIANCE

On July 1, the *Advance*, official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, reporting about the meeting of the General Executive Board of that organization, states that

"On Saturday evening, June 11, President Hillman brought up the matter of the Needle Trades Workers' Alliance. It was pointed out that the conference held last December refused to accept the proposition of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Journeymen Tailors' Union for an effective amalgamation. Instead, the conference decided to form a loose federation. In conformity with the action of the Amalgamated Boston Convention, the Amalgamated accepted it as a step in the proper direction. But unfortunately the Alliance failed to function. No meeting of the Alliance has been held since its formation, and that in spite of the great struggle of the A. C. W., which was surely a favorable opportunity for activity on the part of the Alliance. The Amalgamated, it was declared, cannot help taking cognizance of the fact that the Alliance is non-existent."

In connection with this report I wish to say that on March 11, 1921, I sent a letter with a copy of the minutes to all the organizations which participated in the conference of the Needle Trades Workers' Alliance of America held in New York, December 9-11, 1920. The letter wound up as follows:

"Will you kindly submit the minutes and the decisions of the conference to your organization so that it may take immediate action with regard to its permanent affiliation with the Alliance and the election of three permanent representatives to serve on the executive council.

"Hoping to hear from you concerning the action of your organization at an early date, I am, etc."

On January 5, 1921, I called together the constitution committee that was elected at the conference of the Needle Trades Workers' Alliance to organize and prepare a draft of the constitution.

Up to the present day, I did not get a reply from any one of the organizations comprising the Needle Trades Workers' Alliance as to the decision of their organizations with regard to the establishment of the Alliance; nor was I informed about the election of their permanent representatives who are to serve on the Executive Council.

M. ZUCKERMAN, Secretary.

Needle Trades Workers' Alliance of America.

The secretary's statement honestly confirms the sad fact that the Alliance has failed to function. The Amalgamated was the only organization at that time engaged in an industrial struggle. It is much to be regretted that the other organizations, not thus engaged, failed to reply to the secretary's communication.

It is difficult to say whether we are today farther from or nearer a needle trades organization than we were two years ago. Our attitude has, however, remained unchanged: We favor a compact general organization for the workers in those trades. If we can get it straight and direct, good and well; if we must go through the slow process of one step at a time, we shall not shrink from it, provided such step is actually made.

AMALGAMATED BANKS

Chicago is the first city to have an Amalgamated Bank: the Amalgamated State Bank. Permission for its organization was granted by the state of Illinois, April 13, 1922. A building has already been leased at 371 West Jackson Boulevard.

When the bank is ready to assume operations it will have a capitalization of \$200,000 and a surplus of \$100,000.

There are two other labor organizations having banks: The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers at Cleveland, and the International Association of Machinists at Washington. Those are old organizations. It is unprecedented for a young organization like the Amalgamated to undertake such a huge task.

There is a general impression that workers are fit only for the performance of physical tasks, under the direction of superior men; fit only to hew wood and draw water. The compensation for the workers is accordingly. It is the classic theory that Nature created certain individuals to be slaves and others to be masters. Many people in the position of masters under our scheme of society find justification in that philosophy, though by no stretch of imagination could a rational person be led to the belief that Nature had intended THEM for the position of rulers over other persons.

In the past the workers were excluded from practically everything outside of drudgery. It was not very long ago that the workers were not allowed to participate in political elections. There are still many things for which the workers are considered unfit. One of them is banking.

Some one said that banking is an exceedingly difficult business if it is to finance bankrupt governments, but a very simple matter if it is only to take care of the people's business.

Every worker is a saver. There is no need of preaching thrift to the worker. He must be thrifty or he will be unable to make ends meet even in times of prosperity. Secretary of Labor Davis, who is a banker, said that what the workers need is not a "living" wage but a "saving" wage. As a banker he is accustomed to a banker's terminology. The secretary said that a "living wage" means nothing. That is true. But a "saving wage" means just as little. A "saving wage" is, however, more real in one sense: Whether the worker gets a "living" or a "dying" wage he usually "saves" something. The lowest paid workers are, relatively speaking, the greatest savers. The small earner is so much in fear of tomorrow, the sword of uncertainty so constantly menaces him, that he will deny himself and his family many of the essentials of life in order to put something by for a rainy day. Cases are known of heads of families depositing money in savings banks on earnings of \$8 a week. Every worker is a saver, whether

he can afford it or not. He must be. He will make his clothing give longer service, limit his amusement, or eliminate it altogether, and will save so that unemployment or sickness may not find him entirely helpless as soon as it comes.

Forty thousand workers, such as our membership in Chicago is, present an army whose aggregate savings constitute a huge sum. That great amount of money is kept in banks. The bankers pay the depositors a small rate of interest, use the workers' money for loans to business men or speculation, and make big profits.

Very often the workers' money is loaned to enemies of the workers to fight organized labor. The bankers are a tremendous power in the "open shop" drive. They often force employers into fighting labor and hold employers back from settling peacefully a dispute with their employees. They do so by the power of credit which they are in a position to give or withhold from business men. The bankers' power of credit is backed to a very great extent by the workers' forced savings; very often on starvation wages.

Not only do individual workers save; the organizations, too, must save for a rainy and especially a stormy day. The total saving power of such a large group of workers as ours is enormous. The workers must themselves, in their organized capacity, control that power and place their savings beyond the reach of the enemies of labor for labor-crushing purposes. If the Amalgamated Bank has at its disposal several million dollars it will mean that that amount of money will be permanently withdrawn from those who would use it to defeat labor if the money were kept in employers' banks.

In other banks the workers' money is not always safe. Despite the stringent banking laws, workers do occasionally lose their savings, which represent great self-denial.

The Amalgamated Bank is bound to be the safest place for the workers' money because of the watchfulness of both its friends and its enemies. The latter will be searching for every opportunity to attack the bank. That will be another reason for our exercising the utmost care in the banking transactions. By adhering strictly to the banking laws, in the enforcement of which we do not expect to be favored, and by banishing from our activities every possible element of speculation, the fullest protection will be afforded the workers in their savings.

It is impossible to say now in what ways the organized financial powers of our members can be used through the Amalgamated Bank for the promotion of the workers' cause. Our guides in determining that will be the laws of the state of Illinois and the security of the institution.

Chicago has again taken the initiative and set the pace. It has added new power to the organized clothing workers. Other workers will follow the example of our Chicago membership.

AMALGAMATED TEMPLES

April 28, 29, and 30, 1922, the New York membership celebrated the opening of the first Amalgamated Temple in the greater city. The former Arion Hall, in Brooklyn, which was purchased by the Amalgamated Center a year ago, has been completely remade internally and converted into a veritable labor palace.

The Amalgamated now has its own homes in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

The immediate cause of the movement towards acquiring our own homes was the urgent housing problem which made it increasingly difficult and more costly to accommodate our many offices. That movement began in the days of prosperity, three or four years ago. It was then, also, that the Amalgamated Temple idea was born.

The Amalgamated Temple is to be a spiritual home for the members.

In former years the great ambition of the enlightened workers in the clothing industry was to build up a union. That task had so many times been attempted without success that for a long time its achievement seemed impossible. We have finally broken down the greatest barrier, the workers' lack of confidence in themselves, and made the clothing workers' organization a permanent factor in the industry.

A labor organization, like an individual, does not live on bread alone. This is even more true of the organization than of the individual. The individual's aspiration to better earnings and shorter working hours is his own concern and of no interest to the community. The organization's aspiration for the same things becomes a matter of social interest, an appeal to idealism and high purposes, and great sacrifices are made for it. The individual's achieving his economic improvement means nothing to anybody outside of himself and his family; the organization's achieving the same thing is accepted as a new standard of life, a great step forward on the road of progress. It is the people's forward march in an organized manner. The formation of an organization creates a new force in life. When the immediate aim is attained a new one flows from it or is consciously set up for itself by the organization. An intelligent and aggressive labor organization must be steadily moving from one achievement to another.

Thus we reached the point of Amalgamated Temples.

The Amalgamated Temple is primarily a physical home for the organization; a place for the sheltering of its offices and records. But it is in addition to that also a place where the members may find intellectual and spiritual stimulus, which they cannot find in their individual homes or in other institutions. They are unable to find them in the former for obvious reasons; in the latter, because they are not the workers' institutions.

The Amalgamated Temple is to give the worker a greater interest in life, awaken his higher self, and thereby give greater vitality to the organization.



AMALGAMATED TEMPLE, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The Amalgamated Temple may not fulfill its mission to a large extent at the beginning, but its purpose is as stated. Its very existence, with that end in view, will ultimately develop it to a degree where it will serve that purpose fully.

Another Amalgamated Temple will be erected in New York, in due time, on a site owned by the Amalgamated Center. The building of that Temple was delayed when the industrial depression came.

The opening of the Temple in Brooklyn was a truly joyous event in the life of the New York organization and the membership is entitled to congratulations.

AMALGAMATED LIBRARIES

We cannot see a child grow. He seems to be the same today as he was yesterday. But in the course of many yesterdays and todays the infant passes through childhood and youth into maturity. It is only by comparing the child of today with that of years back that we can visualize his growth and development.

The remaking of society follows very much the same course. Except for rare violent changes, everything seems to be the same from day to day, yet, almost imperceptibly, matters of concern to labor are drifting ever more under labor's control. That drift is as yet very slight, but the tendency is unmistakable. The very existence of the labor movement is a challenge to what is; primarily industrial. Labor demands control over working conditions, and fights for it. Not absolute control. Under an industrial system of employer and employee the best that a trade union can hope for is to share in the determination and control of working conditions. But even that is a revolution in master-and-man relations. It gives labor a position of power in the industry. That demand for power is made by conservative and radical labor organizations alike.

The question of labor education is loudly calling for attention. Little has been done so far, but the problem is forcing itself to a place on labor's order of business. It is impossible to suppress the problem, and sooner or later it will be granted a place. Labor education is nothing less than a protest against the present system of education which excludes labor. When labor education will have succeeded, as it must in the end, it will be an education given by labor to itself, and one radically different from the education dispensed now by those who control it today.

Our Chicago organization has branched out into a new kind of labor education—the library. The joint board has opened a library at its main headquarters, with a branch at a branch headquarters. The library is still small as it needs must be because of physical limitations. When the Amalgamated Temple is ready to house the library, ample quarters will be provided.

What purpose does the library serve? Is there not an abundance of public libraries in our large cities? Is not the Amalgamated library a duplication of effort, and, therefore, a waste?

No; the Amalgamated library is an urgent necessity; it fills a vast gap.

There are various reasons for a labor organization providing a library for its membership; there is one that is compelling. . .

The public libraries serve those who feel the need of a library and know enough to avail themselves of it. But what about the great multitudes who do not enter a library? They are the great mass of our working population. Some of them may be illiterate; the bulk of them are not. The union's library reaches them.

The clientele of the Amalgamated library in Chicago is still small, but growing. That small number includes persons who had never been in a library before. What converted them? A natural human instinct. The non-reading member was shown by a fellow worker in the factory a book borrowed from the Amalgamated library. The fact that it came from his organization's library, hence from HIS library, aroused his interest. He was too timid to go to a public library, but this library was his own. His money helped to make it possible. He would avail himself of its services. The member who had not patronized libraries before comes to the young lady, who presides over the Amalgamated library, tells her of his new experience, and asks her to select a book for him. The librarian, who is enthusiastic about her little kingdom, accommodates the new convert, He takes his treasure and shares his new joy with a number of friends. In that way he becomes, unconsciously, a missionary.

There are a number of such redeemed souls. They can never be reached by the public library; they can be reached by their own labor organization alone.

And those new readers continue reading, for it affords them an interest and a pleasure they had previously been deprived of. One may readily see how this union labor library serves to strengthen the worker's attachment to his organization.

The Chicago Joint Board has been a pathfinder in several respects. It is entitled to congratulations upon the inauguration of Amalgamated libraries.

The stock of books covers a wide range of subjects, from fiction through biography and philosophy to science.

New books are bought in accordance with requests received from the members.

On the surface a labor union library might appear an unimportant incident. In reality it is one of the quiet, perhaps invisible, forces, which win the souls of the people and make over society. It puts education at the service of the people.

The New York Joint Board is the second Amalgamated body to open a library for its members. The library is located at the Amalgamated Temple in Brooklyn.

It is to be hoped that other Amalgamated joint boards will follow the splendid examples of Chicago and New York.

Labor libraries will be a great force in the promotion of labor education. -

DEPARTMENTS AT THE GENERAL OFFICE

1. ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT

This department takes care of the organization work in the vicinity of New York. The work is under the direction of Brother August Bellanca, who has the assistance of twelve organizers. The work of this department is commonly called "out-of-town" work. A complete review of the activities of this department is given elsewhere in this report.

2. FINANCE DEPARTMENT

This department is entirely administrative in character. It takes care of the stocks, bookkeeping, and similar matters.

3. AUDITING DEPARTMENT

This department audits the books of the various local organizations as well as those of the General Office.

4. RECORD AND MAILING DEPARTMENT

This department takes care of the records of our entire membership, and of the mailing of our publications.

5. RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

A report on the work and activities of this department is given later.

6. EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

This department is in charge of editing our publications: *Advance* (English and French), *Fortschritt*, *Il Lavoro*, *Prace*, *Industrial Democracy*, *Darbas*, and *Rabochy Golos*.

7. EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

A detailed account of the activities of this department is contained in this report.

AMALGAMATED EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

National Educational Director J. B. Salutsky reports as follows on the work of the Education Department of the General Office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the activities of the local organizations:

The Boston Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America unanimously carried the following resolution:

“Whereas, Education is the basis of permanent and responsible organization among the workers; and

“Whereas, The crystallization of the class consciousness of the workers is only possible through the education of the workers; be it

“Resolved, That a special Educational Department be organized as a part of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, with an education director; and be it further

“Resolved, That the object of this Educational Department be to create educational machinery in every industrial center; and be it further

“Resolved, That the Educational Department of our organization be confined not only to economic and industrial instruction, but that it also includes art, science, and culture generally; and be it further

“Resolved, That the Educational Department establish relations with national and international bureaus of education and libraries and other institutions akin to its own purpose and interests.”

The Boston resolution has had better fate than many another resolution of the kind. It has actually been carried out, and an Education Department, living and active in many ways, is the result of that resolution. During the two “seasons” following the Boston Convention—and education has so far largely been a seasonal trade or art—a great deal has been attempted and some definite steps forward have been made along the lines of workers’ education.

THE AMALGAMATED VIEWPOINT

The Amalgamated has made a distinct contribution to the problem of workers’ education. It brought in a definite philosophy or viewpoint, and it laid it at the basis of the Amalgamated education activities. In the conception of the Amalgamated, education is not a “thing in itself,” but an organic part of the life of the union. Paraphrasing the famous doctrine of Kosewitz that “Peace is war carried on by other means,” one might say that to the Amalgamated “Education is organization work carried on by other means.” This viewpoint was advanced by the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America when it stated, in the General Executive Board report to the Rochester Convention:

"It is not enough... to merely organize the workers. Organization in itself is no end and has no meaning... If we content ourselves with that and make no effort at higher elevation we simply confirm the worker in the status of a biped beast of burden... Material improvements are in the very nature of things of primary importance. But when the body of the worker is more rested and better fed, his intellect should likewise be taken care of..."

Organization is education, and education is but a variety, perhaps a higher caliber, of the great task of organization. Workers' education, then, is not merely education for workers. It has a larger and deeper meaning and serves a specific task, if it is to have any meaning at all and to be of service. Workers' education is the education workers get nowhere else.

Accepted in the scheme of union activities as an organic part, workers' education must pursue, on the whole, in one way or another, the same general ends that the union is after. The least it can do is to prove itself serviceable to the union in all its struggles, whether for immediate aims or for what is commonly designated as the final goal.

The union is out for power in industry, for a share in control of human destinies in so far as the people in the particular industry are concerned. And the education activities must inevitably start at the heart of the industrial problems that engage the efforts of the union.

The union attains power in and control of industry by organization, and workers' education must be a part, or a variety, of the organization task of the union.

The union is not a political party, and workers' education must not be partisan in any narrow sense, though it cannot in the nature of things be impartial as the union itself is not. It must be fair and accurate. But it is *workers'* education, an education that will enable the workers to struggle, which will equip them, individually and collectively, for a successful stand for what is theirs. This is not at all a narrow program. In fact, it is all-embracing. It demands the inclusion of the sciences and the arts, of the knowledge of technique and industrial mechanics and management, in the plan of workers' education.

This viewpoint had been reiterated time and again, and it has permeated every education enterprise of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The work of the Amalgamated Education Department, nationally and locally, has been an attempt to work out the solution of this problem.

WORKERS' EDUCATION HAS TAKEN ROOT

The national machinery for educational work was established late in the fall of 1920, but it met with great difficulties from the outset. The lockout of 1920-21, which consumed all the energy of the organization during the last part of 1920 and the first part of 1921, severely interfered with the plans of the Education Department. In fact, with the beginning of the lockout, the director in charge of the de-

partment, as well as the New York staff, were all drafted into New York relief and strike education service, and the "department" of education, one must realize, still consists only of the director.

However, with the return to "normalcy," or to as much of it as the gods of the industry will tolerate, the work began to pick up. The latter part of 1921 and the first of 1922 may be considered decidedly successful. The idea of education has been put across, and a survey of the year's work, nationally and locally, justifies a rather optimistic summary. There is no more doubt that educational activities, carefully planned and energetically promoted, have come to stay in the Amalgamated. They would no more be given up than the union itself. Here and there one may still consider education a luxury, a far-fetched "theoretical" proposition, even as interfering with the "regular" work of the organization. But those are the exceptions that prove the rule. The idea has taken root in the movement.

The above, however, is not to be mistaken for an expression of complete satisfaction with what has been accomplished. Far from it. It is merely to say that experimenting and experience have proved that "the thing can be done," and can be done better. Otherwise, the task is all ahead.

TYPES OF ACTIVITY

There can be no iron-clad uniform program of workers' education for an organization of the size and composition of the Amalgamated. The fact that thirty languages are spoken, and that so many racial varieties of environment are manifest in the vast membership of the organization, let alone the undesirability of bureaucratic uniformity, would defeat any attempt at too close regulation and routine rule. However, allowing for as much diversity in procedure and content as actual conditions warranted, the following types of activities have been promoted:

1. Education for the largest possible numbers of members by means of lectures and recreation and inspirational enterprises.
2. Group education for smaller circles of promising members, taking the form of clubs, study groups, and Active Workers' Schools.
3. "Combining education with business," that is introducing study and discussion in local meetings and shops.
4. Assistance in the self-training of the active operating force of the Amalgamated, such as discussion of current events, or more systematic activities carried on by business agents, or shop-chairmen.
5. Training of new members.
6. Publishing and promoting the union's own literature—books, pamphlets, leaflets, and other material.
7. Developing the taste for reading by means of establishing reading rooms and libraries, and issuing catalogues.

HOW THE NATIONAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT FUNCTIONS

Activities along all the lines indicated above are not necessarily undertaken as a result of the initiative or under the supervision of the Education Department in the General Office of the organization. In a number of cases education work had been carried on successfully much prior to the creation of the National Education Department. Such for instance was the education work in Chicago, where the joint board has been running for several years, with unflinching success, its twice-a-month educational mass-meetings and concerts. To a lesser degree and with less success some other cities initiated one kind of educational work or another.

The Amalgamated program of educational activities was adopted at a number of conferences held at the General Office, under the direction of the general officers and with the executive heads of the different departments participating. A number of noted educators were invited to participate in the conferences to formulate the immediate program. The result of those education conferences was incorporated in the "Brief Outline of Activities," which the department circulated in the locals of the Amalgamated and later made public. All subsequent changes in the program, or new departures in activity, were in time submitted to the General Executive Board and carried out under the supervision of the general officers. Thus, the Education Department retains the valuable and vitalizing close connection with the life, the spirit, and reality of the organization. The education doesn't "run away" from organization.

The Education Department in the General Office consists of the national director, who gets such technical assistance as may be required. There is, further, one education director for New York City, and one for Rochester, in both cases working under the joint direction of the General Office and the respective city organizations. For Boston the department enlisted the services, for two evenings a week, of Professor Cheskiss, a local university teacher, and the Baltimore organization has had the good luck of securing the systematic co-operation of a Johns Hopkins University professor, Dr. Broadus Mitchel. In Chicago the organization has had no professional service since the local educational director left the city, in 1920. The Education Department has no fixed budget, the organization financing it as the work progresses. The single cities do their work on the basis of more or less definite budgetary appropriations. Chicago allowed \$12,000 for the mass lectures and concerts in 1921. New York city appropriated the same amount, \$12,000, for the entire program in 1920-21, and the present year's activities ran within the same limits. The organization in Rochester spent between \$6,000 and \$7,000 for the current year, which covers the cost of a small local weekly "Bulletin."

It is a rather difficult task to promote from the General Office educational activities in the smaller cities, though there the need of education work is realized most keenly. With its present very limited equipment the national Education Department is not in a

position to be of more than incidental assistance to the organizations in the smaller centers. But those organizations are unable to take proper care of themselves. The logical solution of this problem, to satisfy the need for systematic workers' education, is to engage traveling instructors and organizers, who will be free to stay in a given center just as long as local conditions require. Until such time, the scope of the possible achievement is limited by the impossibility of doing more.

EDUCATIONAL SIDELINES

There are many ways, however, in which the smaller cities avail themselves of the services of the Education Department in the General Office. A few may be quoted as illustrations:

1. **Speakers' Service.** Frequently requests come for speakers needed for different occasions. In such cases speakers are supplied and quite often speakers' tours are organized for a number of cities, thus distributing over a number of organizations the burden of the costs of touring speakers. Speaking tours were organized with such noted men as William Z. Foster, Arturo Giovannitti, Scott Nearing, Glenn E. Plumb, and a few others. William Z. Foster toured the Amalgamated centers for over a month, covering practically every center.

2. **Services to Speakers and Organizers.** One organizer wishes to know the story of the First of May as labor's holiday. Another needs material for a speech on the industrial situation. A third likes to have briefly stated the "Achievements of the Amalgamated," and another is worried over the relations of the Amalgamated to the international labor movement. Again, in one city the boys and girls are running a dramatic society and they need advice and selected one-act plays. Elsewhere a fellow thinks he was born to be a writer rather than a tailor, so won't the Education Department please tell him whether it is so. Surely the department will not refuse to supply a debating group with the right kind of material on the "Open and Closed Shop," or on "Industrial Unionism and Craft Unionism." The Education Department has set out to develop a system of filing information on problems of the movement, parties, organizations, and related topics.

3. **Weekly News Letter.** Twice attempts have been made to bring out regularly a Weekly News Letter that would in succinct form give the busy organizer a bird's-eye view of events in the industry, in the labor movement, in the country, and in the world. The first attempt lasted over a month, and the second had to be given up after two months, because of pressure of other work. The idea, however, has not been abandoned, as it met with approval.

4. **Leaflet Service.** A few organizations asked the Education Department to prepare for them leaflets on important questions. This work can be standardized. It is valuable work. It will be well to give this matter a great deal of attention. Perhaps the New York experiment may profitably be told. There the innovation was made to combine the ordinary handbill announcing lectures, concerts,

and similar events, with definite workers' education. Nearly all the handbills were printed as folders, four or eight pages, containing on the inside the story of the coming lecture or a story that would help to convey the idea of interest to the organization at the moment. Clear type, attractive display, and brevity, were used as well as simple language and dignified tone. These educational handbills were a decided success.

5. **Union "Movies."** With one exception these are not really movies. Only the Boston Convention of the Amalgamated was filmed. Otherwise the Education Department has produced stereopticon views. The first attempt was made with the pictures General Secretary-Treasurer Schlossberg brought with him from Italy, portraying scenes in the occupation of the metal factories by the Italian workers. Those slides were thrown on the screen while Brother Schlossberg told of his Italian observations. The people liked them. The Education Department has produced another 100 slides illustrating the disarmament question, the unemployment problem, some points of the Amalgamated history. The slides were shown a number of times at meetings in New York, Rochester, Boston, Baltimore. This is a promising enterprise. Of course, a greater variety of topics will have to be covered before the illustrated lecture will occupy an equal position with other features of Amalgamated education.

PUBLISHING THE UNION'S OWN LITERATURE

It will be gathered from the above that the Education Department serves largely in an advisory capacity. This is quite natural. It can not, and should not, dictate to the local organizations what to do along lines of workers' education. It may advise, suggest certain forms of activity, but not prescribe. The demand must come from the bottom, though it may be stimulated by means of publicity and propaganda at the disposal of the General Office. However, there is one field where the Education Department is free to take the initiative and has every opportunity to develop an interesting and fruitful activity. Even within the limited and timid attempts it made during the last year the department met with encouraging success. This is its publishing activity.

The purposefulness of this kind of work need not be argued at length. No one is more competent than the union to know what it wants its people to read, and consequently to prepare the right kind of reading matter for the union membership. With a constituency of over 150,000 members, and probably double their number of dependents, the union has a "market" that no private publishing concern can command. It is no idle dream to speak of the union being able actually to develop its own literature and, incidentally, bring it out at such low cost as to make the book accessible to lowest earner. Any book that retails at \$2 can be brought out by the union for 75 cents, and if some details of appearance be dropped, at 50 cents or less. The Education Department has not so far ventured on this ambitious road, and the organization would have to develop the needed machinery of production and distribution of books, but there

is nothing impossible in it. So far we have published the following items of union literature:

1. The Rise of the Clothing Workers, by Joseph Schlossberg, 32 pages, price 10 cents 4,000 copies
2. Problems of Labor Organization, by Joseph Schlossberg, 32 pages, price 10 cents 4,000 "
3. Recent Developments in Trade Unionism, by George Soule, 32 pages, price 10 cents 4,000 "
4. 27 Questions and Answers on the Open Shop Movement, by Paul Blanshard, 24 pages, price 5 cents 8,000 "
5. A Proposal for an Unemployment Fund in the Men's Clothing Industry, by Leo Wolman, 32 pages, price 10 cents 3,000 "

Some of these pamphlets are almost sold out, and others largely so. The office has had no financial loss on their publication. They have all aroused great interest. Thus, for instance, the Wolman pamphlet is the cause of a constant stream of letters coming into the office with regard to his proposal. Schlossberg's pamphlets are in continuous demand from universities, publicists, and others.

Another of the department's publications which met with a very encouraging reception was the Amalgamated Calendar for 1922. The expressions of approval that came from diverse sources were marvelous indeed. To quote detached sentences from a few of them will suffice:

W. F. McCaleb, Vice-President and Manager of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Co-operative National Bank, writes in part:

"I want to congratulate you on its excellence and on the terrific lessons it carries. It is a marvelous story you report covering your development from 1913 to the present time. In my opinion the facts you chronicle, coupled with the illustrations, are of an extraordinarily telling nature, well calculated to get the attention of the observer, arouse his interest, and serve as propaganda."

Theodore Debs, writing for Gene, has this to say: "Received... the very beautiful and finely illustrated calendar, gotten out by the Amalgamated, with thanks and appreciation. Gene wishes me to say for him that he is delighted with your calendar, which will have a conspicuous place in his home, and that he feels greatly honored in your giving him first page space, an honor which he feels should have gone to some who have given far more to the movement than he has been able to give. Gene wishes me to say that he is deeply grateful to you and to your organization and he sends to you, and through you to all the members of your organization, his loving greetings and wishes you all success in the splendid work you are doing in bringing about a better and stronger organization of the workers."

The New York "Evening Post" devoted considerable space to a review of what it termed as the calendar's esthetic features. It said in part:

"Each page gives the calendar for the coming month and a brief record of the events great in the history of the workers which have happened in that month, a quotation from some famous writer on labor matters, a poem, or a picture of some well-known painting or a sculpture—the cold facts on the one side, the embodiment of an ideal on the other, presented with dignity and with the esthetic sense that the department is trying to instill in the workers. . . .

"There is Walt Whitman, there is Edwin Markham, Ibsen, Tolstoy, and Robert Blatchford, Rosa Luxemburg and Eugene V. Debs. There are illustrations by Walter Crane, 'Art for all the people, the new social order, with Walter Crane's best wishes'—there are photographs of the Reds in Moscow, there is the great, thought-impelling bulk of 'Le Penseur' of Rodin, there is the Bible asking, out of Ecclesiastes:

"What peace is there between the hyena and the devil; and what peace between the rich and the poor?"

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers are beginning to enlist intelligence, art, and the weight of education on their side."

The latest, and so far the largest enterprise, in the field of publishing the union's own literature is the Amalgamated illustrated Almanac for 1923, which is in the printer's hands and will most likely appear before the opening of the convention at Chicago. A book that no private publisher would offer, at retail, for less than \$2 is here offered at the nominal price of 50 cents. That is aside from what the book itself is worth and what the producing of it may mean in the work of the union.

THREE CITIES LEADING IN AMALGAMATED WORKERS' EDUCATION

Amalgamated organizations in three cities made definite headway in the educational enterprise. These three cities are the largest centers of the men's clothing industry and the Amalgamated organizations there are the strongholds of the union. The leaders in Amalgamated workers' education are Chicago, Rochester, and New York. Each of these cities made a definite and distinct contribution to the problem of workers' education. Chicago succeeded in combining education with recreational features on a very large scale. Rochester met most successfully the problem of mass education. New York not only "broke the ice" in classroom study but also developed some very valuable methods and new approaches in the field of group education.

CHICAGO LEADS IN MASS EDUCATION

Chicago started its educational effort earlier than the other cities, and throughout 1920-21 and 1921-22 it continued its scheme of mass education. That scheme consisted of a series of ten mass lectures and rich concerts given during the season on alternate Fridays in the spacious Ashland Auditorium (Carmen's Hall), which takes in nearly 5,000 people and is almost always packed to capacity. These Friday evenings, started in November and continued till March, have become red letter evenings in the life of our Chicago membership. The Chicago Joint Board spared no effort to make the enterprise attractive and entertaining. The concert part of the evenings offers music by

the members of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra under the permanent and fine leadership of Mr. Alexander Zukovsky, and recitals by prominent singers, pianists, and violinists. The musical part is seriously taken by the organization, and the costs of those concerts constitute a large part of the growing budget of the undertaking. In 1920 the Chicago Joint Board appropriated for the Friday evening concerts and lectures the sum of \$5,000, and in 1921 the amount was raised to \$12,000.

While the concert element in these Friday evenings is given utmost consideration, the lecture end is by no means neglected. The names of the speakers during the last season speak for themselves. The ten Friday night lectures of this season were covered in the following manner:

1. Lincoln Steffens: "The Effect Revolutions Have on Civilization."
2. Sidney Hillman: "What I Saw on My Trip to Europe."
3. Bertram G. Nelson: Dramatic recitation from Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables."
4. Arturo Giovannitti: "Dante 600 Years Ago and Today."
5. Leo Wolman: "President Harding's Unemployment Conference."
6. Robert M. Buck: "Labor at the Crossroads."
7. Horace M. Kallen: "Labor and the Washington Disarmament Conference."
8. Frederic C. Howe: "The Money Malady and the Labor Movement."
9. Samuel Levin: "Anxious for Peace, Ready for War."
10. Joseph Schlossberg and Sidney Hillman: "A Memorable Anniversary: The Paris Commune," and "The Industrial Situation and the Outlook."

The ten Friday evening concerts and lectures do not cover all the Chicago educational activities. Every other Friday, between the huge concert lectures in the Ashland Auditorium, similar concert lectures, though on a somewhat smaller scale, were given on the southwest and on the northwest side. The musical part in all of these affairs constituted at least a good half of the program, whether in time consumed, money spent, or value received. And whether or not Tolstoy is right in general when he asserts that "Music is a reactionary force to dull the minds of the people," the theory seems to be doubtful with regard to the Chicago Amalgamated. The meetings were overflowing with truly proletarian enthusiasm and solidarity. Nothing could do more to strengthen the attachment of the members to the organization and to warm them up to its great aims.

Class Room Studies Not Developed in Chicago

Organization of class room studies for members who wanted them was undertaken by the Chicago organization in the spring of 1921, but no means for their promotion was provided, and they were given up. The Chicago organization has had no special person in charge

of educational activities during the last two years. The splendid Friday night programs were looked after by the regular staff.

Chicago Union Library a Decided Success

Quietly and unheralded the Chicago Joint Board has branched out into a new and very promising kind of workers' education—the establishment of a library for union members. The Education Department supplied a selection of 1,000 books, "appetizers" as the selection was called by some one, in all fields of thought. These books were the foundation of the library. Its real value grew out of a happy combination of the spirit of the roughness and efficiency with which Samuel Levin, the manager, and A. N. Fisher, former president of the joint board, surrounded the library, and the fine touches of understanding and humaneness which the librarian, Beatrice Small, added.

The Chicago case is only one of a number. The Education Department is now completing a selection of about 2,000 volumes for the New York Joint Board library, which is being established in the Amalgamated Temple in Brooklyn. The Rochester organization, which has perhaps the best headquarters accommodations, is also considering the installation of a union library.

ROCHESTER SECONDS CHICAGO IN MASS EDUCATION

After a brief period of experimenting in educational activities during the winter and spring of 1920, with Miss Mary Gawthorpe as educational adviser, the Rochester Joint Board entered the field of workers' education determined to make the thing go. Acting along the lines of the program worked out in the General Office and laid before the local organization by the national education director, and with Paul Blanshard as its director, the Rochester organization proceeded vigorously toward definite achievement. The activities in Rochester covered a much wider range than in Chicago, the mass education being particularly successful. Blanshard reported on this point for the year 1920-1921 as follows:

"We have held every Friday night a great educational meeting in our large auditorium with some of the best speakers of our country as attractions. Not more than three times during the year have we had an audience that failed to fill the auditorium. On some occasions we have had 2,000 people inside the auditorium and several hundred outside. Few unions in the country have maintained such an educational meeting EVERY week and sustained the interest. The variety of the speakers and subjects for discussion has been the cause of the Friday night successes. Here is a partial list of speakers and subjects that interested Amalgamated members last year":

W. Z. Foster: "The Steel Strike."

Joseph Schlossberg: "Labor in Europe," "The Spy System."

Debate, "Resolved, That the Christian Church is Beneficial to

- Labor," Professor J. W. Nixon, vs. Dr. Algernon Crapey.
 A. I. Shiplacoff and G. Bertelli: "The New York Lockout."
 Bishop Paul Jones: "The New Leadership."
 John Randolph: "The Truth about Federal Prisons."
 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn: "Women and Labor."
 Superintendent of Schools Herbert Weet: "What an American School Means to Me."
 Clinton Howard: "The Masses, the Classes and the Asses."
 Charles O. Zenkert: "The Catholic Church and Labor."
 Rabbi Horace J. Wolf: "Henry Ford and the Jews."
 Debate, "Resolved, That the I. W. W. Is Reactionary in Its Political Philosophy," Charles O'Brien vs. John Randolph.
 Michael Ryan: "The Truth about Ireland."
 Debate, "Resolved, That Americans Should Follow in the Path of Russia and Adopt Communism" Dennis Batt vs. Professor Dexter Perkins.
 Debate, "Resolved, That the Working Class of America Should Support the Socialist Party," State Senator Edmund Seidel vs. Charles O'Brien.

Music and Entertainment in Rochester Education

The entertainment end has not been neglected in the Rochester enterprise. Blanshard reports:

"Mere variety in lectures, however, does not make an interesting program for the tired worker. There must be music and entertainment. We have an excellent orchestra of six pieces which plays every Friday night from 7.30 to 8.15. And then after the lectures there is always dancing in the smaller hall at the rear of our meeting hall. Do the people come for dancing alone? No. We have seen to it that no one is admitted to the dance floor unless he gets a ticket for dancing at the entrance to the main auditorium before 8.30. He must hear the lecture or he cannot dance.

Children Taken Care of

"We have the mothers at our Friday night meetings, because they can check their children in the Story Hour room in the hall. In this Story Hour room, Miss Fern Wall, a city school teacher, tells interesting stories to about 100 children while the lecture is going on in the main hall."

The People Appreciate Good Lectures

During the fall, winter, and spring of 1921-22 the Friday night lectures and concerts went on with even more success. From October to May First, these educational meetings maintained unabated interest and spirit as did few forums of this kind in the United States. An average attendance of 1,500 and not rarely 2,000 with hundreds more turned back because of an overcrowded hall, was attained by no skilful means of artificial stimulation. The people were simply given the opportunity to spend a few hours in an environment of light, life,

and thought, and they were only too eager to avail themselves of the opportunity. Surely, this is a crying indictment of the dullness and unattractiveness of the official and quasi-public methods of education. What would not the average church or public school forum give to have people regularly and eagerly turn out en masse for a lecture with a substantial chance of being turned away for lack of room in the hall!

The speakers and the topics they covered during the last season were even nearer to the needs of workers' education than in the preceding term. They were:

Debate, "The Open Shop," Clarence Darrow vs. Noel Sargent.

Sidney Hillman: "Europe: War Mad and Peace Weary."

Arturo Giovannitti: "Art and the Workers."

Urbain Ledoux (Mr. Zero): "Unemployment."

Debate, "Resolved, That the Socialist Rather Than the Capitalist Organization of Society Is Essential for the Peace and Well-Being of Mankind," Norman Thomas vs. Professor Reeves.

Philip Randolph: "The Negro and Labor."

Debate, "Communism," Professor Perkins vs. Dennis Batt.

A. J. Muste: "Class Conscious Education."

Roger Baldwin: "Hell in West Virginia."

Charles W. Ervin: "The Labor Press."

William E. Sweet: "Why I Oppose the Open Shop As an American Business Man."

Albert Rhys Williams: "The Masses in the Russian Revolution."

J. B. Salutsky: "A Fighting Democracy."

Sidney Hillman: "What's Next?"

Scott Nearing: "Irrepressible America."

Frank P. Walsh: "Legislating Labor Out of Life."

Leo Krzycki: "When Labor Cares to Act."

Joseph Schlossberg: "American Labor Today."

Rochester Leads in Recreational Program

The mass meetings in Rochester lay more stress on the educational end. Yet the recreational opportunities offered the members were not neglected. Quite the contrary. But they were offered in a manner different from in Chicago, for example. Assisted by Miss Edith Christensen, business agent, who was directed by the joint board to give part of her time to this task, Education Director Paul Blanshard successfully developed a variety of activities, such as movies and dramatics, hiking clubs, basket ball teams, camera clubs, and the like. The work along these lines has been fairly successful, although not as yet put into definite form.

Class Room Studies in Rochester

The Rochester members of the Amalgamated have had unusual opportunities for workers' education offered to them by their organ-

ization. During the first of the education seasons covered by this review, classes were initiated in:

- Labor unionism
- Public speaking
- English, advanced, intermediate, and beginners'
- Social problems
- Women's problems

Between 250 and 300 registered for the classes, and the actual attendance reached 150, the average class attendance being twenty-five.

Approximately the same attendance was attracted by the Rochester classes during this last session (twenty-two in the case of some).

Most of the classes had Paul Blanshard as instructor.

Other Educational Activities in Rochester

The Rochester organization has been keenly alive to the necessity of educating the workers in the true spirit of fighting labor philosophy. It utilized every means at its command to awaken the people to the call of unionism. The staff of the organization were never found wanting when they saw a chance to do something real. Here are a number of things begun in the previous winter and successfully continued this year.

1. Education by pamphlets: "Rochester realized the need of educating the members in the practical working of the union in the shop. How many Amalgamated shop chairmen do not know the rules which they are supposed to enforce? How few of the members really understand how the union works? The educational department in Rochester put out a little pamphlet on 'How the Union Works,' which was widely distributed in all the shops and helped shop chairmen in their administrative work. Every new member was given one of these pamphlets upon payment of the initiation fee. The pamphlet described the working of the joint board, the impartial machinery, the grievance committee, and it told in plain English the duties of the member in the shop."

2. A trade union calendar: For the year 1922 the Rochester organization brought out a neat, if modest, calendar, containing a "bunch of dates" and a number of simply stated union maxims. The calendar was given out free to new members and at a nominal price to all other members.

3. A weekly paper: The Rochester education department also published a small weekly educational "Bulletin" which kept the members posted on local organization and educational activities. The paper was distributed through shop chairmen and business agents. It is of real service to the union and it successfully popularized the idea of education.

4. Women's activities: The women, who constitute a majority of the clothing workers of Rochester, were not neglected. They had classes of their own and many social activities under the direction

of Miss Edith Christensen. Experience in Rochester has proved that women are even more eager than men for educational development if they are given genuine encouragement. Here are some of the topics of lectures and discussions before a special women's group: "Should a Woman Obey Her Husband?" "Should a Woman Earn Her Own Living?" "Physical Fitness," "Women and Clothes."

5. "Compulsory education" for new members: The notable achievement of the Rochester organization along lines of education this year is the system of training new members in the understanding of the fundamentals of trade unionism. It is a "compulsory" system. New members can not receive their union book unless they go through some drilling in trade unionism. The education director, or one of the national organizers on the staff, talks to the class of new members. They are given literature to read, especially selected for them and adapted to their needs. Rochester is the first city to attempt this sort of compulsory education for new members. It will be up to the next city to devise a workable scheme that will also attract old members.

6. Current events class for staff members: Another interesting experiment in Rochester this year was made with current events studies for business agents and other union officials. The sessions of the staff devoted to discussion of current events went on during several months.

The Rochester Viewpoint

"The Rochester members have kept steadily before them the real purpose of an educational program. It is not merely to make up the deficiencies in culture of the average worker. If that were the sole purpose of educational work in the unions, then the members should go to the public schools and universities.

"The workers are the rulers of the future. We are dreaming of a day when the industrial system built upon exploitation shall be transformed into an industrial system controlled by the worker. Thought is the most effective weapon in bringing about that transformation. The working class of America is not now ready for the transformation because we have not trained our minds sufficiently. Rochester has realized the need and begun a modest program of preparation."

NEW YORK OUT FOR WORKERS' EDUCATION

New York seemed the most hopeless of all educational centers. Somehow educational activities would not work out there, and it was a foregone conclusion that all efforts would be futile.

Previous attempts made by the organization to start classes or similar activities were fruitless. The impression prevailed that the supply exceeded the demand and "there's no use trying." However, the New York Joint Board approved of another serious attempt to develop a system of labor education that would be worth while. In the fall of 1920, with the general lockout staring it in the face, the

board of directors voted an appropriation of \$12,000 for education work in the city. David J. Saposs, associate author, with John R. Commons, of the "History of Labor in the United States," was engaged to take care of the work in New York city, and extensive preparations were undertaken. Study courses for Amalgamated members were announced, and the enrollment was sufficiently encouraging to justify optimistic expectations. Several lecture forums started in different sections of New York proved quite successful from the start. But only one month's time of comparative peace was the fate of the educational enterprise. On December 8 the lockout of 60,000 people working in the New York market put an end to all peace-time activities. All carefully worked out plans for systematic education were "tabled." Education carried on during the lockout is reported in connection with the New York lockout.

Not before the lockout was over and the organization returned to relative "normalcy" was education work renewed. In October, 1921, the board of directors authorized the necessary expenditures, and the executive board of Cutters' Local 4 granted the education department the free use of its headquarters for classes. Since then the organization has embarked on a plan of education that exceeds all former half-hearted expectations. Max Weinzwieg was placed in charge of the New York work and it is primarily due to his ability and stimulating energies that the New York organization may justly pride itself on having carried through a most ambitious program of education. The accomplishment in New York is second to none, whether in the Amalgamated or in any other union.

Mass Education in New York

Started on a small scale, without any effective means of publicity and badly handicapped because of lack of adequate halls, the mass education activities nevertheless took root. Three permanent lecture and concert forums were definitely established and thirty lectures were given with an attendance of 100 at the beginning and 2,500 toward the end. One of the forums had exclusively English lectures, and in two forums Jewish was the language spoken. In addition, a number of Russian and Italian lectures were given. The speakers were Joseph Schlossberg, A. I. Shiplacoff, J. B. Salutsky, B. C. Vladeck, H. Rogoff, Dr. B. Hoffman, Vladimir Medem, Dr. Issac A. Hourwich, Albert Rhys Williams, Professor Horace M. Kallen, Professor William H. Kilpatrick, Norman Thomas, Dr. William M. Leiser-son, Stuart Chase, Dr. Will Durant, J. L. Freeman, and Max Levin.

The list of topics may prove of interest, as an indication of what attracts the people in New York. It included the following:

Unemployment.

Russia's New Economic Policy.

What's Doing in Europe?

Whither Is American Labor Drifting?

Washington, Lincoln, and—Next?

Democracy and Leadership.

The Immigrant and the American Worker.

American Imperialism.

The Paris Commune of 1871.

Immigration and Labor.

Lessons of the Russian Revolution.

Political Power and Economics

Emma Goldman's Russia.

The Disarmament Conference.

Labor and the New World.

Making Public Opinion in America.

Must We Change Human Nature?

The Masses in the Russian Revolution

The Challenge of Industrial Waste.

The Impartial Machinery in the Men's Clothing Industry.

Can the Present System Offer an Effective Remedy for Unemployment? Debate, Scott Nearing vs. Walter B. Pitkin.

Music and Pictures

The lectures were always accompanied by music recitals which proved a very popular feature of the forums. The lecture concerts were begun on a very small scale and became an important item in the activities of the Amalgamated members in the different sections of the city. A worthwhile addition was the collection of stereopticon slides which the organization prepared. The audiences were appreciative of the silent lessons of the telling pictures.

Group Education

Another feature of the New York education department was the sending of lecturers to regular business meetings of the locals.

The idea of combining education with the regular business of the local appealed to many locals as a means of adding interest to their meetings and increasing their attendance. The idea appealed to the education department as a means of reaching part of the most active membership who are so busy with their local affairs that they would not have the time to hear such discussions at any other time and place. Some of those lectures were illustrated by stereopticon slides, prepared by the national Education Department.

In three months lectures were held for fourteen different New York locals. Some of those locals had as many as four or five lectures. Towards the end an attempt was made to introduce the idea of a series of lectures rather than detached talks, and several lectures on the same topic were scheduled before one local. With sufficient care taken to sustain interest this phase of the work seems to offer opportunities for developing a new kind of business and organization meetings for the various locals, attended not only by a larger, but by a different sort of membership.

Class Room Work

But perhaps the most fundamental part of the work in New York was done in the classes of the Active Workers' School with its

branches at 44 East 12th Street, at 207 East 10th Street, and at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

At the very beginning of the class work a novel series of informal preliminary discussions was instituted. The plan was to acquaint the students with the possibilities of the work and the contents of the courses that were being considered. Professor Charles A. Beard was asked to talk on "History for the Worker and the Worker in History." Dr. Leo Wolman explained the significance of economics, while analyzing the President's Unemployment Conference, of which he was a member. Dr. Fiehhandler, education director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, related his experiences in workers' education, checking up on his close-range observations of the British labor movement during his stay in England. Jerome T. De Hunt, of the Railway Clerks, offered the students an insight into the heart of the labor union movement, by way of analyzing the railway labor tangle in the near-strike situation of last October. President Sidney Hillman also addressed this group, telling what he saw throughout Europe and Soviet Russia.

At the beginning of November regular courses were started at the 12th Street building. The courses were announced as follows:

English, Public Speaking, Parliamentary Law. For beginners and more advanced students. How to speak and read English. How to write clearly, correctly and forcefully. Also practice in public speaking, discussion and parliamentary law.

Theory and Practice of Trade Unionism. A study of trade unionism in America and Europe with special emphasis on problems of aims, leadership, organization, and methods. The A. F. of L., the I. W. W., and independent unions in the United States. The place of trade unions in periods of industrial instability. Plans for workers' control in England, Germany, France, Italy, and Russia.

Political and Economic Organization of the United States. History and present organization. The American party system. The place of the President, Congress and the courts. City and state governments. The relation between industrial interests and the government. The effect of the capitalist system on democracy. Trusts and corporations. The farmer bourgeoisie, and the agricultural proletariat. The place of the trade union movement in the political and economic structure. The state and labor.

Psychology As Related to Economics and Trade Unionism. A thorough study of modern psychology. Discusses the relation between psychology and economics, and psychology and history. Includes an analysis of the theory of evolution and its effect on the study of human nature. Goes on to a study of social psychology and psycho-analysis. The new psychology is linked with the economic-historical work of Karl Marx and his successors and all brought to bear on a new interpretation of the present industrial system.

These courses, the announcement continued, would be taught by "teachers selected not only according to their learning and scholarship, but according to their knowledge of the working class, their

sympathy with our aims, and their ability to put things clearly and interestingly." The staff included:

Professor Lindsey Rogers, Columbia University, Political Structure of the United States.

Dr. Leo Wolman, New School of Social Research, Theory and Practice of Trade Unionism.

M. Weinzweig, New York education department, Psychology As Related to Economics and Trade Unionism.

Nathan Fine, Chicago University, Advanced English and Public Speaking.

Joseph Kaufman, Columbia University, Elementary English and Parliamentary Law.

Registration for all the classes was:

Political Structure of the United States	42
Trade Unionism	37
Psychology	75
Advanced English	35
Elementary English	28

At the beginning of 1922 the enrollment grew to over 250 students. In February the 300 mark was reached. At the present writing, there are between 400 and 500 in the various classes.

An auxiliary to the school was added in the joint board building on 10th Street. Another annex was opened at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. New instructors were added, including M. J. Olgin for a literature course, J. Freeman of the "Liberator" for English, and Max Levin as Jewish lecturer on trade unionism.

At 12th Street the class in trade unionism had a five weeks' course. It was followed by a new course in the labor movement by Nathan Fine. Professor Rogers successfully completed a ten weeks' course in the political organization of the United States. This was followed by a five weeks' course in social and economic history of the United States, by Professor B. B. Kendrick. The psychology and English courses continued throughout the season, some twenty-four weeks, definitely refuting the idea that workers will not go through a really serious period of study.

A sort of extension course in the history of civilization was given on Sunday mornings. More than ninety members came to hear those Sunday lectures by Professor James Harvey Robinson.

By this time a truly remarkable group of teachers was brought together for the educational activities in New York. It is an achievement in itself to have gathered a group including such men as Professor James Harvey Robinson of the New School of Social Research, Professor William H. Kilpatrick of Teachers' College, M. J. Olgin, Dr. Leo Wolman, Professor Lindsey Rogers of Columbia University, and Professor B. B. Kendrick.

A distinct step forward is the new method for teaching English. The new system called for a change in class room, teaching arrangement, and hours of work. With the present method, each student

gets six hours' instruction in English each week under the supervision of two teachers.

The room in which the members do this English work would hardly be recognized as a class room. It is a sort of library and laboratory, or work room, combined. Instead of school room seats, we have long tables around which the members sit in comradely fashion.

The program calls for three hours an evening at school. For an hour and a half regular class-room instruction is given. The second hour and a half is spent in the laboratory under the special direction of another teacher.

The student learns what to do in the class room, and practices how to do it in the laboratory. Each member is assigned a special piece of work which he is to finish before he goes home. Each student gets a typewritten sheet in which he is told exactly what he is expected to do. Books, dictionaries, magazines, newspapers are at his disposal for any help he may want. The second teacher is there to assist anyone who needs help in his particular task. When the time is up the members hand in their work. This is corrected by the teacher and returned to them the next time.

The new method is very popular with the students. It has broken down the stiffness of class room atmosphere. It has made for a spirit of comradely co-operation. It has done away with the need for assigning "home-work," an almost impossible task with labor classes. And it has brought results. The improvement in the work done by the members could be followed from week to week.

Over a Cup of Tea

Another step in breaking up the formalism of "education" as conventionally understood was the development of a weekly "students' get-together." Every Saturday afternoon there is a special informal meeting to which all the Active Workers' School are invited. Refreshments are served to add to the air of informality and comradeship.

The program for Saturdays consisted of discussions of current topics such as the "farmer bloc," the miners' strike, and European labor happenings; of books of current interest such as "Main Street," of general topics such as "The American Newspaper." Several times a series of talks on the same topic were scheduled for a number of Saturdays. There was a series of four discussions on "What's What in the Labor Movement;" led by the national education director. Towards the end of the season, Professor William H. Kilpatrick, head of the department of the philosophy of education at Teachers' College, led a series of three popular discussions of "Theories of Life and Progress." The new method which Professor Kilpatrick used with our students attracted wide attention and may be said to constitute one of the definite contributions which New York gave to the whole field of labor education.

It became customary also to devote part of the Saturday afternoons to a discussion of general educational policies and to decide

on recommendations to the students' council, consisting of three delegates from each class, looking after the details of the school. The attitude of the instructors, the value of the various classes, the need for developing further education activities among the various locals of the New York Joint Board, and other topics of similar interest would be considered eagerly, sometimes hotly, but always in good spirit.

It was at these Saturday get-togethers that the students decided not to give up education work in the spring, but to go right on planning a new and varied program to keep the school and students in touch throughout the summer.

Shop Chairmen and Business Agents

The comparative success of the classes and student gatherings has been felt in more than one way. It was no doubt a determining influence in the decision by the business agents, followed one week later by the shop chairmen, to institute an educational program for themselves.

The education work of the business agents, begun April 7, with a talk by Professor Paul F. Brissenden on "Problems of Labor Organization in the North West," and M. Weinzwieg on "Fundamentals for Understanding Human Nature," includes the following in its program:

I. Bases of Modern Civilization:

(a) The nature of man: Fundamentals of psychology, including theory of evolution and how it helps us understand human nature.

(b) The nature of society: Fundamentals for understanding our social and economic system.

(c) Man and society in history: The plain man in history. Meaning of the materialistic interpretation of history. How the masses lived in the past. Conditions which forced the masses to awaken to their enslavement. Influence of the earlier movements on our own.

II. The Labor Movement—Problems of Leadership and Organization: Aims and methods of the modern labor movement. General examination of trade unionism in America and Europe. The A. F. of L., I. W. W., guild Socialism. Special emphasis on problems of principles and tactics. Meaning of democracy. Function of the leader. Problem of organization forms. Shop control, shop steward system. Craft unionism, industrial unionism.

III. Weekly Interpretation of Current Events: Review of the happenings of the week. Summary of the most interesting articles in American and European papers and magazines. Short summaries (about one page) sent to all members so as to enable all to take part in the discussion. Picture slides used wherever possible to illustrate the topics.

The shop chairmen adopted substantially the same program, except that there is added a section on the "Place of the Shop Chairman in the Organization."

Developing Organization Spirit

The important thing about all the school work and educational programs is that all emphasis is laid on the necessity for making the work count in the life of the organization.

The students' council, and the "Bulletin" given out weekly by the students, were instituted to develop self-reliance, initiative, and confidence in the reality of self-government. Students were encouraged to help with the details necessary to make the lectures at local meetings and the large forum lecture concerts a success. Students in the classes would go back to their locals to report on education activities. This, of course, helped spread to the general membership the knowledge of educational opportunities offered. But perhaps even more important was the influence this had in encouraging the students to take a more active interest in the life of our organization, to go back to their locals and shop meetings with more interest, greater activity, and deeper understanding of our immediate difficulties and ultimate aims.

In view of the real task before us, we cannot but feel that all labor education has merely scratched the surface. But in its own way, New York has given definite promise. It has pointed to new and real goals, has won over doubters to a realization of the vast possibilities in this new born attempt to put the move in movement.

EDUCATION ACTIVITIES IN OTHER CITIES

The following may be recorded of the smaller Amalgamated centers:

Baltimore

During 1921 and 1922 two classes were conducted, one in public speaking and parliamentary law, and another in the history and problems of organized labor. The attendance in both classes was small, from ten to thirty. Whenever an outside speaker was invited the attendance would reach 50 or 100. Dr. Broadus Mitchel of the political economy faculty of Johns Hopkins University has been in charge of the Baltimore classes, and it is due to his persistent effort that the work has gone as far as it did.

Besides class work the locals had lectures and on some occasions general gatherings of the membership were called to listen to lectures by prominent speakers in the labor movement.

Boston

During 1921-22 two study classes for active workers have been run under the guidance of Dr. J. J. Cheskiss of Boston University. One class took up weekly important current events, and another class went through the study of a carefully worked out program of problems of the labor movement. In Boston, as well as in Baltimore and elsewhere, lectures were arranged for separate local meetings.

Cincinnati

A series of educational mass meetings and concerts, taken care of by the education committee of the Cincinnati Joint Board, proved

very successful. Large and enthusiastic meetings turned out in response to the call of the organization.

Milwaukee

The secretary of the Milwaukee education committee credits the education activities with a 150 per cent increase in the attendance at local meetings. With the aid of very good speakers the education committee runs monthly gatherings of the entire membership. In addition, the organization has classes in English, history of labor, economics, and parliamentary law at the local Workers' College founded by the A. F. of L. trades council.

Philadelphia

An attempt to start regular class room studies did not work out. The group that had originally registered for a class in labor problems went through a course in economics, given by H. K. Herwitz of our Research Department, and by action of the organization a regular lecture forum took the place of the class room. Starting with January and ending with the last Friday in March, a series of ten lectures was offered to good sized and appreciative audiences in the union's own home.

Toronto

Toronto is the latest convert to the idea of workers' education in the form of class room study. Of course, in Toronto, as in Montreal and elsewhere, mass lectures and lectures before local meetings were customary. But the idea of intensive study had not been taken up by the organization until the Education Department moved bodily to the city and undertook to see the thing through. The joint board gave its support to the enterprise, and the result was a series of two months' study courses, in a word, an Amalgamated Active Workers' School. Its program included:

1. English and Public Speaking: The laboratory plan, twice a week, fifty students.

2. Labor problems: Discussion of issues and forms of organization, once a week, thirty-five students.

3. Aspects of Modern Civilization: Six extraordinary lectures: "Labor and the Changing World," Professor McIver.

"The Relation of Science to Civilization," Professor H. Waste-neys.

"Historical Development and Human Welfare, 1822-1922," Professor R. Jackson.

"Must we Change Human Nature?" Professor H. Pratt.

"Changing Standards in Civilization," Professor McMillan.

"Educating Toward a New Order," Professor James Alfred Dale.

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

H. K. Herwitz of the Research Department summarizes herewith the work of the department:

The Research Department was established by action of the General Executive Board at its meeting in New York July, 1920. In the course of the preparation of the union's case in the action for injunction and damages brought by the Michaels-Stern Co. in Rochester, considerable economic research work on the aims and accomplishments of the union since its organization was done under the direction of Dr. Leo Wolman. It was in part an outgrowth of this work that a permanent Research Department was established.

Other unions, notably the railroad unions, the United Mine Workers, and the unions in the printing trades, have from time to time employed statisticians and economists to prepare data in support of the union's position in arbitration proceedings or in strike situations. In creating the Research Department as a part of the General Office staff, the General Executive Board provided for the continuous study of conditions in the industry and made the information available for use at any time by the general officers and the other departments of the union, and by the local organizations.

The Research Department collects information on industrial and economic conditions, with particular reference to (1) the men's clothing and related industries, (2) the cost of living, (3) wages and employment conditions; maintains a digest and file of the decisions made by the impartial chairmen in the clothing industry throughout the country, provided for under the agreements between the manufacturers and the union; prepares the economic briefs submitted by the union in wage arbitration cases, and makes the necessary investigations upon which the union briefs and arguments are based. The department is frequently called upon by the general officers and by other departments, particularly the Editorial, Organization, and Education Departments, and for publicity work, to furnish information in connection with their activities and to make certain special investigations. The work at the General Office is under the immediate charge of Harry K. Herwitz.

Shortly after its organization in July, 1920, the department assisted in the preparation of the union's cases in the wage arbitrations in Chicago, Rochester, Baltimore, and Boston in July and August, 1920. A brief prepared by Dr. Leo Wolman, chief of the department, on an unemployment fund, was submitted to the Chicago board of arbitration in support of the union's demand for unemployment insurance based upon the action of the Boston Convention. This brief has recently been published as a pamphlet by our Education Department.

Dr. Wolman and H. K. Herwitz, of the Research Department,

also prepared exhaustive briefs and participated in the presentation of the union's case in the wage arbitrations held in Chicago and in Rochester, March and April, 1921. The union's brief in the Chicago arbitration consisted of over 100 pages and treated of the following subjects: Wages in the men's clothing industry in Chicago; wages and cost of living; cost of living in Chicago; the extent of wage reductions; wage reductions in the textile and oil industries; relation between cost and wages in the Chicago clothing industry; business conditions; the economic theory of wage liquidation; labor's share in liquidation. Another brief dealing with conditions in Rochester was submitted in the wage arbitration in that city.

The department also participated in the wage arbitration proceedings in Rochester in October, 1921, and in Montreal in December, 1921.

The Chicago Joint Board called upon the department to prepare a history of the Chicago organization since the 1910 strike for presentation to the delegates to the Fifth Biennial Convention. This book, entitled "Clothing Workers of Chicago, 1910-1922" was prepared under the direction of Dr. Leo Wolman with the assistance of Miss Eleanor Mack, formerly of the General Office, H. K. Herwitz of the Research Department, and Mr. Paul Wander. Mr. Wander prepared part 3 of this book. The book, which has recently come from the printers, is a volume of 425 pages.

RECORD DEPARTMENT

A. E. Kazan, director of the Record Department, gives the following report for his department:

In October, 1919, the Record Department was established. In adding this department to the General Office the purpose in mind was

1. To compile statistics regarding the membership of our organization.
2. To enable the General Office, whenever necessary, to determine the membership of each of our units, as well as of the entire organization.
3. To have at the General Office membership records showing the payments made by our members.
4. To introduce and maintain a uniform system for the initiation and suspension of members.
5. To assist our local organizations in improving their membership records and in developing suitable methods for the control of the initiations, dues, and assessment payments.

The duties of a secretary of a local union in the Amalgamated are considerably more difficult and require greater efficiency than in most other unions. While the average membership of a local of carpenters, machinists, bricklayers, painters, or printers is between 200

and 300, the average membership of one of our locals is over 1,100. The number of members who join and leave our organizations is also much higher than in other unions. In fact, some of our locals initiate yearly fully one-third of their total membership, while most of them add from 10 per cent to 15 per cent. Similar, but not as high, is the number of those who drop out. Thus with a high membership in each local which at certain times of the year is totally unemployed and consequently unable to live up to its union obligations, and a good portion of this membership continually changing, the secretary of one of our locals must be thoroughly efficient and systematic. His union office must be well equipped for any emergency in order to obtain the best possible results. With few exceptions most of our organizations grew up within short periods. This made the work of our local offices still more difficult, and very often a local secretary was forced to forego system and employ any method at all in order to be able to take care of the great influx of new members.

The progress made by the Record Department during 1920 was very slow. Nearly the entire year was spent in transcribing our local records and preparing the different membership cards now in use. In addition it also had to assist some of our local organizations in changing their own membership records. Since the Record Department depends entirely on the locals for its required information, it was evident that unless we assisted them in changing their membership records we could not expect them to comply with our requests. Those organizations that could not make the changes at their own local offices were assisted by the Record Department, which did all the necessary work at the General Office.

With the help of our local secretaries we introduced during the same year a uniform system of initiating and dropping members. Reports of changes in membership were made to the Record Department of the General Office. This enabled us, besides making the necessary changes in the files of the Record Department, also to correct our mailing list.

To facilitate the work of the Record and Mailing Departments, the two were combined. Duplication of names on the mailing lists of cities where the section system of delivery is in use is, to a certain extent, unavoidable. It is especially so in our case where we have eight different language publications. To avoid these duplications, a special index was prepared which acts as a clearing house for all of our official papers. By means of this index we are in a position to tell which publication each of our members is receiving. The index card gives the member's name, address, and other essential information. When his name is taken off our mailing list the card shows the date and reason.

Besides the regular work of the Record Department, we assisted our larger joint boards in introducing a shop system, by which they could tell the standing of the membership in each shop. In cases where members fail to live up to their union obligations, this system will enable the joint boards to get in touch with these members through the shop chairmen.

We are also gradually introducing a six-months' membership book to take the place of the present three years' book. Judging by the success of our first experience, we should have it in use in all our local organizations within the next year.

AUDITING DEPARTMENT

Victor E. Benedict, general auditor, reports on the work of his department as follows:

The Auditing Department has made one or more audits of the accounts of the following joint boards and local unions since February 1, 1920:

JOINT BOARDS—Baltimore, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Connecticut, Milwaukee, Montreal, New York, Philadelphia, Rochester, Shirtmakers (N. Y.), Toronto, and Twin City.

LOCAL UNIONS—4, 6, 7, 19, 22 (old accounts of Locals 10 and 12) 24, 38, 39, 61, 86, 105, 120, 144, 145, 151, 152, 154, 155, 158, 161, 167, 175, 195, 208, 210, 223, 269, 270, 271, 272, 275, 276, 279.

Special audits were made of the New York general lockout, Philadelphia strike accounts, Baltimore lockout, Cincinnati strike account, the Greater New York Organization Committee, and the books of the General Office.

The department has also been continuously engaged in auditing and correcting day book sheets, cash reports, and initiation cards received from the various joint boards and local unions.

In addition to the normal activities, enumerated above, the department issued monthly comparative statements showing

1. The per capita payments of the entire organization.
2. The monthly income and expenditures of the General Office.
3. Monthly balance sheets or statements of assets, liabilities, and net worth of General Office.
4. Special reports for the General Executive Board, etc., etc.

The department takes care of the bonding of those officials who handle funds; the collection of indemnities from the surety company, and the collection of shortages from individuals. In the last two years over \$2,200 was recovered in this way.

During the first six months of 1921 almost the entire time of the staff was taken up in assisting in the administration of the Amalgamated Stores in the New York lockout, and consequently no audits were made in this period.

The staff also assisted in making a number of shop investigations in Philadelphia; supervised the opening of the books of the Amalgamated Clothes System, and devoted some time to the affairs of the New York Clothing Cutters' Credit Union.

The Auditing Department is ever watchful of the correct keeping of the financial accounts of our organization.

GENERAL OFFICERS REPRESENT AMALGAMATED IN EUROPE

In June, 1920, the Amalgamated was invited to take part in the Congress of the International Clothing Workers' Federation in the month of August at Copenhagen, Denmark.

That organization was formed in 1893 at a Coongress in Zurich, Switzerland. Since then a number of Congresses were held. The last one before the war was held at Vienna, Austria, July, 1913. The next Congress was to be held in 1916 at Copenhagen. The war made that impossible. In December, 1919, a session of the International Bureau was held at Amsterdam, Holland, where it was decided to call a Congress for August 15, 1920, at Copenhagen. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was affiliated with the Federation; the Amalgamated was not.

Through Brother Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who attended the session, the Bureau sent an invitation to the Amalgamated to be represented at the Copenhagen Congress. At the meeting of the General Executive Board, July 7-9, 1920, at New York, the following communication from Brother Schlesinger was read:

"I have the pleasure to inform you that in August, 1920, an International Conference will again be held, this time in Copenhagen, Denmark. The temporary bureau of our International, composed of your fellow clothing workers, Heinrich Stuehmer (Germany), Pierre Dumas (France), Z. Flynn (England), William P. Arup (Denmark) and T. v. d. Heeg (Holland), would very much appreciate it, if your organization would send one or more delegates to the Copenhagen conference."

General Secretary-Treasurer Joseph Schlossberg was elected delegate to the Congress. He was also instructed to study the labor movement in the several European countries which he might have an opportunity to visit.

Brother Schlossberg sailed for Europe on the Olympic, August 4, 1920. He represented the Amalgamated at the Copenhagen Congress, August 15 to 18. He visited the following countries in the course of his trip through Europe: France, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Esthonia, Austria, and Italy. Brother Schlossberg returned to New York on the Aquitania, November 20, 1920, on the eve of the lockout struggle.

The full proceedings of the Copenhagen Congress and Brother Schlossberg's observations on the labor movement in European countries were published in a series of articles in *Advance*.

In July, 1921, the General Executive Board, at its session in New York, authorized General President Hillman to visit European countries and study labor conditions.

Brother Hillman sailed July 16, 1921, on the Olympic. He visited England, France, Germany, Lithuania, Latvia, and Russia. He made a special study of conditions in the last-named country. By his cables for aid for the Russian famine sufferers, sent from Berlin and Moscow, Brother Hillman stimulated relief work in this country. He returned to New York on the Rotterdam, November 4, 1921.

His impressions of Europe were published by Brother Hillman in *Advance*.

Brothers Schlossberg and Hillman will make oral reports to the convention delivering their messages more at length.

RELIEF FOR FAMINE VICTIMS IN RUSSIA

The world war destroyed millions of human lives, the flower of humanity, and untold treasures of the world's wealth. The ruin wrought by the war was appalling. But infinitely more so is the war's frightful heritage, especially for Europe: Economic breakdown, industrial exhaustion, political hysteria, and international hatred. The victors and the vanquished both have lost and are now suffering; the difference is only one of degree. The greatest sufferer is Russia. When the war began the Russian Czar, the barbarian despot of the great country, aligned himself with the Allies and on the side of "democracy." When the war was ended, Russia, the greatest of the Allies, was the victim of a German "peace" and an outcast of her victorious allies.

The Russian people had sinned by taking seriously their allies' profession of democracy, justice, and the rest, as the objects of the war, and the Russian people did the only constructive piece of war work. But that was constructive in such an unusual manner, and so entirely out of their reckoning, that the war apologists dared not credit the war with it. They would gladly undo the Russian work and free the glorious war of that disgrace. But that was impossible.

In the midst of the war the Russian people overthrew Czarism and established a people's government. The replacing of a monarchical form of government by a republican is not new in modern history and no longer carries with it the thrill of a former age. After Russia, Germany overthrew the Hohenzollerns and inaugurated a republic. Except for the abolition of hereditary rule, the German people are not aware of any difference.

Russia more than changed its form of government. It changed its entire substance; it said the last word on that subject. One may approve of the Russian Revolution or disapprove of it, but all must agree that what Russia did was most amazing both in daring and in results. For the most backward country in Europe to take the most forward step, the most advanced position, and defend it

against a world of enemies, while that country is itself starving and suffering, is a feat which has no parallel in all human experience. Russia was not the only country to write real history since the beginning of the war, but she did it in a manner that was unknown in history before. Russia's boldness and determination alarmed the misrulers of the world. What they feared was not only the success of Russia's program in Russia—the only country in the world with a definite program—but still more, the effect of that success upon their own peoples. To prevent both, Russia was warred against, blockaded, isolated, starved. Last year the climax was capped by famine in the Volga district due to drought. Lack of irrigation in the territory of that famous river is but one small part of the legacy of medieval backwardness left by Czarism to New Russia.

In her distress Russia turned for help to her natural friends—the organized workers of the world. That was an appeal not to charity but to that human spirit which inspires people who suffer to help those who suffer more. The working people responded. The Amalgamated joined in that response. We are proud of our share in the relief for the Russian famine victims.

Advance of August 12, 1921, published the following article:

“RELIEVE THE RUSSIAN FAMINE

“The great world war, fought in the interest of ‘democracy,’ has left a terrible legacy for the present and the future. The defeated countries are broken, crushed, and kept under the heel of the victors. The victorious countries are groaning under the burden of their victory. The PEOPLE of the victorious countries are paying an awful price for their triumph: a staggering death toll, industrial disruption, widespread unemployment, heavy taxation for preparation for the next war, and general discontent, besides burning and consuming national hatred.

“All of Europe is suffering. No one knows how much longer the sufferings will continue and what their political reflections will be in the near future.

“The most conspicuous single figure in the bloody drama of the last seven years has been Russia. The greatest in numerical strength among all active participants in the war, with a population of 180,000,000; the greatest in area, with one-sixth of the globe, Russia made the greatest single contribution to the frightful death list, and gave the most definite, astounding, and soul-stirring response to the message of the war.

“Old, Czarist Russia perished in the world conflagration and from its ashes New Russia has risen. Was New Russia, freed from Czarism and striving to work out its own salvation, welcomed and encouraged by the ‘democracies’ of the world? Perish the thought! The sound instinct of selfish interests warned the ‘democratic’ ruling and oppressing classes that the spirit of New Russia was a menace to all oppressors of the people. And the industrial czars and kings and magnates with their huge armies fought New Russia more brutally

than they had fought Old Germany. New Russia held out all these years and defeated the Denikins, the Kolchaks, the Yudenitches, the Wrangels, and all others. New Russia has stood the greatest test in all history and has won the admiration of friend and foe.

“Now Russia is facing the most formidable foe of all, Hunger.

“Enemies of Soviet Russia are maliciously charging her with responsibility for the famine. Nothing is further from the truth. Famine was no stranger to Old Russia. Every now and then the world would hear of hunger in certain sections of the Russian empire. That was due to the backwardness in which Czarist absolutism had kept the great country. That famine-producing backwardness has been aggravated by seven years of international and civil war—by war, revolution, and counter-revolution.

“Old Russia and the Old World generally were responsible for the war; the war was responsible for the revolution, and the counter-revolutionists, the enemies of Russia’s freedom, were responsible for the drastic measures taken by New Russia in her own defense.

“If this famine is not due to Russia’s unfortunate industrial and economic backwardness, aggravated by the events of recent years, it must be due to the ruthless efforts of the imperialists of the world to destroy New Russia by means of blockades and the instigation and financing of civil wars. What an indictment of our ‘civilized’ world!

“It is because of the blockades and the constant plottings and armed warfare against Russia’s constituted authorities on the part of outsiders that Russia has been unable to secure the necessary rolling stock for her railroads, the most effective famine preventive. The blockade not only made it difficult to secure sufficient seed, but made it impossible to move grain surpluses to places where there were shortages. The blockade and unceasing warfare, which compelled the feeding and maintaining of a very large and industrially non-producing military army, made it impossible for Russia to contribute to the world’s wealth by producing for the international market and to stimulate and promote the industrial activities of the world by consuming a large part of its products.

“One-sixth of the world cannot be isolated without the rest of the world inflicting a serious injury upon itself.

“Economists who are conscientious scientists, and public spirited citizens who are not conscienceless politicians, agree that all industrial countries are paying a heavy penalty for the policy of isolation and persecution of Russia.

“For the imperialists of the world to charge the present government of Russia with responsibility for the hardships and sufferings of that country is the same as for the child slavers in the textile mills in the Carolinas to charge their little victims with responsibility for their ignorance, mental and physical backwardness, and all the evils that flow from such a state.

“The whole world is responsible for Russia’s agonies today, and it is the duty of the whole world to come to Russia’s rescue.

"There was a great famine in Central Russia in 1891. So serious was that famine that distant America generously came forward with assistance.

"That was under the Czar's regime. The lack of food was not due to a prolonged war or to revolution. Russia was at that time at peace with the world, and Czardom was safe on its throne. The famine was due entirely to the barbarism and inefficiency of Czarism. The Czar robbed his peasants of nearly all they produced, which he took from them in the form of taxes. Thus large quantities of grain were exported from Russia while the peasants had hardly enough to keep body and soul together.

"We came to Russia's relief at that time. We took no political inventory, and presented to the Russian government no political demands in consideration for our help. We openly sympathized with the Russian rebels and welcomed them to our shores, thus at least by implication condemning the Romanoff regime; but we did not denounce the Czar or his system while extending a helping hand to his people. Today our government is making its help to Russia contingent upon political concessions, which the government asking them would not itself willingly grant if conditions were reversed.

"We refuse to help the people of Soviet Russia in the same spirit of human fellowship as we helped the people of Romanoff Russia.

"Immediately after the overthrow of Russian Czarism, President Wilson, who was then creating brilliant phrases, declared that Russia was the acid test. No government, not even Wilson's, stood that test. At that time it was necessary for one of the upper classes to raise himself high above his class interests to appreciate the stupendous efforts made by Russia and sympathize with them. But few have raised themselves to such heights.

"Today Russia is again the acid test.

"The cry for help coming from Russia is heart-rending. But the metropolitan press is taking it cynically. They who called upon the nation's young men to go to France, risk their lives and ask no questions, because what they were doing was in the cause of humanity and democracy, have no response in their hearts for the desperate cry which is coming from starving millions in Russia. Those unfortunates were entitled to sympathy when they were starving under the Czar, but they are an object of mockery and derision when starving without a Czar, when starving partly or wholly because of the brutal attitude of the governments of other countries towards them.

"Russia is again the acid test. It is to be hoped that this time the nobility of human nature will assert itself and there will be a genuine and hearty response from the peoples of the world, including the American people, to the call coming from Russia.

"And the Russian acid test is particularly for the workers of the world. They must not only respond but must do so with vim, vigor, and enthusiasm."

On August 13, 1921, the General Executive Board issued the following call to the local organizations:

HELP FOR STARVING RUSSIA

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

Greeting:—

A cry of distress is coming to us from the Russian people. Our response must be prompt and generous.

Hunger is stalking through Russia, spreading disease and death. Relief must come forthwith.

There is not only lack of food for the hungry today, but there is also lack of seed, which means that there will be no food next year and perhaps for several years to come, unless we come to the rescue.

For years Russia has held the attention of the world by its iconoclastic acts—the overthrow of Czardom and the radical reconstitution of its own social order. Russia's acts were approved by some and disapproved by others.

But our duty to Russia in her present crisis stands separate and apart from any attitude towards Russia's social and economic principles. Those of us who may sympathize with Russia's philosophy have an additional reason for extending a helping hand to the starving millions. Those of us who oppose that philosophy cannot because of that refuse to heed the call to humanity coming from that stricken country.

It is gratifying to know that a real human response is coming, and steadily gaining in strength, from various directions. The organized workers of the world are sending an answer of cheer and hope to Russia. Thus we learn that the workers in Germany, Russia's "natural enemies," under the standards of the late world war, have taxed themselves a day's wages for Russia. Any one familiar with the unfortunate condition of the German workers knows what a sacrifice that is for them. But the German workers are making that sacrifice because they see their duty clearly.

Pope Benedict XV, head of the Catholic Church, has raised his voice on behalf of starving Russia and appealed to the Catholic world for help, though Russia is not a Catholic country.

Between the Socialist workers of Germany and the Pope of Rome there are large masses of people belonging to different social classes and holding all shades of views and opinions. Pledges of help for Russia are coming from many of them.

Duty is calling us.

We, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, are a large organized body of workers with no small capacity for doing big things. We have long made it a rule of our organization to give to other deserving causes the benefit of our organized power. Never was an appeal made to us without bringing substantial results. Our gift of \$100,000 to the striking steel workers two years ago is a conspicuous case in point. We must act in the same spirit now.

It is true that industrial conditions today are unfavorable. But in spite of those adverse conditions and in spite of the unemployment, which is considerable among our members, we must rise to the occasion and bring food to the suffering men, women, and children in Russia; particularly the children; bring them food with the love and blessings that come from the workers who give to the workers who receive.

It was in obedience to the call of our sacred duty to Russia that the members of the General Executive Board took up for quick action the matter of aid for the Russian victims.

There was unanimity of opinion, and no discussion, as to our obligation in this grave emergency. There was, however, considerable discussion as to the best and most effective method of discharging it.

Because of the unsettled industrial conditions the General Executive Board was unable to fix a definite sum to be contributed by this organization and assess the several local organizations with their proper quotas. We found that in some important cases a contribution by the members on a time basis would bring the best results, and in other cases a flat assessment of a given amount of money would be more advantageous. In those circumstances the General Executive Board decided to ask the members to donate a half day's wages for the Russian famine victims. But it was definitely understood that this decision is to serve only as a basis and a slogan for the campaign. The organization in each city is free to assess its members whichever way it deems best in order to secure the desired results. It must be remembered that the results only will count in this case, and not the formal compliance with the appeal of the General Executive Board. It is clear that the results in this instance means money, cash, DOLLARS; the greater the number of dollars the more food, medicine and clothing for the hungry, the sick and the naked in Russia. Again we emphasize particularly the hungry, sick and naked CHILDREN. They, who have not lived yet; they who are helpless under the best conditions; they who constitute the world of tomorrow, the world which we all hope will be better, freer and happier than today; they must be the especial object of our affection and generosity.

Let us think of our own young ones here, who are the joy of our lives, and in the name of their pure and sacred childhood help the little ones in Russia so that they may not perish.

In order to appreciate the value of our help we are reminded by people who have first hand knowledge of the situation that a dollar will feed a person in Russia for a month. Let us remember it: EACH DOLLAR MEANS THE SAVING OF A HUMAN LIFE FOR A MONTH. Dollars, dollars, and more dollars must, therefore, be our answer to Russia's cry for help.

The General Executive Board members have taken cognizance of the fact that funds are now being collected for various purposes, all of them worthy. But they must not interfere with the discharge of our sacred duty to the starving millions in Russia, both as fellow humans and as fellow workers.

The whole world is now out of gear. Help is needed in many directions. We, American workers, are more fortunate than the workers elsewhere, and having more we must give more.

If an element of selfishness is not a sacrilege in this sad and solemn moment, let us be grateful for being in a position to give help rather than ask for help. We can surely stand the pinch of parting with a few dollars better than the suffering Russians and their children can stand the pain of starvation.

You are asked to take up the collection of funds immediately. Send the money to the undersigned as fast as collected, and let all funds be in not later than October 1, 1921.

Let us go to it with a will and with enthusiasm. Let the Amalgamated spirit again assert itself in its full grandeur.

Long live true human solidarity!

Long live the true brotherhood of the workers of the world!

For the General Executive Board,
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary-Treasurer.

A few days later the following cable was received from President Hillman, dated Berlin, Germany, August 16, 1921:

HAD INTERVIEW WITH REPRESENTATIVE OF RUSSIAN RED CROSS, RECEIVED FOLLOWING MESSAGE: "SITUATION RESULTING FROM FAMINE IN PARTS OF RUSSIA IS SUCH THAT IT CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE HELP. ONLY AWAKENING OF CONSCIENCE OF WORKING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE WILL BRING ABOUT RIGHT AS-

SISTANCE." I AM THEREFORE URGING YOU TO GET IMMEDIATELY IN TOUCH WITH DIFFERENT LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND ORGANIZE SPEEDY RELIEF. LET ONE DAY'S WORK BE DONATED FOR START. THINGS MOST NEEDED ARE FOOD, CLOTHING, DRUGS, AND TRUCKS. URGE OUR OWN MEMBERSHIP TO LEAD WAY. ACT QUICKLY.

Later we received another cable from President Hillman, dated Moscow, Russia, September 17, 1921:

MOSCOW, SEPT. 17.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
31 UNION SQUARE; NEW YORK.

AM REQUESTED BY KAMENEFF, CHAIRMAN FAMINE RELIEF, IN VIEW DESPERATE NEED TO SEND ALL FOOD IMMEDIATELY. I URGE OUR ORGANIZATION TAKE SUCH ACTION IMMEDIATELY. GET EXPERTS TO BUY WHEAT FLOUR. BUY FOR SHIPPING. SEND TO "ALL RUSSIAN COMMISSION." URGE SIMILAR ACTION TO ALL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS. CABLE REPLY CARE FOREIGN OFFICE MOSCOW.

HILLMAN.

The prolonged unemployment and the strain of raising the \$2,000,000 Lockout Resistance Fund failed to deter our members from rallying to the G. E. B.'s call for Russia. The response was truly inspiring.

On October 10, we made our first shipment consisting of 65,088 bushels of wheat and 1,000 cases of condensed milk. The shipment was valued at \$100,000.

On October 24 the second shipment followed. On the advice of President Hillman this consisted largely of machinery for the manufacture of clothing. Besides the machinery 2,000 pairs of corduroy pants and 2,000 mackinaws were sent from the clothing workers of America to their fellow workers in Russia.

A third shipment, consisting almost entirely of food supplies, followed on November 22. It included 775,000 pounds of rice, corn, grits, sugar, lima beans, cocoa, and condensed milk.

No less than thirty cities have made their individual contribution according to their capacity. Especial mention should be made of the sum sent from New York. Exhausted by a six months' lockout, New York still leads all other cities with a total gift of \$68,343.12. Chicago is a close second with \$60,000, Rochester comes third with \$13,000, and Baltimore fourth with \$5,000. Too much cannot be said for the spirit displayed by the smaller centers and by individual locals in contributing their share.

Machinery shipped by Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to Russia is:

- 1 Nelson edge press machine with blower iron
- 10 14-lb. J. blower irons complete with stands and tubing
- 50 16-lb. J. blower irons complete with stands and tubing
- 15 18-lb. J. blower irons complete with stands and tubing.
- 3 No. 4 power pinkers
- 6 No. 4 cutters
- 6 Nelson springs

- 1,000 ft. 3-8 C. I. tubing
- 1 No. 4 blower complete with pulleys, oil cups, and valve
- All fittings necessary to put together 75 gas and air mixers
- 2 sq. ft. screening
- 100 bushings
- 25 spouts
- 500 3-8 springs

When the General Executive Board met in special session in New York, October, 1921, only a part of the total amount had come in. The G. E. B. voted the amount of \$150,000 for Russian relief. But, as the financial statement shows, the collections exceeded that amount.

An additional amount of \$15,000 was voted for the equipment of a hospital in Moscow. The building for the hospital was donated by the Soviet government, but the equipment and supplies must be furnished from the outside. Moscow is desperately in need of more medical service and the Russian government is asking friends of the Russian people to help. The society known as American Medical Aid for Russia has undertaken to raise the amount of \$100,000 for the hospital. Dr. Michailovsky of New York, on behalf of the above society, applied to the Amalgamated for aid. In compliance with that request the donation of \$15,000 was made for an American hospital at Moscow.

<p>THIS CHECK IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FOLLOWING PERSON OR PERSONS: PLEASE RETURN TO:</p> <p>NO OTHER RECEIPT REQUIRED</p> <p>ISSUED AT: <i>Moscow Hospital</i></p> <p>AMOUNT: <i>\$15,000</i></p>	<p>AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA No. 18353 21 UNION SQUARE</p> <p>NEW YORK, <i>April 15, 1922</i></p> <p>PAY TO THE ORDER OF <i>Equitable Trust Company</i> \$15,000 <i>of New York</i></p> <p>PAY \$15,000 DOLLARS</p> <p>AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA</p> <p>THE BANK OF UNITED STATES MEMPHIS FEDERAL RESERVE BLDG. FIFTH AVENUE AT 22nd STREET NEW YORK</p> <p><i>James B. Potapoff</i></p>
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AMALGAMATED CHECK FOR \$15,000 FOR EQUIPPING MOSCOW HOSPITAL

STATEMENT OF RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF COLLECTIONS

To January 31, 1922

Joint Boards	
Baltimore	\$ 5,000.00
Boston	2,500.00
Chicago	60,000.00
Cincinnati	500.00
Cleveland	116.00
Milwaukee	1,018.80
Montreal	3,800.00
New York	68,343.12
Philadelphia	1,000.00
Rochester	12,000.00
Toronto	1,054.67
Twin City	453.75
Shirt Makers	2,592.80

Locals

30, New York	105.47
39, Chicago	500.00
51, Baltimore	200.00
86, Pittsburgh	467.76
96, Syracuse	467.27
104, Utica	121.80
105, St. Louis	68.50
120, Louisville	378.65
139, Philadelphia	150.00
145, Indianapolis	991.00
151, Milwaukee	200.00
154, Lynn	41.00
174, Worcester	405.63
207, Woodbine	35.00
208, Vineland	392.38
210, Hamilton	30.70
223, Bridgeport	331.39
224, Paterson	100.00
239, New London	30.00
240, Brooklyn	444.95
249, London, Canada	16.80
276, Kansas City	246.95
278, Los Angeles	300.00
60, Philadelphia	25.00
General Office staff	742.30
Donations from organizations	
Baltimore Conference	1,900.00
Lithuanian Tailors' Benefit Club	12.50
Donations from individuals	122.45
	<hr/>
Total	\$167,206.80

Early in April, 1922, the General Office received through Dr. D. H. Dubrowsky, head of the Russian famine relief work in America, a cablegram of thanks from the president of the Central Committee of the Russian Red Cross in Moscow, for the assistance given by the American clothing workers' organization to the starving people in the Volga famine district.

The cablegram is reproduced on the opposite page. Translated, it reads:

"Inform Amalgamated: We acknowledge with thanks receipt by Russian Red Cross your contribution to the starving of Volga from 15 of October up to February 2 amount 65,088 bushels of wheat, 1,600 sacks flour, 860 sacks of beans, 1,350 rice, 2,000 sugar, 2,000 cases milk, 543 barrels cocoa. 34 cases clothing. Of the contributed cargo two-thirds are distributed Samara, one-third Kazan-Orenburg regions. We hope for continuation of such successful campaign by you for relief. Will be extremely thankful for information of your future humanitarian activity. With fraternal greetings, President of the Russian Red Cross.

"SOLOVIEV, 2077."

WESTERN UNION CABLEGRAM

Form 308

HENRY C. CARLTON, PRESIDENT GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Received at 110 W. 40 St., New York.

MAR 24 1922

28FY FUL T8

TALLINN MAR 24 1922

RUBREDCRS

NEWYORK (DR D H DUBROVSKY 110 WEST 40 STREET)

PEREDAITE AMALGAMATED PODYVERJDAEM BLAGODARNOSTIQU POLUCHENIE ROSKRASKRESTOM
VASHIH SCHEDRYH POJERTVOVANI I GOLODAIUSHIM POVOLQA OT PIATNADZATAGO OKTIABRIA
PO VOTOROE FEYRALIA KOLICHESTVOM 65088 BUSHELEI SERNA 1600 MESHKOV MUKI 860
SOBOV 1850 RISA 2000 SAHARU 2000 IASCHIKOV MOLOKA 543 BOCHKI KAKAO 34 IASCHNIKA
ODEJDY STOP POJERTVOVANNYE GRUSY RASPREDELENY DVE TRET I SAMARSKOM ODNA TRET I
KASANSKOM ORENBURGSKOM RAIONAH STOP NADEEMSA NA PRODOLJENIE STOLQ UDACHNO
NACNATOI VAH KAMPANII POMOSCHI STOP BUDEM VEBQMA PEISHATELQHY SA SOOBSCHENIE
DALQNEISHEI VASHEI GUMANITARNOI AKZII TOVARISCHESKIM PRIVETOM PREDQRSRESTA,

SOLOVREY 2077

SOVIET RUSSIA THANKS THE AMALGAMATED

A MESSAGE FROM AUSTRALIA

Herewith a letter received from the Australian Clothing Workers' organization and the Amalgamated's reply; this message is additional proof of the Amalgamated's spiritual bond with the workers in other parts of the world:

The Federated Clothing Trades of the Commonwealth of Australia,
Federal Council, Box 84, Trades Hall

Melbourne, 6th February, 1922.

Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary-Treasurer,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
31 Union Square, New York, N. Y., U. S. A.

Dear Comrade:—

Greetings. Acting under instructions from the above organization, I am very anxious to arrange for a chain of correspondence between my office and the United States. I have been appointed general secretary of the above organization, which embraces all sections of tailoring and clothing as follows:—

- (1) Order or bespoke gents' and ladies' tailoring.
- (2) Ready-made men's, youths,' and boys' clothing (outer garments).
- (3) Shirts and pajamas.
- (4) Order and ready-made dressmaking.
- (5) Underclothing.
- (6) Millinery and headwear (excluding felt hat makers).
- (7) Waterproof clothing.
- (8) Dyers and clothes cleaners.

It is my intention to advocate a forward move in Australia for improved wages and conditions. To do this effectively it will be absolutely necessary for me to keep in touch with the rest of the world. It would be useless for me to retain the position without making myself reasonably conversant with the wages and conditions obtaining in the clothing industry, particularly in America. We have read, with considerable interest, your journal the *Advance*, and I would ask you to accept our sincere congratulations on the progress made by your organization. As a matter of fact, in many respects you stand out on your own.

We secured the forty-four-hour working week for the clothing workers in Australia almost simultaneous with your organization. I do not propose to deal with the clothing industry at any great length in this communication, rather do I first desire to receive an answer from you and then I will be most happy to give you a lengthy and detailed account of the conditions in Australia.

My organization has directed me to spare no expense in securing from America all documents and agreements dealing with the wages and conditions of the clothing workers, therefore, I would be extremely obliged if your organization could see its way clear to forward me copies of all such documents that will be of service to me in representing the clothing industry. Do not hesitate to inform me of the cost and I will at once submit the amount to you. I will be pleased to reciprocate in any way that you might suggest and as suggested in the foregoing, at a later date I will give you a more lengthy communication.

Greetings to all comrades,

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) H. CARTER, General Secretary.

Mr. H. Carter, General Secretary,
The Federated Clothing Trades,
Box 84, Trades Hall,
Melbourne, Australia.

Dear Comrade:—

I have your letter of February 6, 1922.

It is indeed a pleasure to hear from organized fellow workers in distant Australia. Your message brings you so near to us. We feel as if you were of our immediate ranks. In fact, the very geographical distance seems to emphasize your spiritual nearness.

I thank you cordially for your congratulations. Such words of encouragement are frequently taken as conventional formalities and of no particular importance. To us, however, they have a special meaning. Yours is the third message of congratulations received by us from foreign countries since the winning of our great 26-weeks' lockout struggle a year ago. The first message came from the workers in Russia, written in the ex-Czar's throne room in Moscow; the second, from the International Clothing Workers' Federation at Amsterdam, Holland; now we have yours from far away Australia, at the other end of the world. Those messages are thrillers. They bring to us a realization of the oneness and unity of the working class the world over. They are particularly inspiring to us because it was less than ten years ago that the clothing workers in New York and Chicago, in the same country, were strangers to one another, and in their ignorance and helplessness broke one another's strikes. It is, therefore, a real joy for us to be consciously a part of the International Brotherhood of Labor. In this day of war-bred national animosities the spirit of international working class solidarity is the great hope of the human race. We are in a position to visualize it with great clearness because the membership of the Amalgamated embraces over thirty nationalities, a league of nations of our own.

Permit me to congratulate you upon the good work done by your organization. It is interesting to know that you have the forty-four-hour week, as we have here, and that you secured it at the same time we did. It would have made our joy at this new conquest more complete if we had been aware of that fact three years ago. This shorter work-week has been a great boon to the former sweatshop workers whose working week in the past was limited only by physical endurance, and was often more than seventy hours.

The lockout of a year ago mentioned above was the beginning of the cruel "open shop" campaign conducted by the powerful employers' interests against the labor movement. The lockout was inaugurated with the determination to destroy our organization. In connection with that lockout a violent press campaign was conducted against us, a large number of injunctions were secured by the employers, and actions were brought in the courts for dissolution of the organization and several million dollars' damages. We were denounced as un-American, Bolshevists, Sovietists and in many other ways. It took twenty-six weeks and \$2,000,000, raised by our own members, but we won out.

The "open shop" campaign is still on. The enemies of labor are arrogant and brutal. They feel that the present and prolonged unemployment has brought them the long-sought opportunity to "liquidate labor." Wages are cut mercilessly. Today 600,000 coal miners answered the war upon the labor movement by a strike in the anthracite and bituminous fields.

Are the workers in Australia retaining the improvements secured during the war prosperity? Our membership will appreciate any information about our fellow workers in your country, industrial, political, social. We are publishing journals in eight languages. News from your organization will be published in all of them.

The material you ask for will be forwarded to you immediately under separate cover. Please send us your publications.

Next May 8 we shall meet in biennial convention at Chicago. There legislation will be enacted for the workers in the American clothing industry. It is expected to be the greatest convention this industry ever saw.

With working class greetings to you and your fellow workers,
I am,

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary-Treasurer,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

MILITANTS CLAIMED BY DEATH

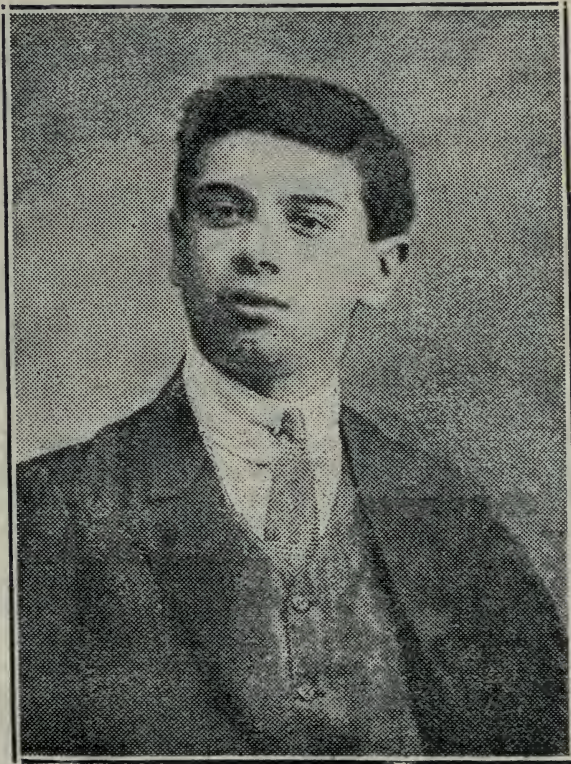
We mournfully record here the death of four active workers for our organization:

DAVID SODONI, Member of Local 142, New York, murdered by a strikebreaker.

ISAAC GOLDSTEIN, Member of Local 2, New York, veteran general organizer, died after a prolonged illness.

JOHN J. HAYES, Member and business agent of Local 181, Boston, Mass. Died after an operation for appendicitis.

ANTON SOUKUP, Member of Local 230, Baltimore, shot by a strikebreaker.



DAVID SODONI
Died, August 10, 1921.

David Sodonì was shot August 9, 1921, by Ciro Vigliano, a strike-breaker employed by Heidelberg, Wolff & Co., 644 Broadway, New York. Sodonì died the next day at Bellevue Hospital. The following comment was made in *Advance* of August 19, 1921:

AT THE BIER OF DAVID SODONI

"The membership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was shocked last week by the bullet shot which sent to the grave young David Sodonì, member of Local 142.

"A young and useful life was destroyed by a gunman.

"A young woman was made a widow; two little children were made orphans, and a third is already an orphan while still under its mother's heart.

"Sodonì was struck down by the assassin's hand. He had no personal quarrel with his assailant; had probably never seen him before.

"When the gunman shot asunder the thread of Sodonì's life, he did so for no reason of his own, but because he was a pawn in the battle of labor-crushing capital against organized workers. It is through such instrumentalities that the reign of violence is carried out against workers who are loyal to their class.

"David Sodonì is the second member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to be sent prematurely to a martyr's grave. The other was Samuel Kapper, who was assassinated in Chicago during the strike of 1915. Both young lives were claimed by the ruthless class struggle.

The man responsible for Samuel Kapper's death went scot free. Sodonì's assailant is in a cell. In due time he will be brought before the bar of justice and tried for his crime.

"But the system in obedience to which the gunman fired his shot at a man who had done him no injury and whom he probably did not know, will not at the same time be brought before the bar. Whether the man who destroyed Sodonì's young life is convicted or acquitted; whether he is sent to the electric chair or to long imprisonment, or is set free, the system served by such creatures as he will continue to oppress, maim, and kill those workers who have the intelligence and the courage to stand up for their rights. Sodonì was not the first victim of that system, and there is no ground for hope that he is the last.

"As we are standing with bared and bowed heads over the grave of young Sodonì we can do nothing more befitting this solemn moment than to pay the last tribute to the dear comrade by renewing our struggle against the system that is responsible for his death and for the sufferings and untimely deaths of many other workers."

Sodonì's assailant was indicted for second degree murder by the grand jury and is now out on bail pending trial.

Recently, an effort was made to have the indictment quashed and the case thrown out of court. However, Judge McAvoy denied the request to have the case dismissed, and it is now on the calendar of the criminal court.

**ISAAC GOLDSTEIN**

Born, June 15, 1872—Died, February 7, 1922.

Isaac Goldstein was born in the town of Suchovaie, Grodno Guberna, Russia. He went to London about 1890, where he spent five years as a worker in the tailoring industry. He was active in radical circles, and became a member of the famous Berner Street Club. He was also associated with the "Arbeiter Freund," a Jewish weekly.

In 1895 Brother Goldstein came to New York where he resided until his death. He was engaged in the tailoring industry, and was active in the struggle of the tailors throughout an entire decade. In the 1913 strike in New York he was one of the prominent leaders. He was a delegate to the Nashville Convention and helped to build the Amalgamated. He was also a delegate to all conventions of the Amalgamated, and an active organizer since the famous 1913 general strike.

Brother Goldstein was a veteran organizer of the tailors in New York.

Advance of February 10, 1922, said:

"By the premature death of Isaac Goldstein the Grim Reaper has removed from our ranks one of the most militant champions in the cause of labor and left a cruel void in our midst.

"Isaac Goldstein, affectionately known among tens of thousands of clothing workers in New York as 'Ike,' was a veteran organizer. To him the labor movement was a sanctum. A labor organization must be clean and honest; else it should not live. Thus, almost from the day of his landing here from England, he was engaged at the double task of organizing the clothing workers and keeping their organization clean and honest. Hard as the former task was, the latter was infinitely harder.

"Goldstein was a leader in every struggle of the tailors against oppressors at the factory as well as in the union. As a result he was barred from the Nashville Convention, to which he was sent by Local 2, along with many other delegates, who were striving for a clean and honest organization for the clothing workers. Goldstein participated in the formation of the Amalgamated, served it as general organizer from the first day until his sad end, and participated in every important organization work in New York. He was a leader in the great strike of 1913 and in every other strike and lockout after that.

"There was no day or night, good or bad weather, for Goldstein when duty called. On the platform at a large mass meeting, on the picket line, at a shop meeting—everywhere Goldstein's voice rang like a tocsin, calling upon the workers to stand united, resist oppression and above all, keep their organization clean.

"When Goldstein spoke out his mind he also, literally, spoke out his heart. He was enthused by his subject and by the rapt attention of his auditors and put his health into his address. Not infrequently a rousing, soul-stirring speech was followed by a few days in the sick bed. Leaving his sick bed Goldstein continued his speeches and continued paying with his health for them. In his work for the labor movement Goldstein disregarded physical consequences.

"Some months ago he took to his bed for the last time. A life-destroying cancer conquered that indomitable spirit.

"Goldstein died much too soon. He was only fifty years old. But this heavenly joy was his: He saw the clothing workers rise from the sweat shop, build up a powerful organization, and elevate themselves to a high position in life; and to that great achievement he contributed mightily.

"To Goldstein a labor union was the means to the great goal of complete emancipation of the workers. That was the inexhaustible source of his inspiration.

"At Goldstein's bier we bow our heads in grief.

"With the members of the Amalgamated to whom he has given the best that was in him, Goldstein's memory will forever remain green."

Brother Frank Bellanca, editor of *Il Lavoro*, official organ of the A. C. W. of A. in Italian, paid this tribute to our departed brother:

"Isaac Goldstein, one of the most popular and most beloved figures in the labor movement, is dead.

"In life's most oppressing and checkered events there are men who should never disappear, especially when such men have a con-

science all moulded for duty and a life entirely devoted to the emancipation of humankind.

“It seems as if he were still before us—our brave and beloved Comrade, merry as always, affectionate, modest, and truly great.

“In 1913, when the betrayed tailors’ rebellion flared up against the infamous agreement, Goldstein was, with the deepest earnestness, in the first line trenches and, together with us, he hurried from place to place, speaking, advising, threatening.

“On the famous night when the Committee of Twenty-five decided the prosecution of the struggle which the scorpions of Astor Place had declared closed, and the whirling of the new life first gathered about the Brotherhood of Tailors and then about the Amalgamated, the warm and powerful voice of one who had never wavered and who had never allowed uncertainties to possess him in the presence of the cowardice of others, was heard.

“And then he went to Nashville where he knew there would be a clash between light and darkness, between the past and the future.

“And thereafter he was in every city and in every class-trench where his work on behalf of the proletarians’ cause as poet, speaker, and soldier was most needed. And he was, indeed, a poet with respect to the cause to which he had devoted himself as an enthusiastic apostle and soldier. And though tired and sick there was a note in him which stirred his being and almost gave him renewed youth: the call to the mission to which he had pledged himself.

“Poor Goldstein! He now lies motionless in the silence and that unmaking of the body which robs man of his mortal form.

“But not all is dead in our great Comrade. Work for good is not mortal; and though the body may return to mother earth, what the man has performed in his life adds to the heritage of social conquests.

“And it is the work on behalf of the brotherhood of men, on behalf of love and justice, in which Isaac Goldstein was active for about thirty years, that will never be forgotten by us and all the workers.

“‘Only he who leaves behind no heritage of love’ can leave behind unmoistened eyes. But you, Goldstein, on the way to your grave, you have a retinue of weeping souls following your hearse.

“Go, great Comrade: your mission has reached its end. From now on the remembrance of your goodness and the example of your actions will hover over our spirit. You leave to youth and the newcomers on the battlefields you have departed from, a heritage of undaunted conscience and undying spirit of sacrifice. You leave behind you a rare example of honesty and pride in a period of moral abjurations, when the greatest virtue would seem to be indifference or a duplicity of character, or else cowardice, in the American labor and political movement. And above all, modest and great Comrade, in your wake there is an example of poverty, almost indigence, after a thirty-year period frequently troublous, never quiet, passed in the roaring trenches of the class war in which you were apostle and leader of one of the most powerful organized armies.

“May your life, the echo of your sincere and calm word, your poverty and your example continue to spur, guide and inspire the proletariat and the vanguard of the workers in their painful climb on which we are slowly proceeding.

“Vale, Comrade!”

Isaac Goldstein was personally known to large numbers of our members and respected and admired for his unselfish devotion to the cause. His early death came as a shock to everybody. Brother Goldstein's contribution to our movement will always live.



JOHN J. HAYES

Born, March 29, 1875—Died, March 28, 1922.

On March 28, 1922, the Amalgamated sustained another grievous loss in the passing of Brother John J. Hayes, long a member and an officer of the Boston Clothing Cutters' and Trimmers' Union, Local 181, A. C. W. of A.

In December, 1920, when the Boston clothing manufacturers sought to divide the cutters' union from the rest of the Amalgamated for the purpose of crushing the entire movement, Brother Hayes was one of those who took the lead in indignantly repudiating the employers' insinuation that the cutters could be bought to stab the union in the back.

Brother Louis Hollander, who was in charge of the Boston work at that time, wrote for *Advance* the following appreciation of the life and services of our departed comrade:

"The Clothing Cutters' and Trimmers' Union of Boston, Local 181, A. C. W. of A., lost in John J. Hayes one of the best men and one of the most active workers.

"At seventeen years Brother Hayes entered the clothing industry, and for thirty long years he was engaged in that industry. He joined the Cutters' and Trimmers' Union, then an independent organization, on May 4, 1903, and he immediately became active in the organization and filled an important place in the organization until he died.

"Brother Hayes held various offices in the organization. He was recording secretary for the Cutters' and Trimmers' for a number of years, and when the Boston Cutters and Trimmers joined the Amalgamated in 1919 he was elected secretary and business-agent for the local. He was well known among the clothing cutters and loved by them. He had the confidence of the workers as well as the manufacturers. He lived in Revere, Mass., and was very active in that town in the political field. He was also active in social welfare work. He was loved and respected by every one in the town.

"The national office placed a wreath on his grave, and was also represented at his funeral by Organizers Salerno, Dusevica, and Hollander. The Boston Joint Board and local unions also had delegations, and placed wreaths on the grave of Brother John J. Hayes.

"The Boston Joint Board and local unions mourn their great loss in the death of John J. Hayes."

ANTON SOUKUP

Anton Soukup, a respected member of the Amalgamated organization in Baltimore, died, like Sodoni in New York, at the hand of a gunman hired by an employer who stopped at nothing in order to destroy the influence of the union.

He was shot in the spine, and after a long and painful period in the hospital died on April 7, 1922.

Brother D. S. Kohn, secretary of the Baltimore Joint Board, in the name of the organization paid this tribute to the loyalty of Brother Soukup:

"In the strike the Amalgamated in Baltimore is now conducting against the contracting shop of Benda we have suffered an irretrievable loss in the death of Brother Anton Soukup, who died as the result of a bullet wound received while picketing the shop, which was fired by a strikebreaker.

"While Brother Soukup was not a striker, he showed a spirit of true unionism by helping to picket the shop that was on strike. Always an active member, his loss to the Baltimore organization and to Local 230 will be keenly felt at all times. The Baltimore organization extends its deepest sympathy to the bereaved family, and assures them that his memory will be cherished as long as an organization in Baltimore exists."

DONATIONS BY THE A. C. W. OF A. AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS THROUGH GENERAL OFFICE TO OUTSIDE ORGANIZATIONS

Russian Famine Relief	\$167,206.80
Furriers' strike	30,000.00*
New York "Call"	6,000.00
Los Angeles Sanatorium	5,163.25
Avanti Publishing Co.	4,039.08
All American Farmer & Labor Co-operative Congress	3,000.00
Socialist Assemblymen's defense	2,880.03
Rand School of Social Science	2,000.00
Italian Chamber of Labor	1,775.00
Socialist Party	1,000.00
Amalgamated Textile Workers of America	10,225.00
International Association of Machinists	1,000.00
Jane Addams, Medical Aid for Russia	500.00
Federated Press	500.00
Naturalization Aid League	500.00
The "New Majority"	500.00
Dante Memorial	350.00
Local 348, International Association of Machinists	300.00
Railroad, Port, and Terminal Workers	250.00
International Congress of Working Women	250.00
"Naye Welt"	250.00
Boston Labor Lyceum	250.00
"Freie Arbeiter Stimme"	250.00
Lebensfragen	250.00
Workers' Defense League	250.00
Socialist Labor Party	250.00
American Labor Alliance for Trade with Russia	250.00
"Socialist Review"	150.00
Modern School Association of North America	150.00
Kropotkin Publishing Society	150.00
The "Messenger"	150.00
The "Emancipator"	150.00
Italian Hospital	100.00
Belgian Clothing Workers	100.00
American Humanitarian Labor Alliance	100.00
Workers' Defense Union	50.00
Civil Liberties Bureau	50.00
Sundry donations and tickets purchased	364.65
Total	\$240,703.81

*Of this amount \$15,000 was contributed by the New York Joint Board directly to the Furriers' Union.

RESERVE FUND

The question of raising a reserve fund has been before us for a long time. On January 14, 1922, the following circular letter was sent to the local organizations:

“To the Joint Boards and Local Unions,
“Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,

“Greeting:—

“As you already know, the General Executive Board at its session last July in Montreal, shortly after the settlement of the big lockout fight in New York, went over the entire field of the clothing industry. The situation was considered from every possible angle. Industrial conditions in the country as a whole, and in our industry in particular, were carefully examined, also the possibilities for the near future. A great deal of time was devoted to this matter at that session.

“As a result, the General Executive Board arrived at the unanimous decision that the experience of our own organization, and of all other important labor organizations in this country, dictates the establishment of a large and substantial reserve fund.

“A labor organization of our size and responsibilities cannot work with any degree of safety without such a fund. The interests of the workers in this industry require it. The necessity of such a fund has made itself felt for a long time, but because of various activities of immediate emergency, which conditions imposed upon the organization in all parts of the country, we were obliged to delay the creation of such a fund from time to time. We have now reached a point where there can be no further delay. A fund must be raised, and as soon as possible.

“The call for such a fund was not issued by the General Executive Board at its July session, because it was so soon after the raising of the \$2,000,000 Lockout Resistance Fund. Later, the collections for the relief of the Russian famine sufferers, a very urgent emergency, caused further delay.

“At the last meeting of the General Executive Board, in Chicago, it was decided to issue the call for the Reserve Fund now and urge all of our local unions to act upon it without any unnecessary delay.

“The decision of the July meeting was that a \$20 assessment be levied on each member. Needless to say, this amount does not have to be paid at one time. Nor does the General Executive Board expect every local organization to raise any substantial part of it

at once. Our intention is that the \$20 be divided into reasonable parts and that each local organization take up the collection of this assessment without delay. Wherever industrial conditions permit immediate collection, that should be done. Wherever a slight delay would be wise in order to make the collection a success, that should be done. It is left to the judgment of the local organizations to determine how soon the collections should begin. But they must begin this season. The delay must not be such as to jeopardize the fund. Because of previous unavoidable delays it is imperative that a good part of the fund be in the organization's treasury before this season is over, so that the membership may have that additional sense of confidence and feeling of security which a substantial treasury is in position to give.

"Please let me know immediately what action your local organization has taken.

"The General Office has provided special stamps, in various denominations, which will be placed in the book of the member, when making a payment into the Reserve Fund.

"Faternally yours,

"JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
"General Secretary-Treasurer."

The appeal met with a good response. Chicago led all markets with a large reserve fund. New York followed Chicago and is now raising such a fund. Boston, Rochester, Cincinnati, and other cities have taken similar action.

CONCLUSION

The past two years were a period of fire and brimstone for the labor movement. The open shop campaign, which gained tremendous impetus from the long industrial depression, was directed against the Amalgamated as an especial target. We never flinched. We stood our ground.

We surrendered none of our achievements. The organization remained intact, with its vigor increased by the enforced exercise of its power in the struggles imposed upon it. Nothing in the least was yielded by us in the forty-four-hour week or in any of the rights achieved through years of struggle.

We were compelled to accept reductions in wages.

The power of American organized labor was not strong enough to afford the workers protection against wage reductions during this long period of unemployment. The best that a labor organization could do in the circumstances was to check, as much as possible, the efforts to force wages down—reduce the reductions to a minimum. That we did in all cases. Were it not for their organized power the clothing workers would ere now in the morass of the pre-Amalgamated sweat shop conditions.

The Amalgamated appeared on the arena under favorable industrial conditions. Many asked: "Will the Amalgamated be able to keep the clothing workers organized also when hard times come back? It has been impossible in the past."

We were put to the test and stood it. Not only have we maintained our organization and standards during the long period of unemployment; we have also successfully fought off the greatest lockout attack ever made upon workers in any of the needle trades.

The Amalgamated is now accepted by the workers and the employers as a permanent factor in the clothing industry. This industry will never return to the pre-war status, where the employers fixed working conditions arbitrarily without the right of the workers to a voice in determining those conditions. The Amalgamated is in the clothing industry to stay as a watchful protector of the workers' interests.

Having begun as an "outlaw" organization because unaffiliated with the official national body of the labor movement, the Amalgamated is now universally accepted by our organized fellow workers as a welcome member in the family of organized labor. The success of our organization, the winning of great and bitterly fought battles, the inspiring achievements, the moral and financial assistance given by us to others liberally and wholeheartedly, have brought organizations and leaders in the general labor movement to a realization of the character and objects of the Amalgamated and of its usefulness to the movement. As a result we are frequently asked to co-

operate with the general labor movement. That co-operation we give gladly. The Amalgamated has won its place of honor and esteem in the world of labor not by the technicality or accident of official affiliation, but by its spirit, record of achievements, and practicing what it preaches.

The hardships of continued unemployment and the tremendous strain of a six-month lockout struggle in the bulk of the eastern markets, involving about half of the membership, have not stopped us from giving financial assistance as in the past, and in even greater measure. We have helped workers at home and in other countries. At home, we gave financial aid on various occasions. In other countries, we cabled \$100 for the striking clothing workers in Belgium when a call came from the secretary of the International Clothing Workers' Federation at Amsterdam, and we gave nearly \$170,000 to help relieve the workers in Russia from their sufferings in the famine. The total donations for the past two years aggregate nearly a quarter of a million dollars.

We have, despite the low state of employment, made great progress in educational work. This work is now a definite and permanent part of our program.

We have also made the beginning of Amalgamated Temples, Amalgamated Libraries, and Amalgamated Banks.

We greet the Fifth Biennial Convention with gratitude for our achievements in the past and hope for greater progress in the future. Each of the preceding conventions has been a landmark. This one, also, is looked to by the membership with fond expectations for new and greater activities.

The loyalty and solidarity of the Amalgamated membership have been an inexhaustible reservoir from which the organization has drawn inspiration and spiritual strength in the performance of its great tasks. That reservoir is greater today than ever before.

On this occasion we send greetings and best wishes to the entire Labor Movement and assure them of our continued co-operation.

We have passed through the severe industrial crisis unscathed and are ready for the new period of constructive work.

Organized Labor the world over is growing to the new situations as they arise. We shall keep pace with it.

We salute you, delegates to the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America! Make new history!

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,

SIDNEY HILLMAN, General President,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary-Treasurer,

AUGUST BELLANCA,

PETER MONAT,

HYMAN BLUMBERG,

SIDNEY RISSMAN,

SAMUEL LEVIN,

FRANK ROSENBLUM,

LAZARUS MARCÖVITZ,

MAMIE SANTORA,

ANZUINO D. MARIMPIETRI,

NATHAN SIEGEL,

ABRAHAM MILLER,

STEPHAN SKALA.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Fifth Biennial Convention
OF THE
**Amalgamated Clothing Workers
of America**

Chicago, Illinois, May 8-13, 1922

FIRST SESSION
Monday, May 8, 1922
10:30 A. M.

The convention was opened at Carmen's Auditorium at 10:30 a. m. with the "International" and other musical selections, rendered by the Amalgamated Band under the direction of Nick O. Berardinelli.

**ADDRESS OF JOSEPH L.
GOLDMAN**

JOSEPH L. GOLDMAN, chairman of the Convention Arrangement Committee of the Chicago Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America: Officers and delegates to the convention; sisters and brothers; friends and guests:

In the name of the Chicago Joint Board, we welcome you to our city, the city that made the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America famous for its progress.

I will now introduce to you one of the brothers who since 1910 has been one of our best workers in the organization. He is now the general manager of the Chicago Joint Board, and is a member of the General Executive Board, Brother Samuel Levin. (Prolonged applause.)

ADDRESS OF SAMUEL LEVIN

SAMUEL LEVIN: Delegates to the Fifth Biennial Convention, sisters and brothers: "We are very happy, indeed, after twelve years of organization and struggle, to be 100 per cent organized in the city of Chicago, and have the convention here today. (Applause.)"

The Chicago membership is proud to receive you and greet you upon this great occasion.

At this time, when reaction is sweeping this country, the Chicago Joint Board, as a young organization, with the market organized only three years ago, was put to a severe test: Would the organization live through the reaction and the open shop campaign? We are happy to say that Chicago has passed through the crisis untouched, and as solid as ever. While we were obliged to make a retreat with respect to wages, we have held our lines firm; our organization and our rights have remained intact. (Applause.)

We have watched the progress of the Amalgamated in other cities. We have followed them with keen interest. We are happy to congratulate you all upon the progress made. (Applause.)

You have stood by the general organization in everything it has undertaken. The success of the organization was due to the unity in our ranks.

We started in a helpless condition twelve years ago. Now we are assuming great tasks and responsibilities, protecting ourselves and helping others.

The entire membership of 40,000 organized clothing workers has been brought to the full realization of the true mission of a labor union, and we are proud of this achievement. (Applause.)

At this time of great differences of opinion, which frequently interfere with the work of an organization, we have been successful in keeping our ranks united for the great tasks of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (Applause.) As we welcome the delegates from all over the country with brotherly love, we hope that our deliberations will result in even greater unity within our organization. We hope and expect that this spirit, prevailing among the membership in Chicago, will also prevail all through the sessions of our convention.

We are happy to have this great congress, this great legislative body of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in our city. We hope that it will enact laws which will make the organization better and stronger. (Applause.)

We are not here to offer you the key of the city, because the Amal-

gamated Clothing Workers of America knows what the key of the city means in Chicago. During the strikes of 1910 and 1915, and other strikes, the key of the city to the workers meant the key to the jail, and we want you to be free and out of jail. (Applause.)

We have established our reputation with the labor movement and with others of the best elements in this country, and we feel the great responsibility of living up to our established reputation and holding aloft the beacon light showing the path to a happy future.

My friends, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you to our city and to our convention. It also gives me great pleasure to turn over the gavel of the convention to the man of whom we in Chicago feel very proud. While he serves the organization all over the country and in Canada, he was an apprentice here in Chicago. I need not give him any introduction. The delegates from the other cities know him, know his impartiality as chairman, and his ability, qualifications, and skill in organizing the workers. He not only enjoys the respect of all our 175,000 organized clothing workers, but also the respect of the other side who sit with him at the council table. He has conducted conventions in the past. I know that the delegates will give him as much co-operation at this convention as they did in Boston, Baltimore, Rochester, and New York. With your co-operation, we feel sure that this convention will lead to greater progress.

It gives me great pleasure and happiness to turn over the gavel to the chairman, Brother Sidney Hillman. (Great applause, during which the Amalgamated Band played the "Marseillaise.")

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT
HILLMAN

President HILLMAN: Delegates to this, the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America:

I am happy indeed to welcome here the delegates to this convention, and through you the tens of thousands of men and women throughout the country whom you represent. I am happy because I am sure that you feel the tremendous responsibility that that large membership has placed upon us. I am happy to welcome the delegates from New York, Baltimore, and Boston, and through you the 75,000 men and women who so gloriously fought the battle of the organization a little more than a year ago. (Applause.) I know that the convention joins with me in greeting the membership of these cities who stood on the firing line for seven months when the very life of the organization was attacked. I hope that the delegates from New York, Boston, and Baltimore will take back the greetings from this convention and say to the membership that we hope in the future the organization will have the same cause to feel confident that in any battle those soldiers will always stand ready to defend the organization, no matter what the cause may be. (Prolonged applause.)

I am happy to greet at this convention the delegates from the city that is the latest acquisition to the organization, a market that in the past was known as the scab market. I am happy to greet you, representatives of our 10,000 members in the city of Rochester, and the delegates from Canada and the other cities.

And last, but not least, I am happy to be here again in this city. This is the city where the greatest battles of our organization took place. This is the city where every step was

paved with struggle and sacrifice, yes, the sacrifice of the lives of some of our members. I am happy to be here and greet you representatives of the city of Chicago, and through you to greet the membership of the city of Chicago. (Prolonged applause.) We meet here in a city where every man and woman working in the industry is a member of our organization. (Prolonged applause.)

My friends, we are here after two years of struggle. We have met to give account to the membership we represent and to the labor movement of ourselves and of our work for the past two years. We are here to lay out policies that will guide us in the next two years. We meet at a time when labor has been tried throughout the world, and throughout the country. For the last two years, the attacks upon labor were of the most vicious character; everything that is vicious, everything that is corrupt has been combined in the assault against organized labor. The employers in this country, as well as in other countries, have taken every advantage of the great period of unemployment and depression. Following the attack on the steel workers and the attack on the men who dig the coal, we had the great attack upon the men and women who are engaged in other industries.

(At this point a committee of shop chairmen and chairladies from the coat shops of Hart, Schaffner & Marx marched through the hall and upon the platform bearing a large floral ladder of progress and throwing flowers to the delegates, while the Amalgamated Band played the "International." The girls were dressed in white. A presentation speech was made by James Cooper.)

President HILLMAN: Delegates, I was happy to be interrupted by a group of chairmen and chairladies

in this city, employed in the shops of Hart, Schaffner & Marx. I want to say to that group of men and women, and to the men and women whom they represent, that Chicago has been organized by them. (Applause.) To them and to the rank and file in this city is due fully the appreciation for the conditions we enjoy in this city today, and I am only sorry that not all of them are here. I am only sorry that I cannot meet, and you cannot meet, every man and woman who has participated in the struggles of the past. Some have left the city. Some perhaps have left the organization, and perhaps some time or other we will have the privilege of meeting them again. But, my friends, there are some whom we will never meet, and I want at this time to introduce to you the two members who gave up their lives in the struggle of 1910, Brother Nagreckas and Brother Lazinskas, and I move that the convention rise in memory of these two brothers.

(Whereupon the convention rose in tribute to the deceased brothers.)

President HILLMAN: This is, indeed, the proper place for us to meet and give account of our stewardship. This is the place where a great deal has been given to make the organization what it is today, and we would be traitors not only to the present but to the memories of the past if we did not assume full responsibility to our organization and to the work its members have given their lives for.

My friends, in the last two years, with this tremendous onslaught on the labor movement, an onslaught along the whole line, we are sorry to say that a great number of the labor organizations have given way. Some of the organizations are no more, others have lost a great deal of their membership, and some of

them have lost the most important rights that labor has gained in the struggles of the past, and especially during the war, and right after the war.

I believe it was in this city that a board, appointed by a President of the United States, who himself declared the eight-hour day a proper right of labor, shamefully took away the eight-hour day from the men and women in the shops of the railways of the United States. Unfortunately labor was not in a position to defend that which is not only the right of labor, but which is the right of every man and woman in this country. But the struggle still goes on. We have today the hundreds of thousands of men who have been forced into a strike in the mines, and every agency of government so far has co-operated with the mine operators to break down the organization that has given some protection to the hundreds of thousands of men employed in supplying fuel to the country. When the same miners stopped a few years ago, in order to improve the conditions of labor, there was an Attorney-General ready with an injunction to drive those men back to the mines. Today we find that Washington is taking no action, and it will take action only when the mine operators call Washington to their assistance.

My friends, the labor movement is fighting today not only for conditions that are beneficial to labor, but it is fighting for conditions that will make it possible for us to go on as a civilized country. The attack of the employers is to destroy the American standard of living, to destroy the freedom of labor and the liberties that labor enjoys, to bring about unrestricted autocracy as far as labor is concerned. And, delegates, you must understand that if freedom and liberty are taken away from labor, they will not remain in the rest of the country. If I am permitted to paraphrase the

saying of one of the greatest men this country ever produced, "You cannot have a country half free and half slave," and the labor movement today is fighting for freedom not only for labor but for the country at large. (Applause.)

My friends, how did the Amalgamated fare during these two years? We have not been let alone, that you know. You know the lockout in the East. You know the attacks in other places. We had the kindly interest of the courts and twenty-four injunctions were issued against our organization in the last two years. We have been sued by employers' associations up to the total of \$4,000,000. We have spent in the battle in New York City alone upwards of \$2,000,000, and over \$250,000 in lockouts embracing Boston and Baltimore. In this great struggle, while in a few skirmishes we have suffered temporary small losses on the fringes, while we have made some concessions where we felt that the interests of the organization dictated it, I am happy to say to you that, in spite of the unemployment, in spite of the depression, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is stronger today than even two years ago. (Applause.)

We meet here representing an army which, while perhaps not complete in numbers, is better tried than any time before. Our financial resources are several times larger than ever before, and, my friends, what is even more important is the spirit of unity and determination to stand together as never before. I hope that you delegates to the convention will take account and examine the reasons why we have suffered less than most other organizations. In my judgment the real reason for our strength—and I hope that the convention will make it even stronger—is our form of organization. It is because we are not a craft organization. It is because we do not permit

an individual group here or there to assume responsibility for the organization as a whole. I know it is difficult to speak about industrial organization without the penalty of being proclaimed by the ignorant, or by the enemies of labor, as advocating One Big Union, or some other things that are made to appear very dangerous to the labor movement.

I hope that you will not be swayed by temporary fears, that you will not be swayed by temporary passion. The industrial form of organization has been proven efficient. It protects labor, and not only does it protect labor, but it protects the employers who have made up their minds to deal with labor. When we agree, the agreement holds for everybody. When we do not agree, we fight unitedly, so that our just cause will ultimately triumph. The industrial form of organization carries responsibility, responsibility to the men and women in the industry, and responsibility to the industry itself. It carries out its contract, and it carries out its obligations. It is responsible to the community in this city, and the community knows that no small group will precipitate a strike in our organization. They know that when the organization puts its stamp on a policy, every man and woman will know it is all right, and it is his or her obligation to accept that policy, because it is the policy of the organization.

I hope that at this convention we will do everything possible to strengthen that unified front in our own industry. I hope I am permitted to express, if nothing else, at least a hope that the same unity will be extended on a larger area. May I be permitted to express the hope that in the very near future the delegates from all the needle trades will meet in convention? (Applause.) This is no time for division. This is the time for unity, closer and closer unity, be-

cause the enemy stands together to fight us, no matter what organization we belong to.

My friends, delegates to this convention, I hope that, in laying out the policies for the organization in the future, you will approve all our policies in the past—policies that are no longer theoretical; policies that have been tested in times of prosperity and in times of depression, and as a result of those policies you have today an organization that all of us have a right to be proud of. I hope we will see to it that the gains of the past are maintained, and, aye, I hope more that on at least one immediate proposition this convention will state its position in a manner that cannot possibly be misunderstood. We must make the problem of unemployment the immediate issue in our industry.

You passed a resolution on unemployment at the Boston convention. As long as labor accepts unemployment as a matter of course, nothing will be done to cure the curse of unemployment.

What is the curse of unemployment? It is not only that you and I and the rest of labor in other industries may be out of work. What is more important is that the very industrial foundation of the country is undermined, and that billions and billions of dollars of wealth are being destroyed. And why? Because of the inefficient way industry is run today. As long as labor, and labor alone, pays the penalty for unemployment, I can assure you that the employers of labor will do nothing to cure unemployment. Unemployment has to be placed as a definite responsibility on industry. The men and women who are needed in industry must not be discarded as human wreckage, just because there is an inefficient way of running industry.

On this convention depends so much in our movement that I want to impress upon you that it is our responsi-

bility to consider resolutions that will lead to action.

I believe that the greatest contribution our organization has made is its liberal attitude toward the labor movement as a whole. You will read in the financial report that for the last two years we have donated from the General Office alone a quarter of a million dollars to outside movements. It is my firm judgment that when we start taking a selfish attitude, when we assume the attitude that most labor organizations do, that outside of our own little corner we are not concerned, we, and we alone, will be the first to pay the penalty for that attitude. (Applause.) I plead with you to understand that the responsibility of the labor movement is to aid along lines that will be constructive and helpful; that we are a movement of those who have been oppressed, and who have still a great distance to go until we get what we are entitled to get; and that it is our obligation to help those who are still suffering under the iron heel of oppression.

I want to greet you and congratulate you, and the organization, upon the wonderful spirit of liberality and generosity that you have exercised for the last two years. I believe that our organization has given more than all the other labor organizations combined—not individuals—to help to meet the frightful cry for help from abroad. It is a disgrace to the labor movement that the real help for a great suffering country came from Hoover and not from the American Federation of Labor. We can proudly say that, while the labor movement as a whole has failed in this country, this country has given more than any other country to the suffering needs over there, and I hope that the organization will in the future, and will at this convention, find some way to help in the economic reconstruction abroad. (Applause.)

Conditions abroad, as I knew them

six months ago, are bordering on absolute chaos. The whole of Europe is in danger of getting into the abyss of complete anarchy, not philosophical anarchy, but the kind of anarchy that allows the law of the jungle, and takes the place of the law of civilization, imperfect as it may be. The reconstruction of Europe will not be accomplished by those who are merely interested in seeing how much they can get out of it. Where it is all a matter of bargaining, where the human element is not taken into consideration, where they will sacrifice 1,000,000 lives to get \$1,000,000, the spirit there prevailing is not the spirit that will bring about reconstruction. I hope that the men and women, not only of labor, but all of those to whom mankind is not an empty word, a meaningless word, will try to find a way to make their contribution to those who need it.

Delegates, the most important thing that I hope will come from this convention is, no matter what may be our differences of opinion, no matter how much we may disagree on some ultimates here and there, that here in the organization we know no other place but the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the Amalgamated alone. (Applause.) Delegates, I believe the membership has a right to demand of you, as far as your movement is concerned, allegiance to the Amalgamated, and no other movement can take first place before the Amalgamated. (Applause.)

I hope that you will reiterate at this time, at your convention, that there is no room for division. Delegates, I welcome you again. May I not hope that two years from now, when we meet again, we will have cause to be proud of ourselves? I hope that we will be able to say that we have made our contribution, and that, because of our effort, the lot of the laboring people at large has become better than it is today.

Let me express from the bottom of my heart my deep welcome and greetings to

you delegates to this Fifth Biennial Convention. (Prolonged applause.)

ELECTION OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

President HILLMAN: The first point on the order of business, according to our constitution, is the appointment of a Committee on Credentials. The chair recommends the following seven members for that committee:

Joseph E. Shea, Local 4, New York.

J. Levine, Local 209, Montreal.

Jesse Montague, Local 145, Indianapolis.

B. Goldman, Local 15, Baltimore.

Ph. Licastro, Local 200, Rochester.

S. Smith, Local 39, Chicago.

Lilly Farsing, Local 113, Cincinnati.

It is moved and seconded that the delegates named shall constitute the Credentials Committee. All in favor signify by saying aye. Contrary, no.

The motion was unanimously carried.

President HILLMAN: It gives me great pleasure, indeed, to introduce to you one who has contributed greatly to our organization and helped to make possible at least a partial success in the 1910 strike. There was a time, in 1910, when we had to go out and collect nickels, and at that time there was a group of people who gave upwards of \$72,000. It is really a pleasure for me to acknowledge our indebtedness to the wonderful activities of the Women's Trade Union League. I take great pleasure in introducing to you the national president of the Women's Trade Union League, who gave much of her time, mornings, days, evenings, and at times the whole night, and not only gave her time, but also financial assistance, and what was more, the spiritual warmth that made it possible to carry through a strike for eighteen weeks; I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mrs. Raymond Robins. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS

Mrs. ROBINS: Mr. President, friends and fellow workers of Chicago, and especially friends and fellow workers of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx group, and delegates to this greatest labor congress in America:

I have the privilege of bidding you welcome in the name of the National Women's Trade Union League, with a membership of 600,000 women and some men. We are the women's movement within the labor movement. As I was listening here with you in this great hour of your victory, I thought for the moment, and I still think it, that not even heaven can hold an hour more wonderful than the hour of the setting free of the spirit of the workers of the clothing industry.

You just heard a reference to that great strike of 1910. I was brought up, friends, to pay bills, and when one bill after another had to be met, and there was no money in the treasury, and tens of thousands of men and women and children were hungry, I went to John Fitzpatrick and I said, "How big a bill shall I run up and not be afraid when we have to meet it?" He said, "Do not run a bill bigger than \$10,000, and we will put it up to the Chicago Federation of Labor." One week went by, and I put up the request for \$10,000 to the workers of Chicago, and they gave it, and so again another week and still another week and still another week, until eighteen weeks went by. And because we had the co-operation of the Chicago Federation of Labor, we were able to lay the foundation for this great labor movement in the clothing industry in America.

I also bid you welcome as president of the International Federation of Working Women. I bid you welcome in the name of 2,000,000 working women of thirty-five countries in America and Europe and Asia. (Ap-

plause.) These women workers are in Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Belgium, the eastern lands, in Japan, China and India, as well as Rumania, Greece and elsewhere. These women have asked me over and over again, "Is it true that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America represents the needle trades of America? Is it true that an organization out of the sweat shops, out of the garment industries, can have grown to such strength and power and understanding of the suffering of other people?" And I said, "Friends, it is true." The gifts of hundreds of thousands of dollars from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to Europe and the steel workers of America and the miners of America have carried your name the world over.

I feel that a great part of your strength is due to the fact that you have come out of the depths of poverty, and you have reached down into the depths of the labor movement and helped those who are suffering and struggling. You have helped those who have been for seventeen years my neighbors in the 17th ward of Chicago.

We know that these flowers, this music, the great banquet yesterday evening in honor of the woman leader in the great strike of 1910, in honor of Bessie Abramowitz, now the wife of your distinguished leader and president, Sidney Hillman, simply meant that we were speaking heart to heart and mind to mind. There is one thought that I would like to leave with you this morning. It is the thought, friends, that there must be a greater interpretation of your work and your purpose to the great outside world. I feel that we must have a deeper revealing of the spirit and purpose of the labor movement. I want to have you know and feel that we are part of that great upward struggle of the human race, and that today, in Chicago, there is being linked master mind to master mind, with the great master minds of the past. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: The next speaker who will address the convention needs no introduction to our Chicago membership. I believe most of them he has met outside and inside of the courts. I am sure that quite a number of the Chicago members have been on the picket line, and they know our fighting attorney, Bill Cunnea.

Let me say to the delegates that out of 2,000 arrests in the city of Chicago in the 1915 strike, not a single member went to jail from the picket line. I take great pleasure in introducing to you our friend and attorney, Bill Cunnea.

ADDRESS OF WILLIAM CUNNEA

WILLIAM CUNNEA: Mr. Chairman, comrades of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America: I reserve the privilege of an Irishman to disobey all rules, orders and regulations. The doctors have told me to keep out of court and off platforms for a month or two, but I could not resist coming over here this morning. I did not expect to be called upon, but I came here because I wanted to see the delegates of that great organization, the members of whom in Chicago went through a chaos of blood and tears on every street, met imprisonment and met death, and still carry the old ideal of working class solidarity. The meetings of a few years ago in the back rooms, in streets, have culminated in this magnificent gathering of the Fifth Biennial Convention.

There were times when things did not run as well and as readily and as smoothly as they do today. When you selected Chicago as the place for your Fifth Biennial Convention you honored Chicago, but remember Chicago had honored you, because this was the battlefield of your great struggle. Men have been shot to death within a radius of a mile of this hall. We have seen the police turned loose upon the pickets. We have seen men and women battered to the ground and we have seen them

in the morning, those who could rise, triumphant again, ready to go in the line, ready to fight for solidarity. You have seen the pictures of the men who in 1910 met death for this principle that you today advocate. They are with us in spirit. In 1915, again right within a mile from where this hall is located, at Halsted and Adams streets, Sam Kapper, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, went to his death, leaving a widow who still pursues the cause; and to him, in a cemetery a few miles away, a monument was erected by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. There never was a sacrifice too great in this city. At all times you found the spirit that rallies around men fighting shoulder to shoulder. The men whom you see on this platform now, dressed up, with flowers in their button holes, the men whom you see now with pleasant faces greeting you, I have seen in the halls sleeping on benches and on tables, standing for a few minutes in a corner, to rest up so that at 6:30 in the morning the picket line might be sent out again to do a day's work.

So in the midst of this great campaign, when things have rolled along with you, do not forget the troubles and the trials that were undergone to bring the Amalgamated to where it is today. The danger to an organization is when the organization is successful. There is not much danger when the organization is struggling along.

Let us hope that your deliberations will be such that they will redound to the credit of your organization. I claim, with all due respect to my dear friend, Mrs. Robins, who preceded me, that, notwithstanding her welcome, notwithstanding Sam Levin's welcome, and Sidney Hillman's welcome, the only race in the world that can give a welcome is the race that I belong to. Let me express in a few words the welcome that cannot be expressed in any other way, the old Irish saying,

"A hundred thousand welcomes to you all." (Prolonged applause.)

President HILLMAN: It gives me great pleasure now to introduce a man who is known to all of you, no matter from what part of the country you come—the counsel of our organization in this city, Clarence Darrow.

ADDRESS BY CLARENCE DARROW

CLARENCE DARROW: I presume you are all anxious for us lawyers to get through talking so you can get down to business. I do not know any real good reason for coming here, except I wanted to come and I was invited. When I first met those who in great trouble formed this organization, we did not have any flowers. When I came in today, I did not know whether this was a wedding or a funeral. (Laughter and applause.) When I see flowers I am generally afraid to come.

Now, we can all of us give advice. Advice is cheap, unless you go to a lawyer, and it really does not amount to a great deal. I have always been for the union. I shall always expect to be. Not that I think union people are any better than any others, or that they are any wiser, or any fairer, or better companions than any others. I do not think they are. I have no delusions about them. I know them too well. I am for them because the men who make up a union, a real union, never had what they ought to get. After a while, when they get more than they ought to, I will probably be against them. (Laughter.)

I know that the unions have a hard time. I know labor leaders have a hard time. I believe that there is no union in this country which has had wiser, more devoted, and more intelligent leaders than your union has. I know that to a

large degree the success of this organization, and it has been successful, is due to the wisdom of its leaders. I also note that success is very dangerous. Anybody almost can stand grief, but very few can stand success, and I am always doubtful when I see a man, or an organization, getting too comfortable. It is pretty hard to be well-to-do and successful and keep your ideals. It is pretty hard to be a labor leader and keep your ideals. Your leaders have done it remarkably well. I do not know how long they will hold out, but so far they have done well.

Now, I used to have a great deal of advice upon cases like this, but I have not the same assurance that I once had. In the first place, I know the people never take it, and in the second place, I never know whether it is good advice or not. I used to think that you never got anything unless you got the Co-operative Commonwealth. I am not so sure any more. I used to think if we did not get the single tax we would not get anywhere. I am not so sure of that any more. In fact, I am not so sure that there is anything that gets you anywhere. The main thing is to be interested in life, to have something to do, to forget yourself. I am inclined to think that there is no plan that can possibly work out to perfection; that all plans are faulty, and due to one thing, that is the people. These you cannot change. They are made a certain way. They will always be made that way and always act practically the same way. But I do think this, that a man should have ideals. I do not know about myself, but I think other people should have them. They are pretty good things to live on. I think a labor leader should have ideals and I think a labor organization should have ideals. I think that is one

thing that has made this organization one of the best and one of the greatest and one of the most dependable organizations of labor anywhere.

The union must be practical, and it is awfully hard work to be practical and have ideals, almost as hard as to be rich and have ideals. Any labor leader, or any organization, cannot get for its members all they want. If they could, nobody else would have anything. Even we lawyers would have to starve or go to work. (Laughter and applause.) No leader of working men can get for the working people all that they really ought to have. All you can do is to get as close to it as possible and keep working for it all the time.

Labor is governed by the same laws that govern everybody else, largely the law of supply and demand, and it will be so governed for many years to come, perhaps forever. I know you have to be governed more or less by the condition of trade. I know that labor unions ought to be in a situation where they are willing to take every advantage to get high wages and where they are willing to meet and discuss the question of lower wages. After all, you must use good judgment when these matters come up, and as a rule those who have the management of the organization understand these questions better than the rank and file.

The ideal labor leader, to my mind, is a man who is practical, who has his mind fixed upon what can be done today and tomorrow and next week, who is willing to examine all questions fairly in the light of the world, as the world is today, who is always faithful to the men he represents, and still who has a vision large enough to work for some better condition of society than the one he is living in now. That is a pretty

big bill, but that is an ideal labor leader.

Of course, a good working man, unless he is too much of an idealist for this world, cannot live on the dream of a future Co-operative Commonwealth. You have got to have something to eat before it comes. Otherwise you would starve while you are getting it. It is well enough to have your dream, and to work for it, and to hope for it. But in the meantime you must have a living, and outside of having a living, we ought to have enough to have some fun out of life. A man who postpones his pleasure until the next world, or until the Co-operative Commonwealth, is never apt to get any—except in his dreams. So a labor leader must have a vision of the future. He must have practical common sense to get all he can day by day for those who are dependent upon him and upon his energy and his wisdom, because your life is today and tomorrow and next week, and you must live now as well as living in your dreams.

I have always been more or less of an idealist. I like to see people have a vision. I like to see them try. I want to see the Russian people succeed in their great undertaking. Whether they will succeed, nobody can tell, or how long they will succeed nobody can tell, but I believe that every square person ought to wish them well and do what they can to help them. (Great applause.) I like to see everybody succeed in his dreams and his visions, and at the same time I do not believe in postponing all that you could get while you are living now to a better society after you are dead. That is just as idle.

I believe that the organization is wise that serves the mind as well as the body, that appeals not only to the present, but to the future. I

believe your leaders in intelligence and vision and devotion are far beyond the ordinary leaders. I believe that they know enough to keep ahead of them the vision of a world where labor unions will not be necessary, and still at the same time to know that the only thing in the world which can do anything for the comfort and happiness and the prosperity and the well-being of the men and women who live and work today is a strong union. I believe that this organization, above all the organizations that I know anything about, has that kind of a membership and that kind of a leadership. And so I wish you well. (Prolonged applause.)

President HILLMAN: Delegates, we are not going to introduce all of the speakers whose names appear on today's program, because of the late hour, but I am sure that you are as anxious as I am to hear the man who shares the great responsibility of carrying out the policies of the organization between conventions. It is not my intention to file complaints on behalf of the officers to the convention, but I want to say to you that the struggle at times becomes very hard and the strain seems impossible to bear. Because of that I am especially grateful that it has been my privilege in the past, as I hope it will be in the future, to share the responsibilities of the organization's work with a man whom you have seen fit to place in the highest offices of the organization. He has always been a source of inspiration to me as well as to the others in our arduous work, and I call him my closest associate and comrade in this work, Brother Joseph Schlossberg. I take great pleasure in introducing Brother Schlossberg to the convention. (Prolonged applause, the Amalgamated Band playing the "Russian Hymn.")

ADDRESS BY JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

Secretary-Treasurer SCHLOSSBERG: Brother president, delegates and friends: I realize that this gathering here today, and all the subsequent sessions during the week, will be closely and carefully watched by friends and enemies; that a great deal depends upon the work, and, above all, upon the spirit of this convention. I share the feeling of all of you, the feeling of happiness of being here, in this city, the Bunker Hill of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (Applause.) Whenever I meet with Brothers Levin, Rosenblum, Marimpietri, Rissman, and Skala at a meeting of the General Executive Board, or in Chicago, I see in the unity and comradeship of this group the symbol of the unity and comradeship of the 40,000 clothing workers in this city. It is no accident that Chicago is so wonderfully organized, so organized that no industry in any city can expect to be better organized.

We are meeting here today in an atmosphere of music and flowers, flowers brought to us by the sweatshop workers of yesterday. The ladder of progress, made of flowers, was presented to us by those workers who, with their own strength and the support given them by the members in other cities, have made a reality of the American right to organize and speak freely, without paying for it by the loss of the job; a right which, though guaranteed by American institutions, was a dead letter for the clothing workers until the Amalgamated came and gave it vitality. (Applause.)

My friends, after every storm a rainbow appears, a promise that bright weather is coming. The rainbow has various colors, and the combination of all of those colors gives it beauty; and we look at the rainbow and rejoice at its beauty. The Amalgamated Cloth-

ing Workers of America is the rainbow upon the industrial firmament; it is the promise of the bright day to come, a bright future for every person who is doing honest work. That rainbow will never vanish until that bright day does come. (Applause.)

That rainbow, too, includes various colors, for we have in our organization members with different views and opinions. Upon the platform of the Amalgamated all honest workers, intelligent enough to organize the industry, find common interest and unity of purpose and determination to fight for the common cause. (Applause.)

This convention is being held at a time when there are many varying views in the labor movements throughout the world; when the workers of the world are acquiring a new mentality and a new consciousness. At this time the industrial organization of labor must be the place where all workers with their varying views may find a home and shelter. Because of that the work of this convention will be watched with particular interest.

We have always met at our conventions united. We have always left our conventions united, and went back to our constituents to continue building better, higher, and stronger our magnificent building, that great structure of which we are all proud. We have been the master builders of this glorious temple of labor. (Applause.)

The question might be asked by many on the outside, "Will this convention bring like results?" It is my hope and my conviction that we shall leave this convention as united, and more so, as when we left the previous conventions. (Applause.)

There is one thing that an individual may not be sure of, but an organization may be, and a movement may be, and which lies entirely within the organization's own power. That is the capacity to retain eternal youth. An or-

ganization that begins to grow old is doomed and useless, and the sooner it dies the better. We must see to it that our organization remains forever young and that the spirit which animates the enlightened workers today does not die. If our organization keeps pace with the progress of the world it will always remain young and able to meet any situation that may arise. (Applause.)

Brother Hillman said a few complimentary words about me. I do not want to say anything which, though perfectly correct and true, might look like returning the compliment, but I do say that to Brother Hillman—with whom I have co-operated fully and who has co-operated with me—very much credit is due for the magnificent spirit of this organization which has kept it young all of these years and which has made the great achievements possible.

We have, among others, made one great contribution, almost immediately after our lockout of a half a year, on which we spent over \$2,000,000, and while many of our members were out of work. We have made that contribution to our fellow workers in Russia, which meant more than the large amount of nearly \$200,000 that we gave them. The spirit in which the contribution was made was no less important. The spirit and the message delivered by Brother Hillman to the Russian workers made every dollar that we sent them carry with it a message of love and true human affection. We have received greetings from those workers. Here is a message received by this convention from Russia. (Tremendous and prolonged applause.)

This is a message from the Russian Red Cross, in charge of the relief work for the famine sufferers in that country, signed by Soloviev, president of the Russian Red Cross:

"Russian Red Cross sends greetings to Amalgamated convention and in

name 36,000 famine sufferers whose lives Amalgamated has saved thanks devoted comrades in America who in time of their own trouble endured additional hardships that their brothers might live. Need is not over nor battle against hunger yet won, but Russian comrades have taken new courage from your splendid support.

“SOLOVIEV, President,
“Russian Red Cross.”

(The Amalgamated orchestra struck up Russian and Italian labor hymns amid loud and long applause.)

Secretary - Treasurer SCHLOSSBERG: We have saved 36,000 human lives by our help, which was made possible by our organized power. We can save more. (Applause.)

We are marching onward all the time. We desire to march on peacefully. We ask that we be not interfered with and that no obstacles be placed in our path. Where obstacles are placed in our way, those who place them there are responsible for the consequences.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has been fortunate in having a group of people in charge of the affairs of the organization who have co-operated to the fullest extent and made continuous progress possible. On this occasion I want to express my personal thanks, as one who has given

many years to the movement, to Brother Hillman (applause), with whom I am in closest touch, to Brother Potofsky (applause), whom all of you know by name and by his work, if not personally, and to the members of the General Executive Board (applause) for the magnificent spirit displayed every time it was required and for always rising to a situation with that spirit and co-operating in complete harmony. There is no doubt of the future progress, success, and achievements of our organization.

This is the greatest convention so far, and I hope the next convention will be the greatest two years from now. Each convention in its time has been the greatest.

Let us retain this buoyant youth of our organization and march onward from one achievement to another. (Prolonged applause.)

Maurice C. Fisch, secretary of the Convention Arrangement Committee of the Chicago Joint Board, was introduced by the chair and made a number of announcements regarding the entertainment of delegates for the afternoon and evening.

At 1:30 p. m. President Hillman announced that the Committee on Credentials would meet in the afternoon, and that the next session of the convention would be held at the Oriental Consistory Hall at 9:30 sharp the next morning.

SECOND SESSION Tuesday, May 9, 1922 10 A. M.

President Hillman called the second session to order Tuesday, May 9, 1922, 10 a. m., at Oriental Consistory Hall.

General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum then read telegrams of greeting and good wishes for the deliberations of the convention from the following:

Local 2, A. C. W. of A., New York.
Local 22, A. C. W. of A., New York.
Local 30, A. C. W. of A., Brooklyn.
Local 36, A. C. W. of A., Baltimore.
Local 52, A. C. W. of A., Baltimore.
Local 59, A. C. W. of A., Baltimore.
Local 86, A. C. W. of A., Pittsburgh.
Local 100, A. C. W. of A., Baltimore.

Local 115, A. C. W. of A., Montreal.
 Local 120, A. C. W. of A., Louisville.
 Local 139, A. C. W. of A., Philadelphia.

Local 143, A. C. W. of A., Philadelphia.

Local 158, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Local 166, A. C. W. of A., Minneapolis.

Local 171, A. C. W. of A., Boston.

Local 178, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Local 181, A. C. W. of A., Boston.

Local 240, A. C. W. of A., Brooklyn.

Local 247, A. C. W. of A., Baltimore.

Local 248, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Local 260, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Locals 273 and 278, A. C. W. of A., Los Angeles.

Local 275, A. C. W. of A., Chicago.

Executive Board, Local 243, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Teddy Cohen, member Local 243, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Executive Board, Local 246, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Executive Board, Local 248, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Powers Clothing Co., strikers, Red Bank, N. J.

Employees of Witty Bros.' coat shop, New York.

Vest Makers of Greater New York, A. C. W. of A.

Striking shirtworkers of Greenpoint, New York.

Workers of Tuxedo Shirt Co., members of Locals 246 and 248, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Workers of Liondale Shirt Co., Local 248, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Pants and Kneepants Makers' Union, A. C. W. of A., Philadelphia.

Joint Executive Board, coat department, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Group of Italian Workers, Boston.

Staff, Newark office, A. C. W. of A.

Employees Shop 8, Royal Tailors, Chicago.

Jack Blum, Boston.

Pantsmakers of Greater New York, A. C. W. of A.

Workers of Lubelle Bros.' shirt factory, members of Local 248, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Chicago Group of Tailors for Soviet Russia, Chicago.

Oscar Smith, Rochester.

Staff, Baltimore Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Boston Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Boston Office Staff, A. C. W. of A.

Cincinnati Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Cleveland Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Milwaukee Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

A. G. Piepenhagen, Milwaukee.

Montreal Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.
 New York Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Philadelphia Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Shirtmakers' Joint Board, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Workers' Union, A. C. W. of A., New York.

Twin City Joint Board, A. C. W. of A., St. Paul and Minneapolis.

Office Staff, A. C. W. of A., New York.

"Deeply regret my inability to meet my comrades and friends and to work with them. I am with you in spirit and know that your constructive action will be a great comfort to me in this enforced absence. Unity of purpose and tolerance for all shades of opinion so indispensable in an economic organization of labor shall prevail in our ranks. The Amalgamated will emerge from this convention greater than ever.

"AUGUST BELLANCA."

"We send our hearty greetings and congratulations to your most important assemblage in the history of the Amalgamated. Hail the Amalgamated.

"H. BLUMENREICH,

"Vice-President, Amalgamated Center, New York."

"My heartiest wishes for further successes fully deserved by your great militant organization. I hope to be with you to help you fight your fights and to rejoice in your victories.

"DAVID PINSKI."

"Joint Board Furriers' Union greets delegates of the Amalgamated. Your history has been one of phenomenal growth in spite of all obstacles. Your pioneer achievements in the field of collective bargaining, methods of organization, and educational work have been a source of inspiration and guidance to all labor organizations. May your splendid work continue.

"JOINT BOARD FURRIERS'
UNION, New York."

"The executive board and the patients of the home extend their sincerest good wishes to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America at its Fifth Biennial Convention. We wish you success in all your undertakings and hope you will continue to assist those in need.

"EX-PATIENTS, TUBERCULAR
HOME OF DENVER,
"DR. A. M. BLUMBERG, Secretary."

"Amalgamated Textile Workers of America greets its sister organization in convention. Thousands of striking cotton mill workers join in congratulations. Your accomplishments inspire us to fight our way forward. May your present deliberations be as fruitful of results for powerful unionism as those of the past.

"AMALGAMATED TEXTILE
WORKERS OF AMERICA,
"RUSSELL PALMER,
General Secretary."

"Greetings to the delegates assembled at the convention. Our heartiest congratulations on the splendid and glorious victories achieved by your organization during the last two years. May your organization continue to be

the torch of life and inspiration for the entire labor movement.

"FANCY LEATHER GOODS
WORKERS' UNION,
"ISIDOR LADERMAN, Manager."

"The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America, HIAS, extends to you its heartiest congratulations on this occasion and wishes to express its appreciation for the support and co-operation received from your members.

"JOHN L. BERNSTEIN,
"President."

"Greetings and best wishes from the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. May all your deliberations be crowned with success, paving way for additional glorious achievements of your organization and for greater solidarity and organized co-operation among all organizations of the needle trades.

"M. ZUCKERMAN,
"General Secretary."

"The Naturalization Aid League extends to your delegates in convention assembled every success in your deliberations. The league appreciates the assistance you have always rendered to the cause of naturalization and expresses the hope that you will continue in the future your generous co-operation.

"E. H. JESHURUN, Manager,
"The Naturalization League."

"Brothers and sisters, the United Hebrew Trades of Chicago congratulate the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and rejoice in the splendid success they have achieved during the short period of their life. Our organization in the name of the trade unions of Chicago wishes you the greatest success in your future work.

"LEON HANOCK, Secretary,
"United Hebrew Trades."

"The Independent Workmen's Circle solidarily entwined with you has always stood side by side with

the brave builders of the high-spirited, well-disciplined, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Hundred of our members are your members and are fighting in your ranks since your birth the daily struggle to wrest industrial freedom for the clothing workers in this country. The gains of your organization are gains for our members, and to a large extent are also enjoyed by the working class, and it is with sincere pleasure that we herewith extent to your Fifth Biennial Convention our brotherly greetings and hearty wishes for a fruitful and successful convention.

**"INDEPENDENT WORKMEN'S
CIRCLE,**

"S. EGDALL, General Secretary, National Executive Committee."

"Congratulations to the indomitable Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America upon the completion of another two-year period of struggle and triumph. Very best wishes for the years of achievements which lie ahead. The great spirit and vision of the Amalgamated always lead to victory.

"S. JOHN BLOCK."

"The Douglas Park Day and Night Nurses welcome the honorable delegates to our city and congratulate you upon your success. We hope that the number of workingmen's children we are caring for in our institution may decrease rather than increase. The delegates are invited to visit the institution.

**"THE DOUGLAS PARK DAY
AND NIGHT NURSERY,
"1300 Independence Boulevard,
Chicago."**

"With the best wishes for the success of the convention.

**"DRESS MAKERS' UNION,
LOCAL 143."**

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON
CREDENTIALS**

Chairman Shea of the Committee on Credentials reported that the committee had found the following delegates present and duly qualified, and recommended that they be seated:

Local 1, Boston. Alex Cohen, Frank Lerman, Samuel Rosnitsky, Morris Volinsky.

Local 2, New York. Harris Cohen, David Goldstein, Jacob Itzkowitz, Morris Kofler, Morris Rappaport, Max Schultz, Nathan Wertheimer.

Local 3, New York. Joe Cohen, H. Kalushkin, Harry Kantor.

Local 4, New York. Abraham Beckerman, Harry Jacobson, Joseph E. Shea, Abraham Silverman, George Stone, Morris Weinstein.

Local 5, New York. Abraham Hershkowitz, Bernard Lader, Samuel Liptzin, Jacob Pollack, Benjamin Reinisch, Samuel Zutkoff.

Local 6, Chicago. Anna Bendik, Joseph Hadac, Frank Hubacek, James Kucera, Vincent Sedlak, Joseph Sibal, Charles Svetal.

Local 8, New York. Samuel Herman, Jacob Schwartzberg, David Weiss.

Local 14, Rochester. Jesse Freeman, Jacob J. Levine, William Potter, Sam Sugarman.

Local 15, Baltimore. Barney L. Goldman, Harry Madanick.

Local 16, New York. Morris Goldstein, Frank Margolies, Sam Stein.

Local 19, New York. Alex Friedel.

Local 22, New York. Rebecca Felsenfeld, Sam Fisher, Yudie Kantor, Ralph Prager, Saul Riger.

Local 25, Boston. William Ginsberg, H. Weisberg.

Local 30, Brooklyn. J. Powers.

Local 36, Baltimore. Sarah Borinsky, Harry Cohen, Philip Rudich, Abraham Shapiro.

Local 38, Chicago. Constantine Bobrowski, Julius Miller, Joseph Pyzik, Stanley Satalecki, Michael Stefanski, Stanley Szewczyk.

Local 39, Chicago. Joe Beck, Meyer Berson, Morris Brown, Alfred Dolnick, Kolmon Don, Anna Fox, Tony Mysiewicz, Benjamin Rutledge, Jake Sagan, Louis Schlossberg, Hyman Schneid, Samuel Smith, Benjamin Weiss.

Local 40, New York. Zelig Mandel, Hyman Novodvor.

Local 43, Brooklyn. Isidor Fader, Joseph Leppo.

Local 50, New York. B. Goldscholl.

Local 51, Baltimore. Ulisse De Dominicis, Tommasso Romagni.

Local 54, Brooklyn. J. B. Palionis, Jonas Takalauskas.

Local 55, New York. Louis Stein.

Local 58, Brooklyn. William Cernis, John Kriaucevicius.

Local 61, Chicago. Al Behm, L. Bettelheim, Reuben Block, Ben Cooper, Jacob Kroll, Louis Waxler.

Local 63, New York. Joe Catalanotti, Ruffino Conti, Giovanni Crispo, Sam La Scala, Benne Romano, Michael Romano.

Local 75, Philadelphia. Morris Shliffer.

Local 80, New York. Abraham Yelowitz.

Local 85, New York. Anthony Di' Blasi, Murray Zafarana.

Local 86, Pittsburgh. H. Pittler, B. Shear.

Local 96, Syracuse. Sidney H. Sherry.

Local 100, Baltimore. Thomas Truss.

Local 101, Brooklyn. Theodore Pilger.

Local 103, New York. Peter Visotsky.

Local 104, Utica. Frank Cesare.

Local 105, St. Louis. Paul Arnone.

Local 110, Philadelphia. Sam Backer.

Local 113, Cincinnati. Sam Esterkin, Libby Farsing.

Local 114, Baltimore. Louis Leiderman, Max Lukman, Morris Michaelson.

Local 115, Montreal. Stanislas Fournier, Jean B. Sabourin.

Local 116, Montreal. H. Wiseblatt.

Local 117, Baltimore. J. Morris Lavy.

Local 120, Louisville. Lee Clem, Emma Saurer.

Local 138, Philadelphia. John Dickson.

Local 139, Philadelphia. Vincenzo Cascarino, Aristodemo Cavalieri.

Local 140, Philadelphia. Hyman Mandelbaum.

Local 141, Philadelphia. Jack Katz.

Local 142, Brooklyn. Anthony Belles, B. Addeo, Harry Taylor, J. A. Valicenti.

Local 143, Philadelphia. Isaac Kessler.

Local 144, Chicago. Anna Borowiak, Martin Engh, Joe Magliano, Max Michaelson, Anna Stanish, Abraham Wechsler, Jim Whitman, Jacob Zitz.

Local 145, Indianapolis. Karl Baker, Jacob Gerson, Jesse Montague.

Local 149, South Boston. Jozas Lekavich, Jonas Puklavicia.

Local 151, Milwaukee. Goldie Berg, Ida Levin.

Local 152, Chicago. Genevie Crooks, Bennie Klimboff, Louis Kuznetz, Marie Luehr, J. Price, William Sydow.

Local 155, St. Paul. Morris Bisnow.

Local 158, New York. Dave Horowitz.

Local 159, Brooklyn. I. Kagel.

Local 161, New York. Max Sohn.

Local 162, New York. Jake Covin, Max Potash, Jack Silver.

- Local 166, Minneapolis. C. C. Kramer.
- Local 167, Montreal. J. Friedman.
- Local 170, Baltimore. Rose Quitt.
- Local 171, Boston. D. Genovese, Samuel Trachtenberg.
- Local 172, Boston. Morris Kaufman.
- Local 173, Boston. Nathan Biller, Abraham Raizer.
- Local 176, Brooklyn. H. Di Angelo, Giuseppe Procopio.
- Local 181, Boston. Alfred J. Bowden, Francis P. Carrol.
- Local 186, New York. Harry Yanofsky, Alter Weinstein.
- Local 188, Cincinnati. Henry Ortewein.
- Local 189, Cincinnati. William Braun.
- Local 195, Milwaukee. Isaac Kaufman.
- Local 200, Rochester. Julius Agress, Sam Cino, Peter Giangreco, Philip Licastro.
- Local 202, Rochester. Salvatore Ciaccio, Aldo Cursi, Joseph Di Nardo, Pietro Esposito, Pasquale Rocca.
- Local 203, Rochester. B. Chernauskas.
- Local 204, Rochester. Sadie Adler, Rose Cominsky, Sadie Hurley, Sara Rickles.
- Local 205, Rochester. John Kroeger, Hyman Lifshutz, John J. McMahon.
- Local 206, Rochester. Louis Borzdinski, Julius Radzewicz.
- Local 208, Vineland. Forte Velona.
- Local 209, Montreal. I. Levine, B. Silverman.
- Local 211, Toronto. A. Temkins.
- Local 216, Toronto. Sam Stolberg.
- Local 218, Baltimore. Joseph G. Robasauskas.
- Local 227, Rochester. Dora Englert, Herman Keller, Jack Lambert.
- Local 230, Baltimore. Anton Pasek.
- Local 233, Toronto. A. Devonish.
- Local 240, New York. Sam Schaen.
- Local 241, Baltimore. Isik Bayer, David Snapper.
- Local 243, New York. Stephan Pettill.
- Local 246, New York. George Gooze.
- Local 247, Baltimore. David Schuman.
- Local 248, New York. Isidor Stern, Harry Yudell.
- Local 260, New York. M. Urwand.
- Local 262, Brooklyn. Morris Epstein, Michael Rini, Sam Winter.
- Local 267, Boston. Abraham Lanfield.
- Local 269, Chicago. J. Benlokaitis, A. Brazis, F. A. Mason, A. Yakstas.
- Local 270, Chicago. Romeo Calvarese, Antonio Greco, Leone Grippio, Angelo Guastaferrri, Salvatore Ricciardi.
- Local 271, Chicago. John E. Kelley, Sr., Michael J. Taylor.
- Local 272, Chicago. Myer Klein.
- Local 273, Los Angeles. T. F. Heinie.
- Local 275, Chicago. Mabel Ashcraft, Elnora Sauer.
- Local 276, Kansas City. E. F. Sand.
- Local 277, Montreal. H. Auerbach.
- Local 280, New York. Lorenzo De Maria.
- Baltimore Joint Board. Samuel Rudow.
- Boston Joint Board. A. Ramuglia.
- Buffalo Joint Board. Jake Chmiel.
- Chicago Joint Board. William McKay.
- Children's Clothing Trades Joint Board, New York. Joseph Gold.
- Cincinnati Joint Board. Ben Herman.
- Cleveland Joint Board. D. Solomon.
- Connecticut Joint Board. Samuel Lavit.
- Milwaukee Joint Board. Frank Jaguet.
- Montreal Joint Board. David Wolfe.
- New York Joint Board. Sam Katz.
- Philadelphia Joint Board. Morris Koslovsky.
- Rochester Joint Board. A. I. Pearlman.
- Shirtmakers' Joint Board, New York. Alex Cohen.
- Twin City Joint Board. Sander D. Genis.

President HILLMAN: The committee has submitted a report in part. It recommends the seating of the delegates whose names have been read by the chairman of the committee. It wishes the following delegates to appear before the Committee on Credentials this evening: J. Malkin of Local 16, H. Bernstein of Local 19, the entire delegation of Local 102, Boston, and J. Cohen of Local 162.

The committee's report was unanimously adopted.

President HILLMAN: The convention is now regularly constituted for the transaction of such business as may properly come before it. The chair will now appoint the Committee on Rules:

Alfred J. Bowden, chairman, Local 181, Boston; Ben Herman, secretary, Cincinnati Joint Board; Lorenzo De Maria, Local 280, New York; J. B. Saborin, Local 115, Montreal; Louis Stein, Local 55, New York; Max Luckman, Local 114, Baltimore; Isaac Kessler, Local 143, Philadelphia; P. Visotsky, Local 103, New York; F. Rocca, Local 202, Rochester; and Michael Rini, Local 262, New York.

There being no objection, these delegates will constitute the Committee on Rules.

The chair will appoint Al Behm, Local 61, Chicago, and Louis Lederman, Local 114, Baltimore, as sergeants-at-arms.

I shall now call upon Brother Schlossberg to say a few words to the convention on a matter in which we are all interested.

ADDRESS BY BROTHER SCHLOSSBERG

Secretary-Treasurer SCHLOSSBERG: (Prolonged applause, the convention rising.) Fellow workers, our convention has been a festival, just as all previous conventions have been; a celebration. But we are now to dis-

charge a solemn duty. In the course of human events things happen which, while for the moment they seem to bring in a discordant note, serve to emphasize the great purposes of our movement.

Yesterday, when our Chicago brothers opened this convention, they paid tribute to two members of this organization who gave their lives so that this organization might live and grow. Today, when this convention is fully constituted, when it is in session as the parliament of the workers in the American clothing industry, we shall interrupt our proceedings for a moment, lower our flags, and bow our heads in grief in memory of the brothers we have lost.

(The convention rose in respect to the departed brothers, while an orchestra directed by Alexander Zukovsky played Chopin's "Funeral March.")

Secretary-Treasurer SCHLOSSBERG: At the last convention in Boston, two years ago, we had with us one who gave his entire useful life to the organization of the clothing workers of this country, one who was a constant source of inspiration to those in whose ranks he worked. We have lost him since then—Brother I. Goldstein of Local 2, New York. We miss him today. We shall always miss him. His place cannot be filled by anybody. It will remain vacant.

Yesterday we paid tribute to Brothers Nagreckas and Lazinskas of Local 269, Chicago, who were murdered by enemies of labor in the great struggle of 1910.

There was one worker in our ranks to whom nature was cruel. She deprived him of the power of speech and hearing. But with those terrible handicaps he was loyal to the working class. Samuel Kapper, a member of Local 39, dedicated himself to the class struggle with his whole heart and soul. His honest and precious life was destroyed by a thug who acted as a

strikebreaker in the great Chicago battle of 1915.

Last year Brother David Sodoni, a member of Local 142, New York, was murdered by a strikebreaker in New York.

This year Brother Anton Soukup, a member of Local 230, Baltimore, was shot by a strikebreaker in Baltimore. Such were the sacrifices made by those brothers for this organization. They could not have made greater sacrifices.

We have also lost since the Boston convention another loyal worker who was then with us, Brother John J. Hayes, one of the officers and leaders of the Boston Cutters' and Trimmers' Union.

We pay sacred tribute to their memories. The cause for which human life is sacrificed must be deserving of such sacrifice. Let our work be a glory to the memories of those who have made the supreme sacrifice.

We bow our heads in grief.

(The delegates arose, bowed their heads in solemn tribute to the departed brothers, and the orchestra concluded the funeral march.)

President HILLMAN: Delegates, you will take notice that all resolutions must be handed in in triplicate; three copies of each resolution. All the resolutions are to be given in to Assistant General Secretary-Treasurer Potofsky, at the rear of the platform. There will be a limited time in which to hand in your resolutions. After the time limit it will require the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution.

I shall now introduce to you one who has been a loyal friend of our organization for years, and represents a paper that has stood loyally by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in all its struggles. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Brother Charles W. Ervin, editor-manager of the New York "Call."

ADDRESS BY CHARLES W. ERVIN

CHARLES W. ERVIN: This convention has very important business to attend to. The greetings of the New York "Call" have already been given to you in what service it has been privileged to give in the last five years, and therefore no words that I might say would do anything but waste your time.

For myself as an individual, I have just a little to say, because I have been privileged in a small way to serve you personally. I am sorry that I cannot pay as great a tribute to your work as I heard paid by one of your members at the coat makers' entertainment last night. Without any attempt at oratory, without any attempt of any kind to create effect, he merely told how he went to a clothing manufacturer in Chicago asking for a job before the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was formed, and how he went to take a job after the Amalgamated was formed.

What you will do here in the next four days, if you do your duty, must be conditioned on what is back there in the shops. Men and women come here and pay you a tribute. They may even give you advice, or try to, but I just want to say this: The Amalgamated has shown that it knew how to run its business in the past, and will know better than anybody else how to run its business in the future. (Applause.)

You have helped in many outside movements rightfully. No voice of the working class has ever come to you in vain appeal. You have listened and always given. But you have been able to give, you have been able to cooperate, because you first took care to have an organization that could do that kind of work and could give that kind of co-operation. (Applause.)

You will have differences of opinion. You are human, and what is more, you are alive, and as long as you are alive

and are a pulsing organization, you must have differences of opinion. But remember this: You have come here to confer, and not to contend. Out of conference, out of composite judgment, must come measures that will be for the weal or the woe of nearly 200,000 workers and their loved ones. What you do here is indefinably more important than what the Congress of the United States would do. There they forget all about those who sent them there. Here you must remember all about those who sent you here.

And so, in closing, I can only say this for the New York "Call": The New York "Call" has been privileged to serve your interests, your interests as an organization.

(At this point a committee from Cutters' and Trimmers' Local 61 of Chicago marched up to the platform with a large floral piece, and after presenting same marched up into the visitors' gallery. Prolonged applause.)

President HILLMAN: The chair will ask Brother Rosenblum to introduce the chairman of this committee that has visited us. (Prolonged applause.)

Brother FRANK ROSENBLUM: Mr. Chairman, delegates, and brothers and sisters:

This group of people who have just come before you are the cutters and trimmers of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, members of Local 61, from which I have the honor to come, as well as the manager of the Chicago Joint Board, Brother Levin, and Brother Rissman, who is their representative, and which even Brother Hillman hales from, although he holds no membership in the local, holding membership in Local 39, which he represented years back. (Applause.) Hart, Schaffner & Marx cutters and trimmers in Chicago have played a most important part in the organization in the city. There was no work, no matter how humble, or how skilled, or no matter how much sacri-

fice it entailed, which they have not been ready and willing to do. (Prolonged applause.) They have done the roughest kind of work and the very finest work of organization, and have always accounted for themselves in a most creditable manner.

I have had occasion to talk to them time and time again, and I have praised them for their work, but I have never had an opportunity until now to present them to the entire organization in the light they justly deserve. I am happy, and I am deeply moved that this opportunity has come. I think that all of us here, officers, delegates, and visitors, can take example from them, from their services to the organization, and from their accomplishments. It may be a little narrow for me to praise our Chicago organization, being a Chicagoan. But we have, I believe, a most wonderful organization, that compares well with any group, within our union or elsewhere, an organization that is militant and still versed in its work, has discipline of the finest form, and still has democracy in its purest sense, an organization that has always succeeded in accomplishing the things it set out to do, whether it be to organize the unorganized, to assist our own organizations elsewhere, or to help on the outside. A request from any organization has always been responded to in the fullest measure. (Applause.)

We have never failed on a job. We have always tried to do it the best we could, and I believe we have fairly succeeded. If the Chicago organization is as glorious as it is, I know of no other group that is entitled to more credit than those boys right up there. (Prolonged applause, the delegates rising.)

I am especially happy to present to you one of the original boys of

1910, active from the beginning of our entire organization, who has been honored by them with the office of shop chairman, Brother Mike Rose. He is a soldier in the ranks who has been doing his bit. (Prolonged applause.)

ADDRESS OF BROTHER MIKE ROSE

Brother ROSE: Mr. Chairman, delegates, and visitors: I take great pleasure in presenting to this convention today, on behalf of the cutters and trimmers of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, this little token of our appreciation and thankfulness to the organization for the various things it has accomplished for us in the last ten years, especially in the last four or five years.

Local 61, especially the members from Hart, Schaffner & Marx, which is the oldest group of that local, have always been known as the shock troops of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

With due respect to the delegates from all the other cities, anything the workers of Hart, Schaffner & Marx ever started to do, they have seen it through, whether it was on their own behalf, or whether it was financial help for other organizations. Any time they were called upon, the boys from Hart, Schaffner & Marx were always the first ones to go over the top.

I want to thank the delegates here on behalf of the boys and myself for the welcome reception they have given us, and I hope they will enjoy their stay in Chicago, and when they leave the city they will remember the reception we have given them. (Prolonged applause.)

President HILLMAN: The chair sympathizes with the speaker who was interrupted, but I think there is sufficient compensation. I am sure that Brother Ervin enjoyed the inter-

ruption, the same as I did yesterday. I will now call upon Brother Ervin to continue.

CHARLES W. ERVIN: I have talked a good many thousand times in my life, and I never had a more glorious interruption than this. (Applause.)

That proves that all I said about the Amalgamated is true. (Applause.)

For the New York "Call," I want to say this in summing up: It has been privileged to serve you during my editorship. I hope it will continue to be privileged to serve you, whether I edit it or not. And for myself, I can promise you this: In your struggles the only thing we will know are your enemies and the only enemies you have are the employers. (Applause.) As for your administrative affairs, your internal affairs, they are none of our business, and never will be. (Profound applause.)

GREETINGS FROM RUSSIA

President HILLMAN: I am sure the delegates have enjoyed the greetings from one who has participated time and again in our struggles.

I have just been informed that greetings have come to the convention from the needle trades abroad.

I am very happy to call on one who is well known to all of the delegates, and who has always been considered a good friend of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Brother Shaffer.

Brother SHAFFER: The following cablegram was received at our office, the office of the "Forward," from our correspondent in Moscow:

"M. Losovsky, president of International Trade Union Congress, asked me to send through the 'Forward' greetings to the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

"In his greetings he expressed his wish for unity and harmony in the ranks of the American labor movement. The following is his message:

"Unity and harmony in the ranks of the American labor movement is more important than all other questions. This comes first. Class consciousness you may be sure will come by itself. The bosses with their lock-outs against the workingmen will help to bring it about."

"He also expressed himself sharply against the slanderers of Russia. He asked to remind them that a revolution cannot be accomplished with silk gloves."

The convention greeted the message with prolonged applause.

President HILLMAN: It is a great satisfaction to introduce to the convention one of the oldest friends of our organization, a man who has always stood with our movement. I take pleasure in introducing Brother Robert Minor.

ADDRESS OF ROBERT MINOR

ROBERT MINOR: Brother officers and delegates: There is a famous ice cream for sale on the market now. It has a beautiful name. This is the time of beautiful names in the markets of capitalism. There was an ice cream manufacturer who wanted to sell his goods, and he knew that he had to have a fine name for it which would bring to the hearer visions of a happy release from the summer hot weather. So he hit upon the glorious idea of calling his ice cream "Eskimo Pie." He has made, I understand, millions of dollars out of the mere choice of a name. That is the organization of capitalism. Choose a good name and you can sell anything on earth to the American people.

Now, there is a great aggregation of employers in this country, a tight organization, composed of something like 3,000 compact organizations, central-

ized into a national association of employers, which wishes to establish in this country the foulest, the ugliest, the basest system of industry that has ever been dreamed about and feared by human beings. What they wish to establish, the goods which they wish to sell to the American public, is the sweat shop, is the unlimited work day, and a standard of living not fit for anything but the lower animals. What they want to establish is the sweat shop and slavery. But they have to have a fine name for it, so they call it by a name that brings to the average person a vision of something fine and beautiful, like "Eskimo Pie" seems to us in hot weather, so they chose that glorious name, the "open shop" movement.

"Open," that sound fine. W. L. Mackenzie King, who was publicity agent for the Rockefeller institutions, has expressed very clearly the need of fine, high-flown names to offset their real implication.

This open shop movement, comrades, is perhaps ten times bigger than any man in this hall has been able to conceive it, including, of course, myself, who knows perhaps less about the labor movement than most of you. Comrades, this movement is going on silently, but with the weight of a Juggernaut. Look over the situation, and we see the biggest strike in American history, the coal miners' strike, which practically amounts to a lockout. We look over the terrible drives that are being made to destroy unionism. We look over the efforts to take advantage of the unemployment that has risen to millions in order to destroy the labor movement, and then we have to say from the bottom of our hearts, brothers and sisters of labor, in and out of America, now is the time for unity! (Applause.) Unity! (Applause.) For a united front! (Applause.) A united front to extend as far, as far as what? As far as civilization goes, comrades.

(Applause.) A united front that may stretch around the world, an international united front. (Applause.)

In the past few years, since the beginning of the world war, the civilization that we knew before has crumbled and cracked, and rotted until, comrades, it is the view of many of the wisest people in the world that this civilization has not many more years to run in its present form.

This period, viewed from the international capitalist point of view, is the period of blasted hopes and broken promises. If you cast your memory back to the beginning of the war, and more especially, to the beginning of the time when the United States became a participant in the world war, you may remember the glowing promises that were made of better things for labor. When the workers started to ask for anything, just a little improvement, a little advance in their standards, they were told, "Wait; wait until after the war. After the war you can have anything you want. After the war you will be happy. After the war every dream you have will come true."

And when the end of the war came, the promises vanished into silence, and the men who made them dug into their capitalistic underground and began to work silently, swiftly, and cruelly to destroy every vestige of the labor movement in America.

Comrades, in the last few years, and more especially since the fiasco at Versailles, where the world war treaty, or so-called peace was signed, and still more especially at that little circus in Genoa, the only statesmen, the only men of sense and hope and promise for humankind are the representatives of the first Socialistic Republic on earth. (Prolonged applause.)

It has become clear to the men and women of vision that the world's future cannot rest in the hands of those who have ruled the earth in the past. We know that the future of the human

race lies with another class, another kind of men from those responsible for the killing of 10,000,000 men in the world war and the crippling of 30,000,000 more. Above all, comrades, the workers know that the salvation of the human race lies in organization of a different kind from the kind that has ruined the world in the past. The forward-looking men and women of the working class begin to realize now, as never before, that the organization that the world will depend upon in the future is an organization of workers and workers alone. (Applause.)

I used to think, nineteen years ago, when I first joined a labor union, that the workers sometimes are short of vision. Yes, and any worker has a right and a duty to call attention to it—many times our comrades lose their strength and breadth of vision and must be reminded of it. We must make it plain to the workers who have not yet discovered it, that the labor struggle goes on and on, beyond the meager beginning that has as yet been gained.

Let me remind you that with only one land in this world where workers rule, and when in the United States, the most advanced of all countries, only one-tenth of the working class is organized, that means that we are merely at the beginning of the labor movement. Let us remember that it is going further, further, further. Let me remind you, comrades, to ask yourselves now, and especially on occasions where workers come to a beautiful gathering like this, to ask yourself and answer fearlessly: "How far does the labor movement go?"

Comrades, I have been at that point of the globe's surface where the labor movement has gone farther than anywhere or any time before. I have been in recent times to the city of Moscow, and in that

city I have seen something indicating the length to which the labor movement goes. I remember that that movement which has culminated, not in final success, but in the foremost branch of militancy, that movement over there has from the beginning until now been a movement, solidaric with every workers' organization in the world.

I remember when Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were facing death in California. They were saved from death by whom—by Russian workers! (Applause.)

On the first of May, not many Mays ago, I stood on the Red Square in Moscow and saw an enormous parade go by. It was participated in by the strongest army now on earth, led by Leon Trotzky. (Applause.)

In that parade, comrades, there were banners. Yes, the Russian brothers and sisters love flowers and banners just as we do in this beautiful convention. And those banners were strikingly illustrative of what the labor movement in its furthestmost advance posts means for the international working class. Amongst those banners I got the sight of a great, big picture, almost the size of the curtain on this stage, and on that portrait, as it came down the street, I made out a great bald head of an old veteran of the labor movement, broken and pale and thin, recognized now by all the workers of the earth; and underneath that monster portrait in the parade on the First of May in Moscow, there were written these words, "Eugene V. Debs, our comrade." (Great applause.) I maintain that we may yet hope that the great wave of newly gained inspiration that comes from that most successful of all labor movements, may strengthen, inspire,

and fertilize our movement everywhere.

Let us remember that at the base of all the labor movements on earth there lies the spirit of rebellion against tyranny.

When we look at what has been done, not alone in the far off other side of the world, but in this union, the results prove that the men of rebellious spirit know how to build. (Prolonged applause.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES

Delegate BOWDEN: The Committee on Rules respectfully submits the following rules for the guidance of the convention:

1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and shall remain in session until 12:30 p. m. It shall reconvene at 1:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5 p. m. We also recommend that the convention adjourn today, May 9, 1922, at the close of the morning session.

2. Every delegate may speak once on a resolution or motion before the convention.

3. Speeches shall be limited to eight minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the convention.

4. The chairman of a committee may have ten minutes to close the debate.

5. No resolution shall be received after 1:30 p. m., Wednesday, May 10, 1922, except upon unanimous consent of the convention.

6. All resolutions shall bear the name of the introducer and the title of the organization he or she represents, and shall be in triplicate.

7. Roberts' "Rules of Order" shall be the guide on all matters herein provided.

President HILLMAN: The committee moves the adoption of the report. Are you ready for the question?

Delegate BECKERMAN, Local 4: I would like to know what is customary as far as resolutions are concerned. Are the resolutions reported to the convention?

President HILLMAN: Yes. The Committee on Resolutions brings in a report. All resolutions are handed to the Committee on Resolutions.

Are there any objections to these rules? Hearing no objection, these will be the rules governing the convention.

I will ask Brother Potofsky to state for the convenience of the delegates how best to handle their resolutions. Brother Potofsky. (Prolonged applause.)

Assistant General Secretary-Treasurer JACOB S. POTOFSKY: We have an office in the rear of this hall, and delegates may have their resolutions typed right here this afternoon, or at the Morrison Hotel, in Room 1411. I will be at the hotel all afternoon and evening and the delegates who have resolutions may bring them over there.

APPEAL FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

President HILLMAN: The delegates will please make sure to bring their resolutions in as quickly as possible. The chair will announce the committees tomorrow morning. The chair will now introduce a representative of the National Defense Committee, who is also a member of our organization. I take pleasure in introducing a member of Local 4, New York, Brother Ben Gitlow. (Applause.)

Benjamin Gitlow addressed the convention on behalf of the National Defense Committee, and asked for financial assistance for that organization.

(At this point a woman member of the organization entered bearing greetings to the convention and flowers from the shop of Charles Kaufman, Cicero, Illinois. Applause.)

The chair stated that the request of Brother Gitlow would be referred to

the Committee on Finance, in accordance with the usual procedure

The chair called on Brother Rosenblum to read some more greetings to the convention.

Brother Rosenblum read the following letters:

"Dear Comrade Schlossberg:

"Your good letter of the 27th ult. addressed to Gene has been received. Please accept our thanks for your kindness in sending copy of your May Day issue containing his message which will no doubt come by a later mail.

"The kind invitation you extend to Gene to attend the opening of your Fifth Biennial Convention is fully appreciated, but unfortunately the state of his health prevents him from doing himself that pleasure. He had to decline the invitation to attend the convention of the Socialist Party at Cleveland for the same reason. You will understand, of course, that if my brother were well enough it would be a matter of more than ordinary satisfaction to him to attend the convention and to mingle with the delegates of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. He has been suffering from nervous exhaustion and it will require some time yet before he will have recovered his strength sufficiently to take up his work again in the regular way. Meantime he is doing what he can within the limited bounds his strength and the orders of his physician will allow. Please return Gene's sincerest thanks to your committee for the kind invitation you extend, and convey to the delegates in convention assembled his most cordial greetings and his warmest wishes for the success of their deliberations.

"Yours fraternally,

"THEODORE DEBS."

"Amalgamated Clothing Workers,

"Dear Comrades:

"On this the opening of your Fifth Biennial Convention, 'Dziennik Ludowy' sends you greetings. The work of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in the past has won the admiration of the labor world, not only on account of the valiant stand taken in battles with our common enemy, but for the executive ability displayed by the leaders and members in carrying out their plans; the far-sightedness and social consciousness manifested in dealing with problems of the immediate present, and the knowledge of the necessity of preparing for the future; in short, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America may well be said to be at once the most constructive and the most revolutionary, in the real sense, of all the groups of union workers in America striving for a solution of their particular problems.

"As you well know, many of our readers and sympathizers are members of your organization, and we are proud to state that this is due in part at least to the influence of 'Dziennik Ludowy,' the one Polish daily carrying the message of enlightenment to the Polish worker. 'Dziennik Ludowy' has devoted its energies, not only to the teaching of Socialism, but to the advocacy of industrial organization as well, and at all times pointing out the advantage of unionism such as yours, which has for its foundation a logical conception of the economic construction of our society. The success of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has justified the advocacy of this form of organization. We wish you to know that we appreciate the difficulties that confront you and those you will perhaps encounter in the future, but we can assure you always of our constant co-operation and support in all your endeavors.

"The working class movement of America will no doubt watch with eager

eyes the development of your organization, and we are confident that in this convention, as in the past, you will prove yourselves social constructionists as well as class conscious workers, and will serve as a beacon light for those still struggling in the dark of old, worn-out forms of unionism, unfit to cope with the situation presented by our modern industrialism. We trust they will heed the lessons being taught by you and profit by your experience.

"Again we greet you as the bright star of unionism pointing the way.

"Fraternally yours,

"Polish People's Publishing Co.,
Chicago,

"M. SOKOLOWSKI,
"Editor."

"LAW SCHOOL OF HARVARD
UNIVERSITY,
"Cambridge, Mass.

"May 2, 1922.

"My dear Mr. Schlossberg:

"I greatly appreciate the generous invitation conveyed through you to attend the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated. Would that I could be present, for I should much like to do so but it is utterly out of question.

"May I ask you, however, to convey my greetings to the convention and my message of good wishes for the success of your deliberations and the continued growth of the Amalgamated—growth in strength, in wisdom, and in achievement. The last two years mark a memorable chapter in your history. Against great odds and in an atmosphere of unthinking hysteria you maintained your steady course and devoted yourself to the solution of the great problems of your industry. You have achieved very much, by dealing with facts, facing realities, and not worshipping empty phrases, alive to your responsibilities and devoted to your superb leadership.

"The future is ahead of you, full of unsolved difficulties. But you face them with the momentum of a great

past and with a strong tradition of real statesmanship. To the constructive achievements of the Amalgamated your many friends look, with increasing measure, with real hope and satisfaction.

“Very cordially,
“FELIX FRANKFURTER.”

Delegate LICASTRO, Local 200: Brother Chairman and delegates: I was very much surprised when the chairman of the Credentials Committee reported the absence of Comrade and Brother August Bellanca, a member of the General Executive Board, because of illness. I take it for granted that all of you know how much August Belanca has done for this organization, and one reason that he is absent today is because of the many sacrifices he has imposed upon himself. The Italian delegation expressed its regrets for his not being present with us today. We ask the convention to join with us.

President Hillman announced that the general officers would send a telegram joining with the Italian delegation in expressing the regret of the convention that Brother Bellanca was unable to be present. (Applause.) The following telegram was accordingly sent:

“August Bellanca, New York:

“The delegates to the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America heard with deep regret of your illness, which has deprived them of the pleasure of your presence and the benefit of your co-operation. It is painful to think that you who have done so much for the upbuilding of our beloved organization are now missing at this convention, the greatest Amalgamated convention so far held. The ideals you have fought for are animating this convention and the cause you have dedicated yourself to is promoted by it. The

delegates send you their love with wishes for speedy and complete recovery. The Amalgamated needs your continued co-operation in the struggle for the emancipation of labor.

“JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG.”

President Hillman then introduced one of the Amalgamated's counsel and friends, Peter Sissman, a close associate of Clarence Darrow.

PETER SISSMAN: Delegates of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America: Please accept my heartiest congratulations and greetings and welcome to our city.

You were born in an age of strike and strife, a heroic age. I, for one, congratulate you that you have outlived that heroism of starvation. That may be beautiful to talk about, but by experience you probably know that the glories of starvation for several months are hardly compensated by all the compliments that you will get for the rest of your days. Unless that sacrifice is to bring us to a condition where it shall become unnecessary, it is not really worth the effort.

It is my belief that we have overcome the necessity of the heroic sacrifices of the past. Let us hope that strikes are a thing of the past for the garment workers and also will become a thing of the past for the working class. (Applause.) Let us hope from now on that it will take courage, and intelligence above all, to understand the situation, to recognize your right to strive for an ideal, but also to have your feet firmly on the ground and recognize the immediate present.

It is your extreme good fortune to have had a leader who is an idealist, but who also does not forget what the immediate present makes possible, and the opportunity

it presents for improvement. (Applause.)

I think you are to be congratulated on such a leadership. I am glad to know that in your organization there has been no strife, and I hope that the progress you have made in the past will be surpassed by the achievements you will show in the future. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN called on Secretary-Treasurer Charles H. Burr of the Chicago Joint Board, who made a number of announcements on behalf of the Chicago Convention Arrangement Committee. The session then adjourned to permit the taking of the official photograph of the convention, and to reconvene the next morning at 9:30.

THIRD SESSION Wednesday, May 10, 1922

9:30 A. M.

President Hillman called the convention to order at 9:30 a. m.

Brother Frank Rosenblum read some additional communications to the convention.

Brother A. I. Pearlman reported for the Committee on Finance that the financial reports had been found correct.

President HILLMAN: It gives me a great deal of pleasure to introduce to you one who had the privilege not only to investigate conditions abroad, but also the courage to come back and state conditions as he found them—Captain Paxton Hibben.

ADDRESS OF CAPTAIN PAXTON HIBBEN

PAXTON HIBBEN: Comrades, nothing could give me greater pleasure and nothing could be a greater honor for me, than to be introduced to speak to this audience by Hillman of the Amalgamated, a man who is known all over the world as one of the foremost leaders of organized labor.

I want to convey to you the thanks of the Russian Red Cross for the wonderful things that the Amalgamated has done for the starving people of Russia. You have had a

telegram read here from Soloviev, the head of the Russian Red Cross, thanking you; but we get in the Russian Red Cross files every day telegrams and letters and newspapers magnificently praising the Amalgamated for its splendid generosity. The people of Russia never will forget that you have raised \$170,000 to relieve the famine, nor the machinery and the supplies you have sent over there.

I feel that I have a certain right to speak before this convention, not only because I am a union man myself, but also because for a great many years I have followed the struggle of the Russian people to achieve the freedom, not just of the Russian workers, but of the workers the world over.

Back in 1905, when I was in the American embassy in Petrograd at the time of the revolution, when the constitution was granted to Russia, I remember the celebration that was held in the streets of Petrograd. Thousands of workers and students paraded through the streets with their red flags for miles and miles, and I marched with them. I remember, as they marched past the places where some of the martyrs had given their lives to the cause on "Bloody

Sunday," they stood bareheaded and sang the "Marseillaise." I believed then that freedom had come to Russia at last. But after the revolution of 1905, we all lived to see the constitution nullified, and the fruits of that bitter and costly struggle come to nothing—until 1917.

A short time ago, here in Chicago, Samuel Insull, representing certain large capitalistic interests, said on the witness stand that the greatest stimulus to production he had ever known was a long line of men waiting at the factory gate for work. For a century, my friends, that stimulus to production—of a long line of men waiting at the factory gate for work—has been the only one known; a stimulus in blood, a stimulus in suffering, a stimulus in agony of the workers—for more production. The whole industrial age has produced nothing but that.

But in 1917, a new Declaration of Independence was born to the world, with a new vista of a future for the workers of the world that had been dreamed by the world's workers for a century, but never before realized. No matter what happens to the present Russian government, no matter whether Soviet Russia continues to exist or not, the fact is that the ideal that can be summed up in a few words—honest work, decent food, proper quarters to live in for the workers the world over—that ideal has been not only enunciated, but has been carried into effect for four years. That ideal will remain. Everybody the world over knows now that this ideal can be realized, and everybody the world over knows that the sooner it is done, the better. (Applause.)

I am not belittling in any way the fight that has been waged for a century by organized labor in all the countries of the world, not only in England but here as well. I am not

belittling the things that you men and women have done, the suffering that you have been through, and the long, hard road that you have been over, step by step. Look back ten years at your own trade and see where you are today, and see if it does not make you proud!

You have trod a long, hard road. But it would have been a road for centuries more, perhaps, if it had not been for those men and women over there in Russia who suddenly got tired of the whole business and who turned it inside out. It was they who made it possible for everybody the world over to see that here was a thing that could be done. They are on the firing line. They have borne the brunt, over there, not only of war, but also of the things that have followed the war: civil war, ruin, and now famine and hunger. They are the ones who are breaking the ice for you and for me. They are the ones who are standing the gaff. You and I have had it pretty easy over here compared to what they have had. They have paid the penalty to make it clear to everybody the world over that this thing can be done, and that penalty has been persecution by all the rest of the world.

Everywhere the sinister influences of exploitation of workers have been at work to demonstrate the failure of the thing that has flamed into being in Russia. They do not care whether Lenin or Trotzky run Russia or not, if only they would not run a workers' Russia. That is what they want. They will leave Lenin and Trotzky alone tomorrow if Tchitcherin at Genoa will sign on the dotted line and betray the ideals of the workers in Russia. None of these exploiters of the workers the world over give a whoop about the personality of those who are leading the workers' movement in the world today—if they will only give up the ideal for which they are fighting.

You see in Lincoln Steffens' dispatches this morning what they are trying to do. They say to Tchitcherin, "Never mind, accept in principle. Then we can talk about the details later." My friends, Tchitcherin has said from the very beginning, "It is not we who must accept in principle, but you who must accept the principle that the workers the world over are entitled to a decent minimum of life and a decent minimum of conditions of work, and when you accept that principle, then we can talk." I say to you men and women today, it does not make a bit of difference whether you agree with the Communists or not. I do not have to be a Communist, I do not have to be a Bolshevik to see that the fight over there, reduced to its final analysis, is a fight for the freedom of the worker to dictate the terms on which he works. And that fight, if it is won in Russia, will be won the world over, and the thing that you and I have been working for all our lives, and our fathers before us for centuries, will have been won for the workers everywhere.

I am not talking politics. I am only telling you that they can only win that fight, which is your fight and my fight, if they have your courage behind them. Hunger is their greatest enemy. People come to them with food in their hands and say, "Give up and you can all have all you want to eat." There is a pressure in the very relief that is being brought into Russia, that does not come from you and me—a psychological pressure on the Russians to give up the thing that they fought for all these years. And the thing that keeps them from giving up is the knowledge that you here are with them, and that you will help them. Your courage is their weapon, your support is their armor, your belief that they are going to win is the thing that makes it certain that they will win.

But, men and women, the famine is

not over. Do not believe these lying tales you read in the newspapers about how America has fed all the starving Russians and everybody in Russia is eating beefsteak and onions. It is not true. Today there are as many children starving as there were last winter and thousands upon thousands have died. There is not going to be enough milk for the children for years yet to come, until Russia gets back on its feet. Do not let them lie to you. Don't let them "kid" you into taking away your interest and your courage from Russia. Now is the hardest pull, when the trees are green and when they over there see spring coming everywhere, and yet there is no food. Now is the hardest moment for them. Now is the moment for your help.

Last fall when I was there, little children used to gather around the car where we were and hold out their hands and cry to us over and over again, "Little uncle, give me a tiny, tiny piece of bread." We did not have it. How could we get the bread they were dying for to them? But every-one of us who saw and heard promised himself that he would take that cry back to the men and women workers all over America, as I bring it to you today. I speak with the voice of those thousands upon thousands of children over there when I say to you, "A little tiny piece of your bread, a little bit of your money"—that means life to those little children over there.

Oh, men and women, do not stop now. You have done such a wonderful thing. Go on with it. See them through to the end and to the victory. Will you do that? Will you men and women of the Amalgamated do that? (Tremendous and prolonged applause.)

DOCUMENTS FOR DELEGATES

President Hillman called the attention of the delegates to the "Report of the General Executive Board" for

the period since the Boston Convention, the souvenir "Clothing Workers of Chicago, 1910-1922," prepared under the direction of Dr. Leo Wolman of the Amalgamated Research Department and presented with the compliments of the Chicago Joint Board, and the Amalgamated "Illustrated Almanac" prepared by the Education Department, which had been placed on their tables. He urged that the delegates go over the matter carefully.

REPORT OF GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Secretary - Treasurer SCHLOSSBERG: Delegates, this book, of which each of you has received a copy, contains the report of the General Executive Board for the past two years. This is a large book, and you are familiar with the work of the organization during the period; still I hope that you will all read the report and take back with you to the membership a complete message of what we have done, and what we are, in the light of our past accomplishments, still to do.

I shall now give you only a brief review of our work, touching upon some of the most important points.

The past two years have been a period of terror against the labor movement, marked by the campaign for what is known as the "open shop," or, more modernly, the "American plan"—a reign of terror for the purpose of destroying the labor movement. In this connection it might be of interest to all within and without the labor movement to know how this movement is looked upon by liberal-minded persons not in the labor movement.

Bishop Williams, in a sermon recently given at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York, had this to say about the open shop campaign:

"The 'open shop' movement is a

movement to crush labor, right or wrong. The attempt is as futile as sitting on the crater of a volcano. It inevitably will turn into a sudden revolution, because they attempt to stifle equality of opportunity.

"Business men are 'seeing red.' They commenced seeing red with their drive on radicalism. They branded everyone who had a progressive thought as a 'parlor Bolshevik,' and persons have been secretly arrested by paid spies on manufactured information and often deported without cause.

"I investigated several of these cases in Detroit, and found persons supposed to be dangerous radicals to be but simple, ignorant foreigners, unaware of what was being done to them. It is the foulest page in American history. The very principles of Americanism have been undermined by this hysteria and panic. This is the work of invisible government."

The open shop movement was inaugurated in this country before the war, but was suspended during the war because of the shortage of labor. It was renewed with greater vigor and viciousness after the war, particularly in the year 1920, because of the shortage of jobs.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was singled out as an especial target by the evil forces referred to by Bishop Williams in his sermon. As a result, we had our great lockout struggle in New York.

The organization did all that could honorably be done to avoid that struggle. We did so, not only because industrial conditions were unfavorable, but because it has always been our policy to make progress without violent struggles, whenever we are permitted to do so. I can say now that while the Amalgamated

Clothing Workers of America has gone through a large number of struggles, not one of them was of our choosing; they were all forced upon us.

The opportunity for breaking down the organization of the clothing workers seemed so favorable in 1920, and was so tempting, that no effort made on our part to meet the situation peacefully was of any avail.

When the fight was forced upon us the members came to the defense of the organization in a manner which was amazing to both friend and foe. It was amazing because, after all, the clothing workers were not organized until a few years ago, and the general impression was that the great achievements of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America were due solely to the favorable industrial conditions created by the war. The general impression was, also, that with the end of the war, the return of the soldiers, and the shutting down of the industries which had been kept alive by the war, the structure built up by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America would collapse. But those who had believed so were mistaken; those who had fondly prophesied to that effect proved to be very poor prophets.

The clothing workers learned not only how to get things, but also how to hold them, and how to use their organized power for continuous and permanent progress.

When our members in New York were locked out, the General Executive Board issued a call for a \$1,000,000 defense fund. There was general laughter and scorn. The organization was ridiculed. The call for \$1,000,000 was taken as a fine gesture and nothing more. There was not a labor organization in this country that had ever raised a

\$1,000,000 fund; and here came sweatshop workers who, but yesterday, did not know how to hold together, and were dispossessed by the thousands because they were unable to pay their month's rent a week after the factory shut down, and those very sweatshop workers spoke of a \$1,000,000 fund. The collapse of the organization was expected to come with a great crash.

What was the result? We not only raised a \$1,000,000 fund; we made it \$2,000,000. To be correct, our appeal for a \$1,000,000 fund to defend the organization against the attacks of those who sought to destroy it brought \$2,030,000. Of this amount the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, with 60,000 of them in the largest market locked out of work, with the rest of the markets partly out of work, raised \$1,948,148. The sum of \$82,000 came from outside organizations (ap-
plause), making a total of \$2,030,000. When the response to our appeal became known, we knew that we could not possibly lose. The employers, and all who were interested in breaking up the Amalgamated, began to realize that our \$1,000,000 appeal was not an artificial gesture, that if it was a gesture it was one of absolute spontaneity and genuineness, with real power behind it to make good.

The great power which employers always yield with deadly effect when industrial conditions are favorable to them proved to be no match for our united strength. The employers turned to the courts for help. They brought forty-nine suits against us, among them two suits for the dissolution of the organization. Each of these forty-nine suits carried with it a request for an injunction. Twenty-four injunctions were granted. In one case a judge,

granting the injunction, said: "They (the courts) must stand at all times as the representatives of capital." That aroused resentment even among some non-labor papers in the city of New York. That statement was brought forth by the bitterness of the fight to destroy our organization.

In connection with the relief work upon which much above \$1,000,000 was spent in New York, we organized a system of commissary stores. We also utilized the idle time of the locked out workers for educational purposes. A number of physicians in sympathy with the cause of labor organized themselves to give our locked out members medical aid; not charity; the organization paid for it, a nominal fee for each case. These physicians were ready to give all the medical assistance necessary.

Before the lockout was instituted, the employers emphasized their demand for a reduction in wages; they also presented other demands which, if granted by us, would have made the organization useless.

When the lockout fight developed, all demands were dropped; one issue was raised, and on that alone the fight was waged: the elimination of the Amalgamated from the clothing industry. That was the purpose of the demands before the lockout, but it was frankly formulated only when the struggle was on.

After a six-month struggle, a settlement, as you all know, was made upon the terms of the Amalgamated, including a reduction in wages, which we had offered before the lockout was declared. We made that offer, not because we believed that there was any justification for it. It is our firm conviction that there is never justification for a reduction of wages. But there are many things which are unjust and which organized labor cannot help accepting. An evil against which the entire American labor movement is

powerless, we cannot expect to escape entirely. But we refused to yield anything with respect to our rights, with respect to the power of our organization. We suffered a wage reduction of 15 per cent. Our rights were maintained. Our rights were vindicated. That was the first time in the great post-war onslaught of American capital upon American labor that a union won out against such terrible odds. As the victory in the lockout struggle of 1919 carried a message of cheer and hope to American labor generally, our victory in 1921 carried a like message to the labor movement. The effect of our victory on those essentials which keep alive and growing the power of organized labor was such that a response came to us from the ex-Czar's throne room, a message of congratulation from the workers in Russia. (Great applause.)

There is no victory of one group of organized workers that does not help the labor movement generally. We are, therefore, justified in the belief that our victory has helped to bring courage to other workers to resist the rule of open shop terror.

My friends, it is a great joy to us at this time of industrial depression and black reaction, to see organized labor arise and say: "American labor has gone far enough in reducing its standards of living; in permitting its enemies to intimidate the labor movement. American labor is beginning to recognize its rights and is standing up for them." We see the mine workers, who had been defeated, despite their strength, despite their just cause; who had been defeated by an injunction based upon a law which had been enacted against profiteers and enforced against labor—for the Lever act was declared void as against the profiteers, but was used to drive the miners back into the mines under threat of imprisonment—we see them now stand up for their rights. If American labor

will fight for its rights it will get them and hold them. (Applause.)

I said before that it was our position that wage reductions are never justified. While there may be individual employers, who, because of competition, under our industrial regime, may find it necessary to resort to wage reductions as a help in meeting business rivals, the men controlling the industrial life of the nation run the affairs of the nation in a manner which is mapped out by them for their own greedy and selfish purposes.

According to a big financial magazine, one of the leading men in America said, "Vigorous recovery is not desired unless wages have been brought down in all industries." The small man may mean it when he talks about the desirability of business recovery and the hope for such recovery, and that he must reduce the wages of his workers because of the competition that he must meet; but those who are pulling the strings of American industrial life have those things arranged to suit themselves, and they do not wish complete recovery until wages have been brought down everywhere. And bringing down wages everywhere means bringing down wages in organized industries, because in unorganized industries there is no effort needed. The employers decide what the wages are to be tomorrow, and that becomes the law.

It is also announced in a financial publication that the dividends and interest paid out in the year 1921 were about double those of 1913, and 1921 was the big year of wage reductions. Perhaps small fellows here and there had low dividends, but the total amount of dividends and interest about doubled.

Wage reductions are also unjustified because they always come at a time when the workers can least afford them. They come at a time of unemployment, when earnings are already reduced by

lack of work; in the second place, the workers who get just about enough to maintain some sort of livelihood, keep body and soul together, are not only deprived of the opportunity of improving and raising their standard of living but also of the necessities of life. This involves a principle of social justice and the American labor movement is not strong enough to enforce justice. The helplessness of the whole American labor movement weakens the hands of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The best we could hope for was to keep the reduction down to a minimum. At this time of industrial depression and general reaction, the function of the labor organization is somewhat different from that at other times. In times of favorable industrial conditions, the union is an engine which, kept in motion by the fuel of the members' loyalty and enthusiasm, pulls the workers' standards ever upward and onward. At a time like the present, a labor union can only act as a brake to hold conditions from sliding down too rapidly. When American labor is organized strongly enough, powerfully enough, it will protect itself fully at all times, and every branch of the American labor movement will benefit thereby.

In the course of our big fight, investigations into the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America were announced several times. First, it was to be a legislative investigation by the state of New York. When that failed to materialize, a resolution to investigate the Amalgamated was brought into the United States Senate by Senator Moses of New Hampshire. A statement issued by Senator Moses showed that it was not to be an investigation, but a persecution. Then Senator Borah brought in a resolution to make the

Investigation general throughout the entire clothing and textile industry. But there was no investigation, although the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America announced that it would welcome and assist any genuine investigation.

The mayor of the city of New York made an attempt to bring about a settlement, the state of New York made an attempt to bring about a settlement, but the employers were not ready for a settlement until they realized that further efforts to destroy the Amalgamated were useless, and then a settlement was made on the terms that I have already described.

I wish to direct the attention of the delegates to one interesting document. We have pointed with pride to the \$100,000 check which we gave to the steel strikers as the largest single contribution ever made by one labor organization to another at any time in any part of the world. We have since made a new record for large contributions. You will find on Page 97 of the General Executive Board Report a photograph of a check given by the General Office to the New York Joint Board for the amount of \$238,000. We gave to the New York Joint Board most of the \$2,000,000 fund, but this was the largest single check. That is an achievement to be proud of.

After the lockout, the great task of the organization was to look over the field throughout the United States and Canada, and give attention to each situation which might have been neglected during the fight. Every city that needed attention received it.

You have all heard before you came to the convention, and you will find it in this printed report, that when agreements were renewed with the clothing manufacturers in this

city, in Rochester, in Baltimore, and wherever else agreements expired, our organization maintained its influence and jurisdiction over working conditions in the clothing industry. The organized power of the clothing workers has remained intact. The right of the clothing workers to a voice in the industry has in some respects been strengthened. While we were unable to hold all of the wages that were ours in the past, we held all of the other conditions, and made improvements upon them.

We come to this convention with a family of 148 local unions and sixteen joint boards, in thirty-six cities, in fourteen states and two provinces of Canada, and with twenty-six nationalities, outside of native-born Americans. We publish papers in eight different languages. And all of this great family, speaking different languages, coming from different parts of the globe, are united in this great struggle which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has been carrying on since its very inception.

There is one subject upon which we had hoped to be able to make an encouraging report here, but, unfortunately, it is a situation in which we cannot move faster than our sister organizations.

I refer to the subject of one organization of the needle trades workers. The Amalgamated has gone on record time and again in favor of the amalgamation of all organizations in what are known as the needle trades. For that there are sound reasons. The reason above all others is the urgent need of greater unity, of a more compact organization. I ask you all whether you have time to read the whole book or not, to read the chapter on the amalgamation of needle trades workers, beginning on Page 230. I do not want to repeat here what is said there. I ask you to read it for yourselves. The

attitude of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is well known with regard to this question. At the last convention we took the position that we want one united body. We have locals and joint boards in the Amalgamated; we might have similar arrangements in a general organization, in accordance with requirements. However, we declared our willingness to go with other workers to the extent that they were willing to go with us, even if they were not ready to travel the whole road in the direction of our goal.

In 1920 we received an invitation to attend a conference for the purpose of organizing a Needle Trades Workers' Alliance. We accepted the invitation. The conference was held almost on the very day that the lockout of our New York members was instituted, and the effect of this group of needle trades workers' organizations getting together at a conference for the purpose of forming a more compact body was such that anti-labor papers in New York, and I suppose also in other cities, were genuinely frightened. They announced the formation of the new organization with glaring head lines. One paper warned the nation that this new big body was preparing to stretch out its "tentacles" to every part of the country. Unfortunately, the Needle Trades Workers' Alliance did not get any further than the first conference. We hope that better results will be obtained in the future. Had the Needle Trades Workers' Alliance been able to function, it would have found in the lockout struggle in New York a splendid opportunity for a promising beginning. But despite the opportunity the Alliance did not function. Efforts seem to be making now to revive it. We do not know what the next move will be, but we are hoping for the best. It is our intention and our fixed purpose, that if the several organizations of the needle trades are to be brought together in a

greater and more effective unity, it should be a real and genuine unity, a genuine organization, able to lend its greater power to any section of these workers whenever they may be attacked. (Applause.)

You will find in this report that a beginning has already been made toward the establishment of Amalgamated Temples of which we spoke at our previous conventions. In this city the organization has already bought a number of buildings which will ultimately be torn down and an Amalgamated Temple erected. In Philadelphia our organization has its own home. In New York, the Amalgamated Temple has just been opened. These Amalgamated Temples we intend to utilize as great educational centers for our membership. The name "Amalgamated Temple" was intentionally given to these institutions so that they may always carry a spiritual message to the members.

There is one thing which is, in a sense, more tangible than anything else, and that is the Amalgamated Bank. (Applause.)

We come to this convention with the first Amalgamated Bank, owned and controlled by the Amalgamated membership, an actual fact. (Applause.) Chicago is the city that has set the pace. (Applause.) Permission has been received from the state authorities to organize the bank and sell shares, and the members are already buying shares. A place for the bank has been leased. Our own Amalgamated Temple in this city will eventually house the bank. I hope that every delegate, guest, and visitor will see the building that was leased for our bank.

And so we have in this period of industrial depression, in this period of deflation of labor, turned a new leaf.

Deflation of labor has been made an American maxim by the exploiters of the American people. Employers, however labor-hating, never dared in the

past to speak in public of wage reductions and labor deflation. Now wage reductions have become a virtue, and deflation of labor a principle. It was in this period of deflation of labor, when wages were reduced, unions broken, workers shot down because they dared to attempt to organize, workers forbidden by courts to organize and unions forbidden by courts to ask workers to join the organization; it was in this period that we have undertaken to build up a workers' financial institution, a labor bank, a bank with a capitalization of \$200,000 and a reserve fund of \$100,000, all coming from the pockets of workers. It is not the bank itself, not the fact that we will have a place to deposit our savings, whenever we may have any, that is so important; it is the fact which it tells the world, primarily the workers—that there is nothing that organized workers cannot achieve for the protection of their own interests if they make up their minds to achieve it. (Tremendous applause.)

We have given nearly \$250,000 to help workers outside of our ranks after spending \$2,000,000 in our own struggle.

At this convention, as on other occasions, we frankly admit without any feeling of apology, that, while we have done all that was possible, we have been unable to do the impossible. We have been unable to avoid wage reductions, and we accepted them. But we come here with our strength unimpaired, with our spirit as fresh, buoyant and vigorous as it ever was, and with positive proof that even in this time of unfavorable conditions we not only can hold what we have achieved in better times but are able to undertake new and great tasks.

There are a great number of very important points which I should like to discuss, but I have already taken more time than I had intended to take. There are also a number of minor de-

tails which are very instructive, and I ask you to read them all, become fully acquainted with the work of the organization, and draw from the achievements of the last two years of unfavorable conditions courage and strength for future work.

We feel happy in the consciousness that our organization is not growing old, not losing its enthusiasm, that it is gathering new spirit as it goes along and gaining more youthful strength as it exercises its power. Let us all go back home from this convention to our constituents with the determination of coming back two years from now with new achievements, new high records, new high standards, with a new message to our fellow workers in this country and all over the world, as the name of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is known throughout the wide world.

We are here to protect the interests of the working people, the working population of the clothing industry, and to give the benefit of our strength, of our collective wisdom, of our collective intelligence to all others who are struggling in the interests of the working class. (Loud applause.)

President Hillman appointed the following committees:

COMMITTEE ON REPORTS OF OFFICERS

Joseph Gold, Joint Board, Children's Clothing Workers, New York, chairman; Rubin Block, Local 61, Chicago; Emma Sauer, Local 120, Louisville; H. Wiseblatt, Local 116, Montreal; Sam Stolberg, Local 216, Toronto; D. Shnaper, Local 241, Baltimore; Anthony Di'Blasi, Local 85, New York; S. Katz, Local 4, New York; Hyman Schneid, Local 39, Chicago; Martin Engh, Local 144, Chicago; Frank Hubacek, Local 6, Chicago; A. Ramuglia, Boston Joint Board; John J. McMahon, Local 205, Rochester; M. Rappaport, Local 2, New

York; A. Hershkowitz, Local 5, New York.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Morris Weinstein, Local 4, New York, chairman; Morris Koslovsky, Philadelphia Joint Board, secretary; M. Bisnow, Local 155, St. Paul; U. De Dominicis, Local 51, Baltimore; Morris Michaelson, Local 114, Baltimore; Jacob Schwartzberg, Local 8, New York; M. Epstein, Local 262, New York; Benne Romano, Local 63, New York; Alfred Dolnick, Local 39, Chicago; A. Greco, Local 270, Chicago; T. H. Heinie, Local 273, Los Angeles; Saul Riger, Local 22, New York; S. Liptzin, Local 2, New York; George Gooze, Local 246, New York; Hyman Mandelbaum, Local 140, Philadelphia.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Jacob Kroll, Local 61, Chicago, chairman; Morris Brown, Local 39, Chicago, secretary; S. Esterkin, Local 113, Cincinnati; Sarah Borinsky, Local 36, Baltimore; Tommaso Romagni, Local 51, Baltimore; S. Stein, Local 55, New York; J. Catalanotti, Local 63, New York; L. Wexler, Local 39, Chicago; C. Bobrowski, Local 38, Chicago; Nathan Biller, Local 173, Boston; J. Levine, Local 14, Rochester; Harry Madanick, Local 15, Baltimore; Samuel Herman, Local 8, New York; N. Wertheimer, Local 2, New York; George Stone, Local 4, New York; B. Lader, Local 5, New York.

The three committees named were unanimously approved.

ALFRED DECKER & COHEN AND KUPPENHEIMER WORKERS

President Hillman announced that a beautiful bouquet of flowers on the stage was presented to the convention by the young girls who work sewing on tickets and labels in the factories of Alfred Decker & Cohen, and Kuppenheimer.

At this point a large number of cutters and trimmers from Alfred Decker & Cohen's, and Kuppenheimer's shops, members of Local 61, who had paraded through the city, marched into the hall preceded by their band, playing the "Marseillaise," and presented the convention with a large floral piece, amid great applause.

President HILLMAN: A member of the General Executive Board, Brother Sidney Rissman, will introduce the chairman of this committee.

Brother RISSMAN: President Hillman, delegates and guests: These people who have entered the hall just now are the cutters and trimmers of Alfred Decker & Cohen, and Kuppenheimer. Yesterday you had the veterans of the Amalgamated in the city of Chicago from the Hart, Schaffner & Marx shops. Today we have the new army of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the cutters and trimmers and pocket sewers of Alfred Decker & Cohen, and Kuppenheimer. I want to state while they are in the room that a lot of them belong to the veterans and they stood by the organization when the task was the hardest, when the blackmailing system was in effect in Chicago, and it was pretty hard for a man working in a non-union shop still to be loyal to the organization. A lot of credit is due to those who have stood by the union at times when it was hard to stand by it.

I want to announce that before these cutters marched into the hall, they pledged 100 per cent to subscribe to the Amalgamated Bank. (Prolonged applause.)

I believe that all you delegates and friends know by this time that anything we promise in Chicago we fulfill (applause), and this promise

is also going to be fulfilled. I take pleasure in introducing to you the chairman of this shop, one of the boys who has been a standby of our organization and has gone through nearly every strike we have had in Chicago, Brother Bob Frueh.

Brother FRUEH: Brother President, delegates and guests: I will not take up much of your time in making a long speech. The only thing I can say in behalf of the cutters and trimmers of Alfred Decker & Cohen is that we welcome you to our city. (Applause.)

Brother RISSMAN: I want to announce that the band which has just played is made up of boys from the shop. I now take pleasure in introducing to you Brother Tom Penna, shop chairman of Kuppenheimer. (Applause.)

Brother PENNA: Brother Chairman, president and delegates: We welcome you to our city. We are very glad to have the convention held in Chicago. We only hope and trust that it will legislate successfully for the working class for the coming two years. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: I hope the delegates will take notice that at this convention the rank and file is represented in large numbers. The rank and file is taking the trouble to be right here at the convention and see what the delegates are doing in the way of legislation and otherwise. (Applause.)

It gives me pleasure to introduce to the convention a representative of an institution that has in the past, at the birth of the organization, contributed a great deal to make possible the success of our organization in the different struggles that were confronting us. I take this opportunity to introduce to you Abraham Cahan, editor of the "Forward." (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF ABRAHAM CAHAN

ABRAHAM CAHAN: Mr. Chairman and delegates: It is a real pleasure to stand in front of you and to see that you are here, a living monument to the steadfastness of your union.

I remember the time when we had to create a new tailor's union every year. I remember the time when after a great victory, at the consummation of a great strike, the tailors would fail to organize just because they were victorious. The people in the union had not been trained really to appreciate the meaning of discipline, order, and organization, and they were under the impression that all that was necessary was to strike and win, and then go home. When I used to tell them that was just the time to begin to be loyal to the organization, they failed to understand. My words used to be lost upon them.

I had the pleasure, and I am proud of the fact, to organize the first tailoring union in the United States, as far back as thirty-seven years ago. (Applause.)

I am not a tailor myself, nor a cloak-maker, nor a cutter, nor what we used to call a baster, nor even a basting puller, and you cannot imagine my feelings in this matter. Well, later on we had all sorts of trouble in connection with the tailoring trades in the United States.

Thirty-two years ago, my old friend Peter Sissman brought me here to make a speech to the tailors of this city. He, himself, was the founder of the cloakmakers' union in this city. At that time the entire trade union movement was a windy sort of an affair, nothing solid. Your presence here, and the character of your convention, taken in conjunction with all we know about your struggles and victories, is a living monument that you are not a windy

organization, but that you are on solid, hard ground.

If you will permit me to boast a little bit more, I am going to brag about the institution to which I have the pleasure and honor of belonging. As you all know, I am the editor of the "Forward." The "Forward" is a workingman's paper, a Socialist paper. It has been connected with the movement to solidify the unions since its birth. There have been all sorts of events in the history of that struggle, and it gives me real pleasure and justifiable pride to recall to you some of those. In 1910, when the tailoring unions were still connected with the American Federation of Labor, and Mr. Rickert was the boss of the job, there was a big strike in this city, and our paper, the "Forward," sent a special man to this city. At that time we did not have a local edition as we have today, but we sent a special man to establish a local edition, temporarily, in connection with this strike, and we helped it become a victory. (Applause.) While the issues of the "Forward" in those days are a great source of pleasure to all of us, it was at a tremendous cost and at the expense of a lot of time, and we were happy to see that the thing came to a happy ending, that is, a victory.

Two or three years later, three years later, I think, the question of seceding, or breaking away from the American Federation of Labor, came up in the Nashville convention. We sent down to Nashville one of our best men, Harry Rogoff, with instructions to go down there and to urge the tailors to break away from Mr. Rickert and his gang, and establish this union. (Prolonged applause.)

Friends of the convention, delegates, and officers, many of you will remember the day when we were being attacked for being with you, and, as I told Mr. Gompers, I said, "I know you, Mr. Gompers. You are an honest man,

but you make mistakes, and one of your mistakes is the retention of Mr. Rickert. Why don't you throw him out? The overall makers are good enough for him. He has plenty of money to pay his officers. We want the tailors organized. And that is the reason why we told them to break away and secede. That is why they did secede." (Prolonged applause.)

Some misunderstandings have taken place, some misunderstandings of which certain people not directly connected with this organization, outsiders, were trying to make use, but we were not in a position to explain matters. There was a time in New York when there were grave dangers, and I would be delighted to explain the situation later on, after the convention is over, for it will take a lot of time. It is only a matter of friendly feeling, and nothing else. We meant nothing but co-operation and help to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America when the Harry Cohen affair came up.

Let me tell you, delegates, including my old friend, Mr. Hillman, with whom we have had some misunderstandings in the past, that I was not in a position to explain certain things to him. Had I been in that position, he would have understood that had it not been for us the situation would be altogether different in New York.

Why, one of my closest friends in the world, Shiplacoff, who is present here, did not agree with me. We had many friendly fights and quarrels. It was the "Forward" that made Harry Cohen give up that fight. We told him, "Unless you obey the orders from your organization, we have no use for you and we will fight you tooth and nail." That is what we said to him.

There was another thing, the Zucker-man affair in the vest makers. He came up to me, he is an old friend of mine, and he was a good member of

the organization, but at that time he wanted to be an officer without being elected. He came up and I said, "Unless you come to me with a certificate from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, you cannot hold that office; as far as the 'Forward' is concerned, we will make it impossible for you to hold office unless you do that." And he had to give it up.

I will conclude by saying only this: We mean to help every bona fide trade union organization, just as we are trying our best in the case of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and we certainly are devoted and loyal to your organization, and will be so and will remain so as long as you live and we live. (Applause.) That is the object of the "Forward." It was established with the pennies and the rings and watches of workmen and working girls. It is not a private industry any more than your bank is a private industry. It belongs to the working people. We are trying to do that, but there are some cases in which there may be two different points of view so far as the organization is concerned.

It gives me great pleasure to think that Charley Ervin made a speech exactly in the same tone as I make my speech. We do not want any political advice to be allowed in any union. I have in my pocket a manifesto that was published by a certain group of people. The manifesto has a sentence in it to this effect: "Let us bring the fight into every union." No, we say keep that fight out of every union. That is our plea. (Applause.)

The Ladies' Garment Workers had some difficulties in New York. There was some trouble, some misunderstanding between the joint board and Locals 1 and 9. We were trying as hard as we could in New York somehow or other to settle the difficulty, but it was not successful. At the convention, they realized the situation was getting

grave, and the president of the International, being a nervous man, and seeing the lack of harmony, made up his mind not to run again for president, and they could not afford to let him out. They needed him just as you need your president, Mr. Hillman. I had a long talk with Schlesinger and he really felt that he could not stay with that internal strife. I got them together. We talked it over. Not a word of politics was mentioned at those conferences, but absolute harmony. That is the order of the day.

Instead of saying, "Bring the fight into every union," as that manifesto calls for, we will be saying, early and late, "Keep political strife out of your organization; keep it out of every trade union."

I thank you most heartily for your kind reception and I promise to work for your organization, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, as loyally and as heartily as we have been doing to this moment. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: We all appreciate the advice to keep political strife out of our organization, and what is more, we have the power to enforce it. (Tremendous applause, convention rising.) There is one thing that we feel is our duty. Our first responsibility is to the men and women who entrusted their very lives to us, because, after all, you can realize what their lives would mean, confronted by the conditions of the sweatshop. And you want to remember that the Amalgamated, and the Amalgamated alone, can keep the sweatshop from the clothing industry. (Applause.)

As you all know, we have responded to the general labor movement and, I am glad to say, co-operated with it. On the other hand, we have accepted the aid extended to us by that movement. But, comrades, I am even more proud to say that a great deal more frequently have we extended aid than re-

ceived it. Yes, we have extended aid even to those who have participated in helping our enemies to destroy our movement, to those whose business it was, without mentioning any names, to stand with the workers, but who went over to the enemies, to their own disgrace; to those who apparently represented the labor movement, and yet have done everything in their power, during our struggles, to help our enemies.

I am indeed very proud that I can present to you a man who, I am sure, considering the cause which he will advocate to you, will get a sufficiently large sum of money. I am very happy to present to you the secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Edward Nockles.

ADDRESS OF EDWARD NOCKELS

EDWARD NOCKELS, secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor: It indeed is a great pleasure to appear before the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, especially so on this occasion, this being your Fifth Biennial Convention.

I well recollect the struggles of the clothing workers years ago here in Chicago when they were working under the United Garment Workers. I well recollect that strike and I well recollect the position that the Chicago Federation was placed in, when, at a very critical situation, and after the United Garment Workers had notified all the brothers and sisters on strike to come down and get strike benefits, we were informed at the last minute that they had no money, whereas the day before they told us they could meet their obligations. Why they sent out the notice, and why they at the last minute told us they could not meet their obligations, has not yet been answered and remains still a mystery. I do not know what it was done for, whether it was to discourage or to disrupt the strike, or whether it was a case of

giving up the fight. But notwithstanding, we were compelled to meet the situation in conjunction with the Women's Trade Union League. We had hurriedly to get out and solicit funds and also build up the organization in order to maintain the strike. As time went on, we collected some \$100,000 to help out the strikers.

It was said to us over and over again in those times, and especially by the officials of the United Garment Workers, "These people never pay dues. They are tax dodgers and they will never be of any use. That has been their history all these years. All those who are dues payers and believe in organization are under the United Garment Workers. These people are all cheap people. They want cheap organization, and never will be successful in forming an organization." It was said that the officers of the United Garment Workers realized the jeopardy of their positions at their next convention if these people were to be seated from Chicago, New York, and elsewhere, that it might mean their elimination, and that they were not so much concerned at the withdrawal of those organizations as they were to continue in control.

The result was a secession movement. I do not believe anything else could be done in the circumstances. And here today we have the proof and have had it ever since the successful revolution in the clothing industry, that the workers in the clothing industry do believe in organization, that they do pay assessments, yes, and they made the biggest contribution to the steel workers' strike that was ever made by an international organization in the history of the United States. (Applause.)

You cannot destroy the organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. You have contributed to your enemies, and you have shown true comradeship to the labor movement, regardless of

whether you are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or not. The Amalgamated has well repaid all the things that the Chicago Federation of Labor has ever done, and you know that we appreciate it. It is to be regretted that John Fitzpatrick cannot be here. I am a poor substitute for John, but I want every one to know that the Chicago Federation of Labor knows the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and appreciates the things they have done, and thanks you most heartily for the support that you have given every time you are ever called upon.

I come here also to make an appeal for the Mooney-Billings case. The Chicago Federation of Labor were pioneers in organizing the meat packing trades; they were the pioneers in organizing the steel workers. They were the pioneers in organizing the Farmer-Labor Party, and they were pioneers in the Mooney, Billings, Nolan, and Weinberg agitation.

For some reason or other it is alleged that the Chicago Federation is always doing some darn fool thing and afterwards we get a panning from the A. F. of L. for dabbling in things they say we should not do. Nevertheless, we do them. We are going to do it in the Mooney case. We have not deserted the case. We are still in it. We are still agitating. We will solicit funds for the Mooney case. The Chicago Federation of Labor has succeeded and has co-operated and been helpful to the extent that every witness in the Mooney case has confessed perjury, every one, without exception. Yet Mooney and Billings are still in the penitentiary.

Even the new state's attorney has lately petitioned the governor asking for a pardon for Mooney. I do not know whether he will be successful. There is no question in my mind that the chamber of commerce, with its \$1,000,000 slush fund, has bribed the

police, the state's attorney's office, every juror, every witness who was in that case. There is nothing else that can be done, but this can be done. This case should be kept alive. Funds should be sent from organizations to the Mooney Defense League in order that the propaganda can continue. We have two innocent men in the penitentiary because of the act of the courts, the chamber of commerce, the police, and the state's attorney, and I say it is well worth the price for any organization to contribute to the Mooney Defense League. Send the money to Rena Mooney, in order that Tom Mooney may keep his paper going, in order that we may keep the agitation going.

Mooney and Billings have asked for a new trial, and that is what they are entitled to. Therefore, if it is possible that anything can be done along those lines, I know it will be appreciated by them and by the delegates of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

On behalf of the Chicago Federation of Labor we welcome you to the city. We wish you well. We hope your membership will increase and we hope to see you affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, because the clothing industry has been revolutionized and is justly entitled to recognition. (Applause.)

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS

Brother Rosenblum read by title the following resolutions:

No. 1, Unification of unions in needle trades, by delegation of Local 6, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 2, Sick and disability benefits, by delegation of Local 61, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 3, Wages of trimmers, by delegation of Local 61, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 4, Release of political prisoners, by delegation of Local 61, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 5, Unemployment fund, by delegation of Local 61, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 6, Political party affiliations, by delegation of Local 61, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 7, Support of striking coal miners, by delegation of Local 61, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 8, Recognition and aid to Soviet Russia, by delegation of Local 61, to Committee on Russia.

No. 9, Work System, by Levine, Silverman, Local 209; Sabourin, Fournier, Local 115, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 10, Report of General Executive Board to locals and joint boards, by Levine, Silverman, Local 209; Fournier, Local 115; Rosenblatt, Local 116; Friedman, Local 167, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 11, Shop delegate representation, by Levine, Silverman, Local 209; Fournier, Sabourin, Local 115; Friedman, Local 167, to Committee on Law.

No. 12, Impartial machinery, by Silverman, Local 209; Fournier, Sabourin, Local 116; Friedman, Local 167, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 13, Expenses of delegates to convention, by Silverman, Local 209; Sabourin, Fournier, Local 115; Friedman, Local 167; Wiseblatt, Local 116, to Committee on Law.

No. 14, Salary of organizers, by Levine, Silverman, Local 209; Sabourin, Fournier, Local 115, to Committee on Law.

No. 15, Salary of general officers, by Levine, Silverman, Local 209; Fournier, Local 115, to Committee on Law.

No. 16, Organization of shirt workers, establishment of separate department, by Shirt Workers' Locals 243, 246, 248, to Committee on Organization.

No. 17, Recall of general officers, by delegation from Locals 115, 116, 117, 209, to Committee on Law.

No. 18, Representation on General Executive Board, by delegation from Shirt Workers' Locals 243, 246, 248, to Committee on Law.

No. 19, Release of political prisoners, by Taylor, Local 142, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 20, Italian organizer for bushelmen, by Urwand, Local 260, to Committee on Organization.

No. 21, Organization of shipping clerks, by Horowitz, Local 158, to Committee on Organization.

No. 22, Jurisdiction of bushelmen's local, by Urwand, Local 260, to Committee on Organization.

No. 24, Defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, by delegation of Local 142, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 24, Organization of overall workers, by Abe Kronick, Local 178; Overall Workers, to Committee on Organization.

No. 25, Label, by Abe Kronick, Local 178, to Committee on Labels.

No. 26, Organizing corporation shops, by Powers, Local 30, to Committee on Organization.

No. 27, Recognition of Soviet Russia, by Powers, Local 30, to Committee on Russia.

No. 28, Needle trades organization, by delegation of Local 144, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 29, Freedom for political prisoners, by delegation of Local 202, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 30, Salaries of general officers, by Robasauskas, Local 218, to Committee on Law.

No. 31, Per capita tax, by Robasauskas, Local 218, to Committee on Law.

No. 32, Collective bargaining, by Robasauskas, Local 218, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

The session then adjourned until 1:30 p. m.

FOURTH SESSION
Wednesday, May 10, 1922
1:30 P. M.

The fourth session was called to order at 1:30 p. m. by President Hillman, who appointed the following committees:

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

S. D. Genis, Twin City Joint Board, chairman; Goldie Berg, Local 151, Milwaukee; Jacob Gerson, Local 145, Indianapolis; B. Silverman, Local 209, Montreal; I. Kegel, Local 159, New York; Lorenzo Di Maria, Local 280, New York; Joseph Beck, Local 39, Chicago; Elnora Sauer, Local 275, Chicago; F. A. Mason, Local 269, Chicago; A. Temkin, Local 211, Toronto; Rose Cominsky, Local 204, Rochester; Rebecca Felsenheld, Local 22, New York; Joseph Magliano, Local 144, Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON APPEALS AND GRIEVANCES

Max Michaelson, Local 144, Chicago, chairman; L. Bettelheim, Local 61, Chicago, secretary; Lee Clem, Local 120, Louisville; C. C. Kramer, Local 166, Minneapolis; P. Rudich, Local 36, Baltimore; Joseph Leppo, Local 43, New York; Stephen Petilli, Local 243, New York; A. Silverman, Local 4, New York; Frank Lerman, Local 1, Boston; John Kroeger, Local 205, Rochester; D. Solomon, Cleveland Joint Board; Ralph Prager, Local 22, New York; H. Kalushkin, Local 3, New York.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

A. I. Pearlman, Rochester Joint Board, chairman; H. Auerbach, Local 277, Montreal, secretary; Rufino Conti, Local 63, New York; Meyer Klein, Local 272, Chicago; Ben Cooper, Local 61, Chicago; J. J. Young, Local 262, New York.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Jacob Kroll, Local 51, Chicago, chairman; Morris Brown, Local 39, Chicago, secretary; S. Esterkin, Local 113, Cincinnati; Sarah Borinsky, Local 36, Baltimore; Tommasso Romagni, Local 51, Baltimore; S. Stein, Local 55, New York; J. Catalanotti, Local 63, New York; L. Wexler, Local 39, Chicago; C. Bobrowski, Local 38, Chicago; Nathan Biller, Local 173, Boston; J. Levine, Local 14, Rochester; Harry Madanick, Local 15, Baltimore; Samuel Herman, Local 8, New York; N. Wertheimer, Local 2, New York; George Stone, Local 4, New York; B. Lader, Local 5, New York.

COMMITTEE ON MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

David Wolfe, Montreal Joint Board, chairman; E. F. Sand, Local 276, Kansas City; A. Devonish, Local 233, Toronto; Rose Quitt, Local 130, Baltimore; Murray Zaffarino, Local 85, New York; W. M. Cernis, Local 58, New York; H. Yanofsky, Local 186, New York; F. Cesarone, Local 104, New York; J. A. Valicenti, Local 142, New York; Marie Luehr, Local 152, Chicago; Vincent Seelack, Local 6, Chicago; Morris Kaufman, Local 172, Boston; B. Chernauskas, Local 203, Rochester.

All committees were approved by the convention.

President HILLMAN: The chair takes this opportunity to introduce to you a representative of the Federated Press, a member of the Teachers' Union of this city, a delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor, Miss Lillian Herstein.

ADDRESS OF MISS HERSTEIN

Miss HERSTEIN: I have always hoped that the time would come when I would be able to speak to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, because I understand you have some rebel blood in you and I like rebels. I am only allowed five minutes and I am not going to tell you how much I love you, but if you like the sample I hope you will ask me to come some time and talk to you again.

I am going to tell you a little story I heard about your president, Mr. Hillman. I heard that one time when you were celebrating one of your wage agreements with a banquet, Mr. Hillman remarked that he could enjoy the banquet a good deal more if he knew that his fellow workers in Russia were also being fed. At that moment a telegram came, bringing good news from Russia, and only then was Mr. Hillman able to sit down with any comfort to the banquet.

I want to congratulate you, as an organization, on being able to hold your own at a time of the greatest industrial crisis America has ever known. I have read with a great deal of interest your last wage agreement, and I am mighty glad the bosses did not take away from you the liberties which you have gained. But I know, interpreting the spirit of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, that you are not absolutely comfortable when you know what is going on among your fellow workers in Russia and in the United States.

I want to tell you how one agency of public interest, namely, the press, has been prostituted to the needs of business and of the bosses.

I would like to remind you this afternoon that there appeared in the Chicago "Tribune" last summer a picture of men shot, supposedly in Moscow, and it said, "They asked for bread and they are given bullets." The

inference was that the peasants of Russia had been asking Lenin and Trotzky for bread and they were being shot for so doing. The managing editor of the Federated Press ran down that story, and he made the Chicago "Tribune" admit that the picture was not a picture of Moscow, but of Petrograd, and that it was taken not after the revolution but during the war. The Chicago "Tribune" had deliberately lied in order to mislead the American public on the Russian Revolution.

I want to tell you one other story about the lies of the press. Last summer I saw a headline in the St. Louis "Globe Democrat" which said, "Sid Hatfield killed in detective bout." The inference would be that Sid Hatfield was defying the officers of the law and was shot down. Now, the truth was that he, himself, was an officer of the law, and that he was shot down while going unarmed into court by the gunmen employed by the mine operators.

I have a firm feeling of belief in the fineness of human nature. I haven't the slightest doubt that if the majority of the people in the world knew the truth—knew the true stories of the Russian Revolution, and knew the true story of the clothing industry, and knew the true story of the miners who are out 600,000 strong—that we would not be suffering from the industrial evils that we are suffering from today.

We don't know one another's story. The Federated Press is the only newspaper agency in America that is functioning in the way the Associated Press functions, and today it is supplying labor news for newspapers all over the country.

In addition to that, the Federated Press has established seven newspapers in southern Illinois, owned and controlled by the rank and file of the working people. I know how joyful that sounds to the souls of the rebel Amalgamated, using "rebel" in the best sense of the word.

I know that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, from their whole history, have the vision to know that the fight of one group of workmen is your fight. You showed it when you contributed \$100,000 to the steel workers. I know that you have intelligence enough to know that when one group of workers are licked, no matter how good your agreement is, your agreement is jeopardized just that much. I know also that you possess altruism. When you are comfortable, you want other groups of workers to be comfortable. I just want to have your minds concentrated for a few minutes on the opportunities which the Federated Press offers the working people of America to spread the gospel of labor all over the country. I want you to focus your energies and your money and your time some day on it, and think of it as you are sitting here. The Federated Press offers the Amalgamated Clothing Workers an opportunity for service. I hope you will give some expression of your mind to the Federated Press, which is a news agency, struggling with small funds, and with only the energies of a few idealistic workers to bring the message of labor to the whole world. (Uproarious applause.)

The workers of the H. M. Marks Co. entered and presented President Hillman with a basket of flowers.

It was unanimously voted to send greetings and good wishes for the success of the convention to the delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in session at Cleveland.

A number of additional telegrams of greeting were read to the convention, and are listed later in the proceedings.

President HILLMAN: The chair will now call upon one we are fortunate to

listen to and hear at our conventions, a person we always hear on behalf of poor people who are suffering persecution for their activities in the labor movement. I take great pleasure in introducing to you Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who will explain the case of Sacco and Vanzetti.

ADDRESS OF ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

Miss FLYNN: I think Comrade Hillman would better have said "unfortunate." Unfortunately it is necessary that we should come here to appeal to you on behalf of the men and women in prison. Two years ago when I spoke to you in Boston I had never heard, nor do I suppose any of you had heard, the names of Sacco and Vanzetti. Yet, at the very time we were sitting there in convention those two men were being arrested, at the very time that we were gathered together the net was being drawn around the lives and destinies of these two Italian workers.

I am not going to attempt to tell you their entire story. That would be impossible, and I presume that most of you here at the convention have already heard the story. It is the Mooney case of the Atlantic coast. It is a case similar to the frame-up against Tom Mooney, except that in this instance the victims are two humble, obscure Italian workers, men who came here expecting liberty and freedom, expecting advantages, which they were denied in the New England cities and towns. They were men who did their part in organizing the foreign-born workers in the New England cities. Both of these men, Sacco and Vanzetti, were blacklisted and were driven from town to town and were penalized for their activities on behalf of the foreign-born workers. But because they could not be silenced, because they refused to be broken, because they remained true to the aspira-

tions and the ideals of their foreign-born comrades in the New England states, they were eventually selected for the frame-up that brought them within the shadow of the electric chair.

We have left a period of about two months in which to secure for these two men a new trial. Our preliminary motions have all been denied. Our supplementary motions may be granted if we are able to show sufficient new evidence to justify the state of Massachusetts in granting a new trial, without, at the same time, admitting any error on its own part.

It would seem that a new trial would be inevitable. It would seem more particularly so because of the great agitation that has centered and gathered around this case in European countries. Most of us first heard the names of Sacco and Vanzetti when they were raised on the lips of the hundreds of thousands of workers in France, in Italy, in Germany, in England, in Belgium, and in the South American countries, and in Russia, and in other distant lands. Then, for the first time, did many workers in this country begin to ask, Who are Sacco and Vanzetti? Most people didn't even know that they were two men. They thought it was one man, that his first name was Sacco and his second name Vanzetti. It was then only that they began to realize how these two Italian workers had been charged with murder and how, without one single identification, not one single witness who came on the witness stand to say, "Yes, this is the man I saw fire the gun," these two men had been convicted. In spite of the fact that over thirty witnesses who were there on the scene of the crime appeared and said, "I saw the bandits who committed the robbery and hold-up, and these two men are not the men," and in spite of the fact that both these men proved unimpeached alibis they were convicted. Vanzetti proved that he was in the town of

Plymouth, going about his daily occupation, selling fish. Sacco was in the office of the Italian consul in the city of Boston securing his passport to go back to Italy at the very hour, yes, at the very minute that the crime was committed. But the prosecuting attorney called the attention of the jury to the fact that the witnesses were all Italians. "Why," he said, "they are all of the same nationality as the men on trial. How can you believe what they say?" Is it any wonder that the Italians say that this is not only a case where prejudice against the laboring man and prejudice against radicals played a part, but it is a case of prejudice against foreign workers, that race prejudice played a part as well?

And so, after a trial lasting six weeks, in which there was not a vestige of proof that these two men had ever committed the dastardly crime of which they were accused, the jury found them guilty, this selected jury of business men, frugal business men, who stayed out for two hours having their lunch. They wanted to have one more meal at the expense of the state of Massachusetts, they spent one more hour discussing the evidence and the future fate of these two young Italian workers, and sentenced them practically to the electric chair. Unless the workers of America join their voices with the workers of Europe and say, "No, it shall not be done," it will be done. (Uproarious applause.)

And it must not be done.

It is not only a question of these two young men, but it is a question even more vital than their lives and their liberties. It is the question: Shall a workingman, especially a foreign-born workingman, put his neck into the noose, put his life into the shadow of death if he dares to speak the message of organization and the message of rebellion to the foreign-born workers in this country?

Now, comrades, some of us have made a long, hard fight to defend Sacco and Vanzetti. We took this case when nobody had ever heard of it, when nobody ever knew about it and when nobody cared, and we tried, in all these long months, to raise the necessary agitation, publicity, and finance to carry it on.

We have been able to raise, through the assistance of all the organizations—and your organization has responded generously, everywhere—the sum of \$90,000. But that \$90,000 has all been spent, and spent on those vitally necessary tasks attached to a murder case. I could not begin to tell you the ramifications, how you can follow little clues and threads of evidence, and how much money it costs; and how the stenographers' bills pile up, and the printing of those great law books that nobody reads except the judge and the lawyers, and how the bills pile up for that. Now, we have come to the point, I am going to tell you quite frankly, where our Sacco-Vanzetti committee is absolutely broke. They haven't got one single dollar at the present time. The reason for that is that the New England workers are all out on strike. They were the ones who gave to us first of all. The miners gave generously, but they, too, are all out on strike. And we have got to fall back on you here in the needle trades. We have got to ask you now to give, and to give as generously as you can, once more. We believe we have evidence, in fact, we are sure we have evidence within our grasp at the present time, to show not only that Sacco and Vanzetti are innocent, but to show who the guilty parties are, and to show that the police department and the Department of Justice knew it all the time. (Uproarious applause.)

We believe we can demonstrate that Sacco and Vanzetti are innocent, and we can demonstrate it so that these frame-ups will be impossible in the fu-

ture. But, comrades, we need your help. I am not going to say any more than that. I am not going to make any long and sentimental appeal to you. I have told you what the situation is. We have had to close down the office of the lawyer. He has got to do his work in his own home. We haven't been able to pay the investigators and the stenographers for the last month, and if we are going to save these men you've got to help us do it. (Applause.)

That's all I am going to say to you, and I am sure that's all that is necessary. I hope a year from now I won't have to come and talk about Sacco and Vanzetti. I hope that Sacco and Vanzetti will be able to come and thank you themselves. (Applause.)

REPORT FOR CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Assistant Secretary POTOFSKY: The Committee on Credentials has asked me to make a report for them. The Committee on Credentials reported yesterday, seating 256 delegates, representing 104 local unions from thirteen states of the United States and two provinces in Canada. That report was incomplete. The committee has acted upon the remaining credentials and recommends the following:

An objection was filed against Brother Bernstein, who presented a credential from Local 19 of New York. The objection is not against Brother Bernstein personally. It is made on the ground of the constitutional provision that a delegate must be a member of the local union he represents at the convention. Brother Bernstein is a member of Local 5 and he was elected a delegate by Local 19 because he is the manager of that local union. Under the provisions of our constitution the committee was compelled to sustain the objection and refused to accept his credentials.

An objection was raised against the seating of Brother Jacob Malkin of Local 16, New York. The committee finds that there is not sufficient ground to sustain the objection, and therefore recommends the seating of Brother Malkin.

An objection was filed against Brother Jacob Cohen of Local 162, New York. Brother Cohen is charged with having been at one time a representative of the Custom Tailors' Contractors' Association. The facts revealed to the committee make it impossible for the committee to recommend the seating of Brother Cohen, and the committee therefore reports unfavorably on this credential.

The committee has denied the application of Local 61. Local 61 is entitled to six delegates and they sent seven. The six delegates have already been seated. The committee recommends that inasmuch as Local 61 has already elected seven delegates, the seventh delegate be seated with a voice but no vote.

The committee further recommends the seating of a delegate from Local 102, and of Brother J. J. Young as an additional delegate from Local 162.

The recommendations of the committee were approved.

President HILLMAN: That completes the organization of this convention. I believe it should be said, to the great credit of the convention, that it took less than ten minutes to dispose of the whole report of the Committee on Credentials.

I am happy to be able to introduce to you the guest of the General Executive Board, invited here on behalf of the organization to address this convention. Whenever we hear there is any little trouble in the city of Milwaukee, we are not fearful our people will be arrested for no cause. I am going to

forego the privilege of introducing Mayor Hoan myself, and I am going to call upon General Organizer Krzycki, who had the opportunity of working closer with him in our organization and otherwise than anyone else, to introduce Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee. (Uproarious applause.)

Organizer KRZYCKI: The chairman told you that I had the opportunity to work and co-operate with Comrade Hoan, our mayor of the city of Milwaukee. I want to say that I not only had the opportunity to co-operate and work with Dan Hoan in labor matters, but it was also my privilege, during the two years that I had in my pocket the key to the Milwaukee County Jail, also to entertain the mayor in the Milwaukee County Jail. No, not in the same way the miners are being entertained by the sheriff in West Virginia! Not that way. But in a regular, hospitable, respectable sort of a way.

You will recall that Sam Levin, in greeting you in Carmen's Hall, mentioned among other things his deep regret that, in the circumstances, it was impossible for the Chicago Joint Board to turn the keys of the city over to the delegates to our convention. But inasmuch as this is a time when we are accustomed, as at all conventions, to turn the keys of a city over to the delegates, it dawned upon us that, not far from our home city of Chicago, there is a place where we can do that. So we thought that we would bring our mayor to Chicago and give him an opportunity to turn over to you, not only the key of the city of Milwaukee, but everything that the city of Milwaukee has, and over which Mayor Hoan and the working class of Milwaukee have control. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF MAYOR DANIEL W. HOAN

Mayor DANIEL W. HOAN: We are much disappointed in Milwaukee over the decision of your General Executive Board, not to bring this convention up to Milwaukee to look around the city. We are so disappointed about it, in fact, that the members of the Amalgamated in Milwaukee, and a few other good workers and friends there, decided the best thing to do was to send the mayor of Milwaukee down to the convention in Chicago. (Applause.) Our second decision was to have me extend to you an invitation some time to give us your convention in the best city in the world—Milwaukee. (Applause.)

I want you to know that the working class in America, practically 100 per cent, recognize in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which you represent, the most advanced, the most aggressive, and best type of organized labor movement in America today. We recognize it and concede it and, therefore, we come here to receive inspiration. We will look to you in the future for guidance, and, while the labor movement of Milwaukee has not been as backward as in most other cities, yet we are looking forward to an advance being made in the old A. F. of L., at least, and, therefore, we look to you for the example.

At the present time the labor movement is up against so many perplexing problems, and such powerful opposition, that it is apparent to everybody but an insane man that the old methods won't do any longer. If we go out and hunt bear with a sling-shot and find that every time we do so the bear squeezes us to death, it is about time to get a 44-caliber gun to hunt that bear with. (Laughter.) We cannot fight with our old weapons. It has been demonstrated, overwhelmingly,

over and over again, in the last coal strike, in the present coal strike, and where they had so much splendid help from the Amalgamated, in the steel strike. But the owners not only have the mines; they have the courts and the sheriffs' offices, and the police, and everything in their power. We find the organized labor movement in America is right up against a stone wall and, therefore, we have to have something bigger and better than the old-fashioned sling-shot to do business with. (Applause.)

We have got to have a labor press in this country, a press that will back us up all the time in all the large cities of America, a daily press that will fight the battles of the working class and help us to emancipation from the evils of commercial slavery. Until you get that press, the public mind of the country will continue to be corrupted and deceived through the press, to your detriment.

I see that the Amalgamated has put its shoulder to the wheel to help the co-operative movement in America. In the past the American co-operative movement has been more or less of a joke. It has been laughed at as reform, and all kinds of foolishness; but the workers of Europe, of Russia, of France, of Belgium, of Italy, England, have all showed us that there is something more in the co-operative movement than child's play. They have showed us that out of the pitiful savings of the workingman we can commence to build a commonwealth for the future, owned and managed by the working class. By your recent steps to establish a bank in Chicago, you are helping to realize that forward step. I hope the individual members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will study the literature and will help to boost the great co-operative movement.

As to Milwaukee, there are some things about Milwaukee that are so

far ahead of the city we are in, and the different cities you men come from, that we are mighty proud of the work we have done there. First of all, there is one thing we did which, if we had done nothing else, justified the workers of Milwaukee in participating in political action. The city hall has, most of the time, the sheriff's office under its control, and that is the reason that if any policeman uses his club on the head of a worker he loses his job, and he knows it. (Uproarious applause.)

In the communities where you fight one another over theories, when you go out on strike, and attempt to picket, the policeman takes his club and jabs it into your ribs and says, "Get out of here." But they can't do that in Milwaukee, because Milwaukee belongs to the working class. (Applause.)

When we had the Cudahy strike, when Brother Krzycki was under-sheriff, the packers said, "We are going to have some trouble and we want some deputies." Krzycki said, "Well, we will give you some deputies," and he swore in the union men who were on strike. (Laughter.) We put the boys on strike under oath, and swore them in to enforce the law and the constitution. They were told to go out there and not let anybody come near that plant to do any damage. So when some fellows came, I suppose to take the strikers' places, they were told to get out and stay out. They started to run them off, and for all we know they are still running, away from Milwaukee. (Laughter). We have never had one bit of violence in any labor strike in Milwaukee as long as I can remember.

I wouldn't be surprised in the near future to see the coal miners and the railroad workers and the steel workers, all driven into one solid phalanx of an economic organ-

ization, go out on strike and stay out until the steel mills, railroads, and mines are the property of the workers of the United States. When that time comes, there should be a daily press to back them up. There should be within our power every possible means of help and, in our cities and counties, as many sheriffs and as many chiefs of police and police officers as possible. Our opponents are on the job getting hold of those things. We want everything they are after. It doesn't make any difference whether it is the factories or the city halls or the capitol of the United States, we want them for the working class; but if we don't get after them, we won't get them.

Our hearts are with the Amalgamated because you are up and doing things. You are not afraid of new ideas. (Applause.)

A floral gift was presented to the convention by the Scotch Woolen Mills, followed by a speech of welcome by Brother Toney, shop chairman of the mills.

President Hillman introduced Miss Caroline A. Lowe, representing the General Defense Committee.

ADDRESS OF CAROLINE A. LOWE

MISS CAROLINE A. LOWE: After spending the greater part of my time and energy in the past five years in attendance upon courts and jails and penitentiaries, your convention today thrills me through and through, and gives me hope for the future.

Despite the joy that your convention has brought to my heart, I can see the gray walls of the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, and I can hear the gong and see the gray ghost-like forms of the prisoners as they go dully about their work, day after day, week after week, and year after year. These men, for whom I appeal to you today, have been in

the jails and the penitentiaries for the past five years, and sixty-one of these men are sentenced to serve terms of from ten to twenty years. In other words, they are sentenced to what amounts to life sentences, merely for the expression of opinion. And that has happened in America.

Had these men been sentenced in Italy, they would have been released three years ago. Had they been convicted in France or in Belgium, they would have been released in December, 1919. Had they been sentenced in Canada, just north of us, they would have been released in December, 1920; and had they been sentenced in England, one year is the longest term they would have been given.

I come to you this afternoon urging your active co-operation and your financial aid in a campaign for general amnesty for federal prisoners. You have listened to appeals for general amnesty, including all prisoners, and I come to you this afternoon to ask your specific aid in a great national campaign by which we are endeavoring to secure the release of the federal political prisoners this summer, or at the very latest not later than Christmas.

The amnesty hearing held in Washington on March 16 created a very favorable impression, we are led to believe, and has renewed interest and called the attention of the politicians in Washington to the fact that the demand for amnesty of the federal wartime prisoners has not ceased.

Of the 113 political prisoners confined in Leavenworth, Kansas, five were members of a tenant farmers' union. The remaining ninety-eight prisoners were members of the Industrial Workers of the World. In the indictments brought against these prisoners, there was no attempt to charge them with overt acts involving the commission of violence. Every overt act stated in the indictments in these cases

charged one of four things: either the circulation of literature, the circulation of pamphlets, the sending of letters, or the sending of telegrams. That is the charge against these men, and these men are solely political prisoners.

Now, at the meeting held in Washington on March 16, Major Alexander Lanier, a leading attorney in the city of Washington, who was appointed by the government to read all of the testimony given in Chicago against these men, was a witness for the defense. In his address to the House Judiciary Committee, Major Lanier said:

"After reading 44,000 typewritten pages of testimony in this case, I am obliged to say that it is my firm conviction that these men were convicted solely because they were leaders in a revolutionary organization and that the verdict was the result of wartime hostility and prejudice."

(At this juncture President Hillman was presented with a basket of flowers by the Workers of Kahn Bros.)

Now, comrades, a campaign is on, in which we are circulating a million-signature petition. We ask that every one of you sign this petition, urging general amnesty for all political prisoners. I also trust that you will aid us materially in raising the \$5,000 that we must have this month to carry on the campaign for amnesty and to fight against the deportation of some of the prisoners who would be turned over to brutal and despotic governments. (Applause.)

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS

Brother Potofsky read by title the following resolutions:

No. 33, International affiliation, by Robasauskas, Local 218, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 34, Affiliation with other labor organizations, by Robasauskas, Local 218, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 35, Organization work in Baltimore, by delegation from Baltimore, to Committee on Organization.

No. 36, Organization of women in Cincinnati, by delegation from Cincinnati, to Committee on Organization.

No. 37, Organization work in Cincinnati, by delegation from Cincinnati, to Committee on Organization.

No. 38, Support of striking Amalgamated Textile Workers, by delegation from Cincinnati, to Committee on Finance.

No. 39, Sick benefits, by delegation of Local 144, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 40, Eligibility of members withdrawing from industry to hold office, by Riger, Kaman, Proger, Local 22, to Committee on Law.

No. 41, Wage reductions, by Riger, Kaman, Proger, Local 22, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 42, Recognition of Soviet Russia, by delegates of Local 63, to Committee on Russia.

No. 43, Federation of independent organizations, by delegation of Local 63, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 44, Needle trades organization, by delegation of Local 63, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 45, Recognition of Soviet Russia, by delegation of Local 39, to Committee on Russia.

No. 46, Unemployment fund, by delegation of Local 39, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 47, Education, by delegation of Local 39, to Committee on Education.

No. 48, Amnesty for political prisoners, by delegation of Local 39, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 49, Term of office for local officers, by Max Potash, Local 162, to Committee on Law.

No. 50, Exemption from per capita of unemployed members, by delegation of Local 38, to Committee on Finance.

No. 51, Special assessments, by delegation of Local 38, to Committee on Law.

No. 52, Uniform laws for local unions, by delegation of Local 38, to Committee on Law.

No. 53, Wages, by delegation of Local 38, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 54, Unification of labor organizations, by delegation of Local 38, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 55, Forty-hour week, by delegation of Local 38, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 56, Organization of Baltimore, by delegation of Local 51, to Committee on Organization.

No. 57, Interrelation of markets, wages, etc., by delegation of Local 51, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 58, Release of political prisoners, by delegation of Local 51, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 59, Revision of constitution, by delegation of Local 51, to Committee on Law.

No. 60, Approval of action in regard to Children's Clothing Joint Board, by delegation of Local 51, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 61, Amalgamation of local unions, by delegation of Local 51, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 62, Defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, by delegation of Local 51, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 63, Per capita tax, by delegation from Montreal, to Committee on Finance.

No. 64, Special rule in strikes, by delegation of Local 54, to Committee on Organization.

No. 65, Shop committees, by delegation of Local 270, to Committee on Law.

No. 66, Amalgamation of needle trades unions, by delegation of Local 270, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 67a, Organization work in Montreal, by delegation from Montreal, to Committee on Organization.

No. 67b, International unity of labor organizations, by Levin, Sugarman, Local 14; Cernis, Local 58; Reinisch, Local 5; Berson, Fox, Local 39; Levine, Local 209, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 68, Unemployment fund, by Levin, Local 14; Cursi, Rocco, Local 202; Rickles, Local 204; Enghart, Local 227; Lifshutz, McMahon, Kroeger, Local 205; Pearlman, Rochester Joint Board, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 69, Forty-hour week, by Licastro, Giangreco, Local 200; Morley, Cominsky, Local 204; Ciaccio, Local 202, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 70, Standards of protection, by Levine, Local 14; Agress, Local 200, Hurley, Adler, Local 204; Kroeger, Local 205; Borzdynski, Local 206; Cursi, Local 202, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 71, Impartial machinery, by Licastro, Giangreco, Local 200; Hurley, Local 204; Ciaccio, Local 202, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 72, Week work vs. piece work, by Schneid, Smith, Weiss, Fox, Rutledge, Local 39; Bendokaitis, Local 269, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 73, Unification of all unions in needle trades, by Levin, Sugarman, Potter, Local 14; Berson, Brown, Schneid, Fox, Schlossberg, Local 39; Licastro, Local 200; Bendokaitis, Local 269, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 74, Wages and working conditions in various cities, by delegation of Local 63, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 76, Date for holding convention, by delegates of Local 38, to Committee on Law.

No. 77, Organization of cloth examiners and spongers, by delegates of Local 271, to Committee on Organization.

No. 78, Sympathy to imprisoned cigar makers, by delegation of Local 61, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 79, Organization of sheepskin industry, by Landfield, Local 267, to Committee on Organization.

No. 80, Equal pay to women for equal work, by delegation of Local 36, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 81, Wages, by delegation of Local 36, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 82, Establishment of Board of Sanitary Control, by women delegates, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

Nos. 83, 84, Women organizers, by delegates of Women's Locals, to Committee on Organization.

No. 85, Organization of custom tailors, by delegation of Local 162, to Committee on Organization.

No. 86, Amalgamation of unions in needle trades, by delegation of Local 142, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 87, Old age, sick, and disability benefits, by delegation of Local 162, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 88, Support of striking textile workers, by delegation of Local 142, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 89, Representation of locals on joint boards, by delegation of Local 102, to Committee on Law.

No. 90, Organization work in Utica, by Cesarone, Local 104, to Committee on Organization.

No. 91, Organization work in Cincinnati, by Herman, Cincinnati Joint Board, to Committee on Organization.

No. 92, Thanks to Convention Arrangements Committee, by delega-

tion of Local 4, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 93, Annual election for officers of local unions, by delegation of Local 4, to Committee on Law.

No. 94, Establishment of Organization Department in East, by delegation of Local 4, to Committee on Organization.

No. 95, Organization of drivers and helpers, by Schoen, Local 240, to Committee on Organization.

Nos. 96, 97, Payment of wages for legal holidays, by delegation of Local 2, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 98, Unemployment fund, by delegation of Local 2, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 99, Out-of-town organization work, by delegation of Local 2, to Committee on Organization.

No. 100, Organization of needle trades, by delegation of Local 269, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 101, Officers' salaries, by delegation of Local 269, to Committee on Law.

No. 102, Methods of work, by delegation of Local 269, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 103, Corporation shops, by delegation of Local 269, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 104, Representation, by delegation of Local 269, to Committee on Law.

No. 105, Form of organization, by delegation of Local 269, to Committee on Law.

No. 106, Affiliation, by delegation of Local 269, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 107, Assistance for striking shoe workers, by Levin, Local 14; Lifshutz, Local 205, to Committee on Finance.

No. 108, Lithuanian paper, by delegation of Local 269, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 109, Week work, by delegation of Local 2, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 110, Appointment of organizers, by delegation of Local 102, to Committee on Law.

No. 111, Reports of General Executive Board to locals, by delegation of Local 2, to Committee on Law.

No. 112, Establishment of Organization Department jointly by General Office and New York Joint Board, by delegation of Local 2, to Committee on Organization.

No. 113, Editorial Department, by delegation of Local 2, to Committee on Resolutions.

Nos. 114, 117, Political affiliation, by delegation of Local 63, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 118, Appointment of organizers, by delegation of Local 63, to Committee on Law.

No. 120, Eastern organization campaign, by delegation of Local 3, to Committee on organization.

No. 121, Preference of employment, by delegation of Local 3, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 122, Week work, by delegation of Local 3, to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 123, Unemployment fund, by delegation of Local 3, to Committee on Reports of Officers.

No. 124, Pay for legal holidays, by delegation of Local 3, to Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

No. 125, Eligibility for General Executive Board, by delegation of Local 3, to Committee on Law.

No. 126, Term of office, by delegation of Local 3, to Committee on Law.

No. 127, Eligibility of general organizers for General Executive Board, by delegation of Local 5, to Committee on Law.

No. 128, Shop stewards, by Velona, Local 208, to Committee on Law.

No. 129, Eligibility for local offices, by Velona, Local 208, to Committee on Law.

The convention thereupon adjourned, to meet at 9:30 the following morning.

FIFTH SESSION
Thursday, May 11, 1922
9:30 A. M.

President HILLMAN called the fifth session to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, May 11.

Assistant Secretary POTOFKY read messages of greeting from the following Amalgamated organizations:

Local 110, Cutters, A. C. W. of A., Chicago.

Local 208, A. C. W. of A., Vine-land, N. J.

Employees of Perlstein's, New York.

Employees of I. & B. Cohen, New York.

In addition, Brother Potofsky read the following communications:

"City Central of the Young Workers' League of Chicago greets the Fifth Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and wishes them success in the common struggle of the working class for the control of the industries and the conditions under which we are. Yours for united front.

"Chicago City Central,
**YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE
 OF AMERICA."**

"We greet at this opportune moment the large and mighty organization, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union. In the time of this frightful reaction when the whole capitalist class used all its power to destroy the organized strength of the workers the Amalgamated withstood it all and emerged if not with material gains but certainly more determined and obstinate in its antagonism against the manufacturing class that desires to destroy their union. May consciousness of your struggle and solidarity be the ideal of all your decisions. We wish that the Amalgamated in the future

shall be guided by the Socialistic spirit, as it has been in the past, with the same aspiration toward brotherhood among all the various branches of the Jewish labor movement. Long live the Amalgamated which was built up by the large membership under the spiritual guidance of the Socialist and radical parts of the Jewish labor movement.

"Executive Committee,
"JEWISH SOCIALIST VERBAND."

"Heartiest greeting to your convention. May your deliberations strengthen the duration of your great organization in its struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

"JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOR
 PARTY, POALE ZION."

"Greeting. The joint board of the millinery union conveys its heartiest congratulations to your convention and wishes that all your deliberations be crowned with success. It further expresses its hope and belief that your convention will realize the great need of a Needle Trades Alliance and will do its utmost to carry it into realization in the spirit as submitted to you in the memorandum by our General Executive Board.

"Fraternally yours,
**"JOINT BOARD, MILLINERY AND
 LADIES' STRAW HAT WORKERS'
 UNION, UNITED CLOTH HAT
 AND CAP MAKERS OF NORTH
 AMERICA."**

"America is watching you. Amalgamation is the slogan. One foe, one front, one victory.

"Local Pittsburgh, WORKERS'
 PARTY OF AMERICA."

"Accept our heartiest congratulations upon your past achievements and

may you in the future as in the past remain the beacon light of the American labor movement.

“S. M. NEISTADT, State Secy.,
Socialist Party of Maryland.”

(At this point Brother Solomon presented flowers on behalf of the employees of Marx & Co. to the convention. Flowers were also presented to Delegate Rutledge, a Negro delegate from Marx & Co., amid great applause.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Delegate McKAY reported for the Committee on Law:

Expenses of Convention

RESOLUTION No. 13

Resolved, That the General Office should provide the expense for the delegates to the convention.

Committee's recommendation of non-concurrence adopted.

Date of Convention

RESOLUTION No. 76

Resolved, That the date of the convention be changed from the second Monday of May to a date before the time of signing the agreement with manufacturers. Usually during the convention many important questions are adopted, but never installed. If before the agreement is signed, such adoptions would be taken under consideration.

Committee's recommendation of non-concurrence adopted.

Recall of General Officers

RESOLUTION No. 17

Resolved, That general officers and General Executive Board members can be recalled on the initiation of 20 per cent of the membership, a referendum vote to be instituted for action.

Committee's recommendation of non-concurrence adopted.

Representation on General Executive Board

RESOLUTION No. 18

Whereas, Our General Executive Board today as constituted represents markets and nationalities. While it is true that we have no constitutional provision for it, we all somehow feel that we must give representation to Chicago, New York, Boston, Lithuanians, Italians and women workers in our organization.

And whereas, We understand the importance of a General Executive Board being constituted in a way that it should give full expression to all the shades of sentiment, feeling, and problems that our organization might be confronted with.

And whereas, The shirt-making industry in all its phases has peculiarities that are intimate only to those who are part thereof.

And whereas, Our organization is, we say it with pride, so big and has so many problems to solve; be it therefore

Resolved, That representation be granted to the shirt makers in the General Executive Board, to enable them to look after the shirt-making industry at the meeting of the General Executive Board where the fate of the various problems is decided.

The committee recommended non-concurrence.

Delegate YUDELL, Local 248, stated that he thought the shirt workers should be represented on the General Executive Board. His remarks were concurred in by Delegate COHEN.

Delegate McKAY advised against representation on the board of any particular group or groups.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate McKAY further reported for the Committee on Law:

Uniform Laws for Local Unions**RESOLUTION No. 52**

Resolution urged uniform statutes for all local unions.

Committee recommended concurrence. The report of the committee was voted down and the resolution non-concurred in.

Per Capita Tax**RESOLUTION No. 31**

Whereas, The wages of the workers have been reduced, it is impossible to meet the dues as heretofore; therefore be it

Resolved, By this Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Chicago assembled, that the per capita on membership dues be reduced.

The committee recommended non-concurrence. Recommendation adopted.

Term of Office for Local Officials**RESOLUTION No. 49**

Resolved, That said officials of the New York Joint Board, including business agents, shall not hold office more than one term of two years, whereby after a period of one year such ex-officials shall be eligible to go on the ballot, providing that such ex-officials do not violate Article 15, Section 9, of the constitution.

Committee's recommendation to non-concur adopted.

Exemption of Unemployed Members**RESOLUTION No. 50**

Resolved, That the convention take up the matter of exempting unemployed members from dues during their period of non-employment, at the same time granting them full membership rights towards the organization, and entitling them to "out of work" stamps after one month's time of non-employment.

Committee's recommendation of non-concurrence adopted.

Special Assessments**RESOLUTION No. 51**

Resolved, That a referendum be had on all special assessments, and that the collection of same shall be divided into payments, proportionate to the earnings of the members, as the present system is unsatisfactory to the majority.

Committee's recommendation of non-concurrence adopted.

Revision of Constitution**RESOLUTION No. 59**

Whereas, The present constitution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America does not cover all of the cases which daily occur in the life of the organization; therefore be it

Resolved, By this Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Chicago assembled, that a special committee of this convention be formed to study the needed changes in our constitution.

The committee recommended non-concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE ON REPORTS OF OFFICERS

Delegate JOSEPH GOLD reported for the Committee on Reports of Officers, as follows:

The Committee on Reports of Officers, having had under consideration the report of the General Executive Board to this convention, submits the following report and recommends its adoption:

We congratulate the general officers and General Executive Board on their splendid work in behalf of the organization during the past two years. We believe that it is a record of which the delegates may well be proud.

The achievements of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America during the past two years are fully as great, if not greater, than the achieve-

ments of our organization during any former biennial period.

Despite the general industrial depression; despite the organized open shop movement; despite the reactionary spirit everywhere prevalent, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America presents itself today a stronger organization than it was two years ago.

The Amalgamated was singled out as the first organization to bear the brunt of the attack of the open shop movement. We were attacked simultaneously in New York, Baltimore, and Boston. The General Executive Board is to be congratulated on the steps it took to meet the situation. It promptly and effectively mobilized the forces of our organization for its defense. It provided for a \$1,000,000 lockout resistance fund. Thanks, in large measure, to the efficient and capable work of our general officers and General Executive Board, this attack on the life of our organization was repelled.

The Amalgamated has distinguished itself in other activities. Our union was the first labor organization to send relief to the famine victims in Soviet Russia. On August 13, 1921, the General Executive Board sent out an appeal for help to the membership in behalf of starving Russia.

Altogether \$167,206 was collected as a result of the appeal and supplies were rushed across the Atlantic. The energetic work of the General Executive Board in rushing relief to Soviet Russia is an achievement which will rank high in the glorious record of our organization.

Your committee will not here attempt to summarize the work of the General Executive Board during the past two years in meeting the problems presented. We believe that no brief statement of ours would be adequate to review their splendid work.

The great enthusiasm shown at this convention is, we believe, a reflection

of the great work in building up the organization which has been done.

We recommend to the delegates and to the membership that they read the report of the General Executive Board. It is a long report, but it will well repay everyone to read it in its entirety. It will be found a source of great inspiration for the carrying on of our work in the future.

President HILLMAN: Question is on the motion that this statement be adopted by the convention.

The motion was unanimously carried.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate KROLL reported for the Committee on Resolutions:

Support of Striking Coal Miners

RESOLUTION No. 7

Whereas, The coal miners of this country are waging a gigantic strike against the mine operators, for the recognition of the just demands of their organization; and

Whereas, The mine operators have refused even to confer with the representatives of the miners, which is undeniable proof that they are determined to crush the miners' union; therefore be it

Resolved, That we send our message of encouragement to the striking miners in which shall be embodied an assurance of our moral and material support in their struggle.

Committee's recommendation for concurrence adopted.

Equal Pay to Women for Equal Work

RESOLUTION No. 80

Whereas, The women workers of the clothing industry form a large percentage of the membership and are therefore a controlling factor in the industry; be it therefore

Resolved, By this Fifth Biennial Con-

vention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Chicago assembled, that the principle of "equal pay for equal work" be enforced in all the markets throughout the country and that equal opportunities be given women in the industry except in so far as this will interfere with health and the future welfare of the sex.

Committee's recommendation for concurrence adopted.

Sympathy to Imprisoned Striking Cigarmakers

RESOLUTION No. 78

Whereas, Today there are imprisoned since last week, in Chicago, men and women who participated in the great Chicago cigar makers' strike three years ago for disregarding an injunction ruling at that time; therefore it is herewith

Resolved, That we send messages of our deepest sympathy to those imprisoned for fighting in this great struggle.

Committee's recommendation for concurrence adopted.

Approval of Action in Regard to Children's Clothing Joint Board

RESOLUTION No. 60

Owing to the fact that no organization can be strong in the spirit of its masses, if it is not a real school of principle and honesty; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America praise the action of the General Executive Board in cleaning up and reorganizing the Children's Clothing Joint Board of New York, and hope that the same action will be followed in all similar situations.

Committee's recommendation for concurrence was adopted.

Defense of Sacco and Vanzetti

RESOLUTION No. 62

(Covering also Resolution No. 23)

Whereas, A malicious injustice has been done to Sacco and Vanzetti, in accusing them of murder and robbery and convicting them on false evidence, only because they were loyal to the labor movement, and to the class struggle; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Chicago assembled, go on record affirming our faith in their innocence and that this organization join its forces with all other organizations in every effort to gain a new trial for these victims.

The committee's recommendation for concurrence was adopted.

President Hillman appointed the following committee, which was approved by the convention:

COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION AND BANKING

Michael Taylor, Local 271, Chicago, chairman; Abraham Wechsler, Local 144, Chicago, secretary; William Braun, Local 189, Cincinnati; Hyman Novodvor, Local 40, New York; Aristodemo Cavalleri, Local 139, Philadelphia; Calverese Romeo, Local 270, Chicago; Samuel Rosnitsky, Local 1, Boston; Albert Borzdinski, Local 206, Rochester; G. Propocio, Local 176, New York; Isaac Bayer, Local 241, Baltimore; Mabel Ashcraft, Local 275, Chicago.

ADDITIONS TO COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

President HILLMAN appointed to the Committee on Finance Louis Kuznetz, Local 152, Chicago (in place of Meyer Klein, who had been appointed to another committee), and Hyman Lifshutz, Local 205, Rochester.

ECONOMIC AID TO RUSSIA

Secretary-Treasurer SCHLOSSBERG: Delegates: We are now coming to a subject which is of tremendous importance to this convention and the labor movement generally.

During the past two years the general officers of this organization represented the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in European countries, carrying our message of brotherhood to our fellow workers in other parts of the world, and bringing their message to us.

I had the opportunity in 1920 of visiting several countries in Europe, including Italy, whose labor movement at that time held the attention of the world.

Last year, Brother Hillman represented our organization in Europe. It was Brother Hillman's good fortune to visit the country which was then and is still occupying a position of first importance in the world. Brother Hillman reached Russia at the time when an appeal went out from that country to the workers of the world for help for the famine sufferers. His message to us came just as the General Executive Board was addressing itself to the membership asking for help for Russia. Brother Hillman's appeal came at the moment when it was most needed.

The result of that call you all know. The generous response of our membership thrilled every friend of the labor movement and every friend of Russia. All of us rejoiced at Brother Hillman's presence in Russia. We all wished to see there someone fit to represent the organized clothing workers of America, to speak for them to our fellow workers in that great country. Brother Hillman spent several weeks in Russia. He did not apply himself to a microscopic analysis of social theories and philosophies. Brother Hillman, as a responsible representative and leader

of organized workers, who know their rights, know how to fight for them, and how to get them, was interested in understanding the situation as it is, good or bad.

Brother Hillman went to Russia, not for the purpose of picking flaws and then selling articles to capitalist papers, but for the purpose of seeing conditions with his own eyes, so that through him we might see the actual struggles of our fellow workers there, and find out in what way we can best be of service to the Russian people in their efforts to reconstruct their lives.

All of us knew well that if Brother Hillman had an opportunity to visit Russia, he would bring us a true report of the situation in that country.

Brother Hillman was there. He studied conditions. He met responsible leaders of the Russian people. He familiarized himself with affairs of that country. When Brother Hillman returned to us, we welcomed him with double joy, first, because he was back with us; second, because of the report from Russia which we were anxiously awaiting. Brother Hillman brought not only a report of what he saw in Russia, of the material sufferings of the people, for which the enemies of the workers in all countries are responsible, and their great spiritual strength, but also brought us a definite proposition which will enable our organization to give real and constructive help to the Russian people, in addition to the help that we have already given—help on a large scale; help on a permanent basis; help that will not alone feed the hungry people, but will enable the Russian people to help themselves; help that will mean economic reconstruction.

Brother Hillman has already presented his report to the General Executive Board. Every member of the board was impressed with the tremendous importance of the proposition

brought by him, and with its tremendous possibilities. The General Executive Board has unanimously approved of the plan, and decided to submit it to you, through Brother Hillman, for your approval.

Delegates and friends, the work which we have done, whether for our own organization or for others, has never been done perfunctorily or mechanically; in doing our work we have always been imbued with the great spirit of our movement. Work done that way brings new enthusiasm, new spiritual strength to our organization. It is in such a state of enthusiasm and inspiration that the General Executive Board decided to present this plan to you through Brother Hillman.

It is a great personal pleasure to me to be able to present to you on this occasion our president, to lay before you a plan by which we, many of whom have been driven out of Old Russia, will be able to give great help to New Russia.

I say it is a great pleasure to me as a representative of this organization, and personally, to present to you Brother Hillman, who will lay before you that great plan of help which brings to us a consciousness of living for something worth while, of doing things worth while, of making actual history for the world.

I present to you our president and beloved brother, Sidney Hillman. (Tremendous ovation; convention rising.)

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT HILLMAN

President HILLMAN: Brother Chairman and delegates to the convention: I hope that you will find the time to give all your attention to something that merits not only consideration, but unified action. I shall not take your time simply to report my experiences abroad. That I have done already. I had the privilege of

meeting you and the membership in different cities when I returned from abroad. I am not here even to pronounce a theory or to present something that should appeal to a particular group of people. What I am about to propose here this morning, I believe, should meet with the unanimous approval, not only of this convention, but of every man and woman in our organization. I shall go even further than that. I believe that it should receive the unanimous approval of every man and woman in this great country who desires to help the whole world along the road to reconstruction. (Applause.)

Now, it is very unfortunate that the great masses of people always leave such matters to a few, taking it for granted that it is the business of a few to reconstruct the world. It is this state of mind, more than anything else, that made it possible for the great war to occur. The people in all countries depended upon a few to determine their destinies. And even more tragic was the fact that the making of peace was again left to a small group. Because of that, the world is suffering from peace, even more than it suffered from war. With millions of lives and the work of the workers of the world destroyed during the war, even greater destruction is going on now as the result of the peace that is no peace. It is my firm conviction that if the peoples of the world had not permitted a few to manage the world and had themselves been interested in their own welfare, such a peace would have been impossible.

The world has paid a tremendous price for its indifference to these greatest of world problems. We can no longer correct the mistakes that made the war possible. What has been done since the peace was concluded cannot be changed. But

there is one more opportunity for the world to save civilization, and that is the adoption of a real policy of reconstruction. I plead with you, and not only with you, but with all, regardless of views or party, not to permit yourselves to remain indifferent to the problems of reconstruction. We cannot permit the few people who have always presumed to set policies for the world, to set the policies of reconstruction, as they have set the policies for war and peace. It is my judgment that if they do so, civilization itself may be destroyed.

I feel now most keenly that we must serve the interest of the people of every country and say to the diplomats and politicians at Genoa that they will not be permitted to do the things they did at Paris, and at Berlin, and elsewhere when the war was declared and when peace was made. (Applause.) It is time for the people themselves to participate in the reconstruction of Europe, and in that way to shape also the destinies of this country.

There is only one country that is still financially sound, but is economically at a standstill. That country is Great Britain. Every other country in Europe is either already in bankruptcy or on the verge of bankruptcy. The astounding thing is that nothing has been done as yet to face these problems and to start the work that will put the people back where they may work again and enjoy life.

I went into Russia. I considered it a privilege because it gave me the opportunity to come in close contact with Russia; not with the theories of Bolshevism, not with the arguments of Menshevism, not with all the petty quarrels here and there that may be of interest to a few but do not concern the great masses of people. It enabled me to find out what is going

on in Russia, in that country of over 100,000,000 people, in the country that suffered before the war from a tyrannical oppression that was never fully understood anywhere outside of Russia.

Nobody seems to recall that during the war Russia lost in lives more, perhaps, than all the other Allied nations combined; that Russians lost their lives, not only because of the war, but because of the corruption and inefficiency of their government. People do not seem to recall that during the war the economic life of Russia was completely destroyed. And after the war a most infamous policy has been pursued by those who were the allies of Russia during the war. They pursued the frightful policy of blockade, which meant starvation of women and children and the prevention of men from working so that the country might be fed.

It is true that, in some measure, we are feeding the starving people of Russia. The efforts of the American Relief Administration will go down in the history of our country as something that everybody will be proud of, not primarily because of what we have given, but by comparison with the attitude of other countries.

While abroad during the famine I found that the Allied countries, especially France, took the position: "No bread to starving children unless we can dictate to Russia what kind of government Russia shall have." My friends, this attitude represents not allegiance to abstract principle, but it means making a colony of Russia, taking Russian oil, Russian minerals, making 100,000,000 people slaves to groups of financiers of other countries.

My friends, I want to say to you that my heart felt a thrill that at least our country, in giving charity,

has not assumed the attitude of a Shylock. I am proud of the work done, little as it is. But, while we are trying to feed a few children, while we are trying to feed a few starving people, the political attitude of this country toward Russia today is causing a great deal more starvation than the Hoover administration can feed through charity in Russia. (Applause.)

For some reason or other, our Department of State cannot see its way clear to give the same assurances and safeguards to Americans who wish to do business in Russia which it gives to Americans who engage in business in all other civilized countries of the world. Yet it is the same Department of State which considered the government of Nicholas II civilized enough to deal with, the same Department of State for whom the government of Turkey was civilized enough to deal with, in spite of the massacres of the Armenians and others. I say to you that I do not believe it is the business of any country to regulate the conditions of life of another country. (Applause.) Any country has a right to resent outside interference. We in this country do not want to be dictated to by anybody from the outside, and we should not assume the position that we have a moral right to dictate to any other country.

There are countries in Europe which are fooling themselves and which think that they can triumph on the ruins of the rest of Europe. If Europe collapses, every country in Europe will go under, victor and vanquished alike. It is fortunate that at least some countries in Europe realize today that it is about time to call a halt on the forces of destruction. It is about time to start thinking about reconstruction. But the great danger is that the peoples are indifferent. The danger is, that

we will get some new high-sounding phraseology, we will get some new formulas, and it will all result in one part of the world trying to choke the other. When that happens, there will be very little left in the world worth living for. It is up to the people in this country, as well as in every other country, to rise and say that the reconstruction of the world is not merely a matter for the officers of the State Department, but that the lives of millions of men and women and children are the concern of all the people. (Tremendous applause.)

Delegates, I want to tell you that during the time of my stay in Russia, I was ashamed to consume even the small amount of bread I did when I knew that children were dying and that even I, coming there with the sole intention of seeing what help I could render to them on your behalf, devoured what meant life to children. I wanted to stay in Russia and I wanted to get out. I did not want to have that feeling of personal guilt, of being, even with the best of intentions, an accomplice of those who, after all, history will record as slaughterers and murderers.

I tell you frankly that I would be ready to come to you and say that even if you can do nothing else, even if the future of Russia is doomed, even if there is no room for reconstruction, none of us has a right to go on and waste while men and women and children are starving. I want to draw your attention to the children, innocent ones, not knowing the politics of this or that Department of State, not concerned with the views of one group of labor or the other group of labor, children who by the laws of nature came into life and being, and who are being slaughtered—slaughtered by everybody who is not actively participat-

ing in helping them. You do not commit murder only when you go out in the street and kill someone; you commit murder when you make it impossible for other people to live. I will go further and say that you commit murder if you do not do everything in your power to make it possible for other people to live.

We slaughter children, mumble phrases about the brotherhood of man, and owe allegiance, either to Christianity, or Judaism, or Mohammedanism. (Applause.) Yet here you have a Christian world and the greatest crime of any age is committed. (Applause.)

My friends, even if we had no plan at all and I came to you individually or representing an organization, and asked you to do your part, I feel that you would do your duty. But I wish to say more to you. I know this, that by charity you can merely square your conscience; and it should be done, if that is all that can be done. But I know that if we are really to help, our help must be constructive help.

When our organization finally accounts for itself to our own members and to the labor movement of the world, the real question after all will be, "Have we helped the constructive forces that are making for a better future, or were we just a fine group of sentimentalists?" No help that is not constructive is real help. Let me tell you that when I went into Russia I was always trying to find an answer to the question, "Is there a way for constructive help?" When we put a man into a shop to work, we give him a job. It is less effort than giving him \$500 in charity, and it is real help. So I raised the question, "Can we create something that will be of constructive help to Russia?" I then put to myself several tests. The first test was "Can we work with the people of Russia?" (Applause.)

You may want to do all in your power. Your intentions may be of the best, but if people do not want to help themselves and accept your help, then your intentions are useless. I knew that before we could think in any terms about constructive work for Russia, we would have to satisfy ourselves that the people who are in charge of the destinies of Russia—from the point of view of history it is immaterial whether they are in charge rightfully or wrongfully—are the people through whom and with whom we could do constructive work for Russia; not for this or for the other group, but for the whole community.

When a great conflagration strikes a community, it disregards all petty divisions of groups and classes. It sweeps everything before it. The laws of disease pay little respect to what group people belong to, political, social, or otherwise. Disease and fire have their own laws, and when the community is in danger, it is up to all the people in the community to fight for those who are menaced, regardless of class or group. It is this which I wish to bring to the attention of you who are fighting the Bolsheviks. You cannot fight the Bolshevik government without fighting the men and women and children of Russia. (Applause.)

Let me say, especially to you delegates, that not only is it against my principle to be partisan in these matters, but I would consider myself betraying not only the interest of the organization, but the interests of the movement at large if I assumed even mentally a position of partisanship. Every one of us must give an account of himself in this movement to help make the reconstruction of Russia possible. For it is not a question of Russia alone. It is a question of Europe as a whole, because Europe cannot be reconstructed unless Russia is reconstructed.

I realize our own limitations. I do not want to assume that we here can do all that is necessary for Russia. Strong as we are as an organization, we are after all only a small group of people. But I believe that it is the responsibility of everyone, no matter how humble, no matter how small, individual or organization, at a time when civilization itself is at stake, to take a position for or against—not for Bolshevism or against Bolshevism—but for or against the slaughter of millions of people, for or against bringing life and happiness to several hundred million people in eastern Europe. My friends, time has wiped out all lines of demarcation. The terrible forces of disease and hunger have united all the people in Europe. Europe is only divided between the great masses, who are looking for hope and life, and a small imperialistic, militaristic clique that would rather see the whole world go to smash than permit the adoption of another mode of life.

My friends, I believe that on this question there is no division in our organization, that there is not a man or woman in our organization who would not do everything possible to help the starving people of Russia to help themselves. (Applause.)

Again, I want to say to you that, if a roll call were taken in this country, I have sufficient faith in the idealism of the American people to believe that 99 per cent would repudiate the policy of this government with reference to Russia; for no matter under what guise, that policy spells destruction and murder. (Applause.) I say, my friends, that if you cannot help Russia, please let her alone. You did not go there and help them overthrow the Czar. They had to do it themselves. They had to solve their own problem then, and they alone will solve the problems

of reconstruction, unless there is enough common humanity in us to move us to help them in this great task.

There is another test. Real help helps the people who extend help. I believe that a great deal of the curse of unemployment and industrial depression would have been avoided if this country had spent \$5,000,000,000 or \$10,000,000,000, if need be, in reconstruction instead of idly watching the wastes of wealth resulting from unemployment.

I say I went into Russia to find out whether anything could be done. Today, it no longer takes so much courage to say that one has actually met Lenin. As a matter of fact, the Allied powers have already invited him to come to Genoa, but he could not come. Now, if the respectable prime minister of France could extend an invitation to Lenin to meet him, then it certainly requires no courage for me to say that I actually met and talked with Lenin.

I tell you—it is dangerous to say this before the convention—but I am going to say it to you anyhow: Unless you have the courage and the sense to put people in charge of the organization who will have the courage and sense to take charge of the organization, the organization is going to pay the penalty. There is no patent medicine, right, left, center, or any kind. It takes men and women to build an organization and not abstract theories. It takes warm hearts to maintain ideals, and not phraseology. (Applause.) It takes good sense, first, and a great deal of courage after that, properly to guide an organization. I, for one, was surprised when I went into Russia and found order preserved even on economic ruin. I have seen the men in the Red Army hungry, but still held by an ideal, giving their lives to defend their country.

I wanted to find out what Lenin had to say. I had three conferences with Lenin. I spent hours with Lenin. I can tell you that we did not discuss revolution in the United States, or even revolution in Russia. We did not discuss any theories. I was not interested to read their treatises. I did not care about what they thought would happen in Russia twenty years from now. Conditions will rise dictated by life, and not by theoretical speculation. It is much more important to have a proper policy than a great deal of noise. Policies, if sound, have a habit of accumulating more and more strength as they go along.

Think of all the noise that has been made against the Soviet government. Why, that noise could have drowned almost the whole world. Yet the Soviet government went on and paid the penalty; not for the noise, but for some of their own mistakes, until they came to the realization of their mistakes.

Russia is desirous of one thing, and that is a sound policy for the reconstruction of Russian life. I met Lenin. I met Radek. I met the people whom they call the Soviet of the industrial organization. I do not want to translate the Russian. They have all kinds of names, names that it takes you four weeks to learn and one day to forget. I met the heads of the Soviet government. I met the other "demon," Leon Trotzky. I have met other "evil spirits" like Goldfarb - Petrovsky, whom you know, and others; and I tell you, delegates, that unless I am wrong, I believe that they are the proper people to deal with. Now, I want to say to you that the statement I make may be considered an exaggeration. I have heard a great many people say, "Does Hillman really believe what he says, or is it said for effect?" If anything at all, I am not

overstating it, but I am understating it. I believe from my contact with the responsible people of the Russian government—I have met men and women in all walks of life—that I have never met a group of people so realistic, so practical, so courageous, and so able to handle this greatest of jobs as the group of people who have charge of the destinies of the Russian nation today. (Applause.)

The next question is, have they got the power? They may be good people, but if they have no power, only poets may be interested in them. In the history of the world the poets will be remembered more than the practical men, but actual life is made by the practical men, inspired at times by the writings of the dreamers. Life is made by the men who can take hold of life and have the power to mold it. I want to tell you that the power of that Russian group is greater than any group anywhere, because it has a power that comes from the willing co-operation of the peoples of Russia.

I went into the clothing industry in Russia. Quite a number of people whom I happened to know over here are working there. If they came back, you would not recognize them. There is in Russia a great understanding of labor, and I know I am taking great chances of being criticized here for saying that we here haven't got that understanding. Their purpose is not destruction. The idea of sabotage, the idea that it is the purpose of labor to see how little it can do, is not found there. It is in Russia that labor appreciates that work is not something that one has to undergo as a punishment, but that work is something to be proud of. It helps build the world, because the world is built by work and not by the fellows who quibble in the legal or political professions. Labor understands its mission in Russia,

and its mission in life is to build. There labor has learned to accept an iron discipline, because it realizes that no army can be successful in this struggle for life and against its enemies unless it is disciplined.

I believe that the government of Soviet Russia is capable of handling the Russian situation. There are some things that the government of Russia is not interested in, things that their adherents in this country consider very important. The government of Russia is very little interested in this or the other "ism." The government of Russia has a tremendous amount of untold wealth. Some of it is underground, and it will take a great deal of effort to bring it out. It is right there for someone to take. All the property today is the property of Soviet Russia. They have the capital, the inherent capital, not worked out. They have the people to work, and they have a stable and efficient government.

I believe that any capital invested in Russia has as many of the elements of safety as that invested in most of the other countries of Europe. I have discussed investment with the heads of the Soviet government. I have gone through the factories. I confined myself to clothing and textile factories. A great number of people have gone over to Russia, have in two days through interpreters found out everything about Russia, and have come and written several books. Now they claim that they are authorities on Russia. I knew my limitations. I went to a few factories. They have clothing factories employing over 1,000 people each. Over a dozen factories are running in Moscow and Petrograd alone. If our girls sewed on the buttons that they are sewing, in the time it takes them, our price committees would be busy every day.

They are turning out clothing that could be worn right here in America. They are running textile factories with the latest equipment. What they need is capital to develop their industries. After the long conferences we had, they offered concessions to us, not to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as such, but to a corporation which we will organize and to which all workers of all organizations and people who believe it is their duty to help will subscribe if they so wish.

The Russian government will turn over to this corporation, on a partnership basis, nine clothing and textile factories, employing today about 7,000 people. The actual value of the buildings, the actual value of the property, the actual value of the merchandise will be perhaps from 5,000,000 to 10,000,000 gold rubles, or from \$2,500,000 to \$5,000,000. All we would be asked to do is to put into that enterprise \$1,000,000. That will make it possible for that \$5,000,000 to begin to work.

We will have under those concessions many privileges. We will have preference on orders given by the government, preference on raw materials that we may need. We will also have preference in doing export business for Russia with this country, or any other country. (Applause.) Besides that, the Soviet government guarantees the amount of money invested, even if the business should not be successful.

I will say to you, delegates—and I am now speaking entirely from the point of view of a man who has considered the proposition purely on its merits—that I believe that this enterprise, if conducted properly, is bound to be successful. All we need to do is to send over half a dozen experts, because these tailor shops are run today under a most efficient system. Some of the rules may not

even be surpassed by as progressive an organization as we are. They are turning out today millions of units of clothing in the factories under the direction of the Soviet government.

Under the concessions we shall actually participate with the Soviet government in operating in Russia tailor shops and textile factories. We may even later add such concessions as we feel competent to handle. Our possibilities would only be limited by our capacity.

I want to assure you that as far as I know, you will get the complete, absolute co-operation of everyone in Soviet Russia, whether they are with the Bolsheviki or against them (applause); whether they believe in the Bolshevik government or not. More than that, you will have the kind of co-operation from the Soviet government that no government, outside of Russia, I believe, will give, and that no other interest can get inside of Russia. (Applause.)

What I propose is this: That this convention authorize and instruct your General Executive Board to organize one corporation, or a number of corporations, in this country. I propose that we organize this corporation and invite all who are willing to associate themselves to join with us. We shall make sure that the control of the organization, under the laws of the United States, is so safeguarded that it will not fall into the hands of a small group of people. In other words, while we are willing to have participation of others, we want the control to be within organized labor, so that it will not be used as an instrument for exploitation and exploitation only. We want this convention to authorize and direct us to go ahead with this organization. We want this convention to subscribe a substantial amount of money for the shares as

its investment in this corporation. We want this convention to authorize the issuance of shares at \$10 par, and leave it open to every worker or non-worker to take as many as he feels he can in order to help Russia and to help himself. I believe that, if everyone subscribes to only one share, there should be at least 100,000 people in this country who will consider it a privilege to buy a share and start this experiment in Russia. (Tremendous applause.)

Naturally, before the actual arrangements are completed, experts from our side will make a careful study of all of the details. The organization of these enterprises will be run by a joint administration, with equal representation from the two parties.

I want the Amalgamated experience put into those industries, and the Amalgamated energy and enthusiasm, and the energy and enthusiasm of all the people who are willing to contribute to make it possible for those who today are struggling against odds that are almost inhuman, to help themselves. I hope that this convention unanimously, without feeling that there is any room for division, with the kind of enthusiasm that will not only give hope over there, but give new hope to ourselves, will send forth the message that our organization has still the courage to undertake other enterprises that will be helpful, not only to ourselves, but to others. I hope that this convention, even if only in a small way, will serve notice that economic help from this country to Russia, or other countries, can come through channels other than Wall Street and the banking combination. (Applause.) I believe that it may be well to initiate a referendum vote for the Department of State, and find out whether we cannot get a majority of the people

to say that they are not a party to stopping Russia from reconstruction. The best way to do that is not by giving advice, but by providing the resources that will make it possible for Russia to go on.

Delegates, I consider it indeed a privilege that, because of your instructions to the officers to investigate and report on conditions abroad, I was able to go over there. I am happy to be able to present to you and the membership of our organization, and to the membership of all labor organizations and to the American people, a plan that will not only be a step in stopping famine in Russia, but that also will start the wheels of reconstruction in Europe, so that civilization may be saved for the people of all lands. (Applause.)

If we do nothing else, we are at least willing to put ourselves in the front ranks and take the criticism—and I know we will be criticized. I know this proposition will be lied about, and I know that motives that have nothing to do with this proposition will be talked about and be made the subject of editorials. I know that we may be misunderstood even by some friends, but I will tell you that the world will never make a step forward unless there is a group of people who are willing to stand the brunt, and who, when their effort is successful, will not even be given the credit for what they did. A number of things that are taken today for granted, when they were initiated were denounced and criticized by both friends and enemies, and so often it is hard to see the difference between friend and enemy.

But we men and women in the clothing industry have said to ourselves: We want to find out what is right, what is our duty, where our responsibility lies, and then go ahead and let the future justify our undertakings. If it had not been for a

few people who had the courage of their convictions we would today be living in the jungle, if the beasts of prey had permitted us to live there. It was due to the rebellious spirit of a few that we made progress. There are some people who are great rebels, although they are of a quiet disposition, although they do not indulge in high phraseology. They stand for and do the things that carry the human race a step forward, and they are greater than those who have all kinds of prescriptions and know how to lead us overnight to the ultimate goal. It is to the credit of our organization that we have always paid attention to what seemed right and were willing to await the judgment of time.

We wish to maintain this position of ours. The plan I propose to you is, first of all, a humanitarian one. After all, there must be some way to distinguish between a human being and the beasts of prey, and I will tell you that you could not get a congregation of beasts as wild, as ruthless in destruction as the congregation today of those who are disgracing the name of human beings. (Applause.) Our plan is humanitarian. Its purpose is to save life, to increase life, to make life happier, and if you make life happier for one group, you make life happier for every group. Which all means, in other words, that it is constructive. Not so long ago you sent nearly \$200,000 to Russia, and it was distributed. I never had a more profound emotion than when Brother Schlossberg read the telegram from the Red Cross stating that your dollars had saved 36,000 lives. Think of it, 36,000 lives would have been crushed, burned out, extinguished, if not for our little assistance.

Now, we will put in \$1,000,000 from the start. The money will come not only from our own organ-

ization. I do not want this to be purely an Amalgamated effort. The doors are open to all who are willing to help and restore life in Russia. Such persons are welcome. We will start with \$1,000,000, and that will create wealth, and will feed those on the bread line.

This plan, if successful, will show a new way out, not for one group, not only for labor, but for the whole world. Delegates, I appeal to you in the name of humanity, in the name of everything that should be dear to everybody to whom humanitarian brotherhood has any meaning. I hope that you will not only adopt this proposal, but that you will let loose a new force that will sweep away obstacles, and by your example encourage others to follow and send a new message to the world that we of labor assume another responsibility for participating in the reconstruction of the world, so that civilization may be saved for all alike.

(At this point there was a demonstration by the delegates and by the visitors lasting for nearly half an hour, during which flowers were thrown at President Hillman from all parts of the hall. The cutters from the special order houses of Chicago marched through the hall and presented the convention with flowers.)

CHICAGO SPECIAL ORDER CUTTERS

Secretary SCHLOSSBERG: These are the cutters of the special order houses of Chicago. I can say to them on behalf of this convention that every delegate here is grateful for this wonderful demonstration of solidarity made by the Chicago membership ever since the arrival of the delegates.

This convention has been one continuous, uninterrupted triumph, a triumph in the contemplation of the

achievements of the organization, a triumph in the harmony prevailing at this gathering, a triumph in this soul-stirring manifestation of loyalty to one another. And I say to you, Chicago members, from the bottom of my heart, that these things that you are doing here will give new strength to us and when we go back home for the daily grind in this great struggle that we are all engaged in we shall feel this renewed strength.

I am sorry you came somewhat late. I am sorry that you were deprived of the privilege of hearing the wonderful message brought to us by Brother Hillman. (Tremendous applause.)

I had hoped two years ago to have the great privilege of breathing the air of that country from which Brother Hillman brought his message. But having heard Brother Hillman I felt the sacred touch of the wonderful work done by more than 100,000,000 emancipated slaves, that sacred touch which is electrifying the workers all over the world.

My friends, if this convention had done nothing more than hear Brother Hillman's message and receive that great contribution which that message has made to our spirit, this convention would have been worth while and become historic. In the name of all the people who were privileged to hear Brother Hillman, I extend thanks to him for this great work. (Tremendous applause.)

Brothers and sisters, we may congratulate ourselves upon having in our midst, and in the front ranks of our organization, men and women of the great idealistic and spiritual loftiness of Brother Hillman. It is not only the message that he has brought us, but the manner in which he brought it to us. This demonstration of today, this great spiritual achievement, is a new reassurance to

us that our organization will keep on doing things as it has been doing until now, and on a far greater scale as it increases in strength, in experience, in judgment and in courage. (Applause.)

Brother Hillman has made an appeal to you for a \$1,000,000 subscription for this enterprise on a perfectly safe, sound and practical basis for the help of our fellow workers in Russia, so that they may, with our help, be able to solve their own problems. In 1921, \$1,000,000 called for by the Amalgamated meant \$2,000,000. In 1922 it will probably mean a great deal more. (Applause.)

If I were to give expression to all that I feel at this great and glorious moment, I am afraid I would have to take up more time than Brother Hillman did. I shall not take up more of your time, as I know that your feelings are exactly like mine.

The time has come for the people of the world, as distinguished from the mis-rulers of the world, to do things. And we, as part of the people of the world, as the people in this industry, are undertaking something now which will add greater glory to our cause and arouse confidence in the workers everywhere to do things. (Applause.)

I now have the pleasure of calling upon Brother Samuel Levin, who is known not only to the Chicago membership, but to the membership throughout the country, to read a resolution.

Brother LEVIN thereupon read the following resolution, as a substitute for Resolutions 8, 27, 42, 45, 116, and 132:

Economic Assistance to Russia

Whereas, Russia has suffered severely in the war and from a very extensive and prolonged drought, bringing famine and starvation in its wake with the accompanying disease and pestilence; and

Whereas, The world, and particularly the United States, has been moved to contribute generously for the relief of the millions of starving Russians, a response which is deserving of high commendation and appreciation; and

Whereas, The war and the famine have prevented for the time the economic reconstruction of Russia; and

Whereas, The present problems of Russia cannot be solved solely with the aid of philanthropy or gratuitous gifts, but by economic co-operation with Russia and the Soviet government of Russia to the end that her enormous resources may once more be able to provide for her requirements; and

Whereas, We are informed that the Soviet government is willing and desirous of entering into industrial arrangements for the manufacture of clothing and for the carrying on of other industrial enterprises in Russia;

Now, therefore, be it hereby declared our purpose so to join in co-operation with the Soviet government of Russia, and we authorize the officials of this organization, at their discretion and upon their judgment, to enter into arrangements with the Soviet government of Russia for the manufacture of clothing and for carrying on such other industrial enterprises as to them shall seem best; that in carrying on such work they may use such methods and devices as may seem best, either by the forming of a corporation, or of several of them, either for the owning of stock in Russian companies entirely or in connection with the Soviet government, or for the purpose of directly carrying on industry in conjunction with or without co-partnership with the Soviet government; and for that purpose we hereby set aside the sum of \$50,000, to be the investment of this organization therein, and also set aside the further sum of \$10,000 for the purpose of carrying on and defraying expenses that may be incurred in connection therewith.

Brother LEVIN: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this resolution. (At least a hundred voices shouted, "Second the motion.")

Delegate HERSHKOWITZ moved that consideration of the resolution be postponed until afternoon. The motion was not carried.

President HILLMAN: All those in favor of the resolution as read will signify by saying aye.

(The motion was unanimously carried. After the motion was carried a big demonstration and loud cheering, lasting for about ten minutes, took place. Several of the members announced their subscription to the fund right then and there.)

Delegate SCHNEID moved that the address of President Hillman be published in booklet form as the expression of the convention. (Motion unanimously carried.)

CHICAGO CUTTERS

(At this point a delegation of Chicago cutters marched into the hall. Great enthusiasm by the convention.)

Delegate KROLL: Mr. Chairman, I have the privilege and the pleasure of saying to you a few words about the

men who have just walked to the convention hall. These men previous to 1905 were thoroughly organized in the city of Chicago. Then they lost their organization. In 1910 they came back with a splendid fight and they again lost their organization and for the following nine years these men were under the closest supervision regarding their political, fraternal, and union affiliation. But it was these special order men who in 1919 came to the front and showed us by the straws which way the wind was blowing. It was they, after all, who started the movement in 1919 which resulted in a complete organization in the city of Chicago. (Applause.)

These men bid you welcome to Chicago and hope that while you are legislating you will also enjoy yourselves. While they wish and hope that you will legislate wisely, you can depend upon the special order men of Chicago to go through with anything that you decide upon at this convention, 100 per cent. (Prolonged applause.)

The session then adjourned until 2:30 p. m.

SIXTH SESSION Thursday, May 11, 1922 2:30 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by Brother FRANK ROSENBLUM at 2:30 p. m.

The following messages of greeting were read to the convention by Assistant Secretary Potofsky:

"The workers of J. Eisner's coat shop extend to the officers and delegates of the Amalgamated, in convention assembled, their best wishes for a successful session.

"ALFRED FRANKS,
"Shop Chairman."

"We, the Freiheit Singing Society, greet the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and hope that it will succeed in its undertakings.

"Yours truly for United Front.
"FREIHEIT SINGING SOCIETY."

"Hebrew-American Typographical Union No. 83, I. T. U., of New York, sends its fraternal greetings and best wishes for complete success in your deliberations.

"D. DICHTER, President."

"Wishes for great achievement in your work of organizing, educating and liberating the workers of your industry and thereby of the nation.

"JEWISH FEDERATION OF WORKERS' PARTY."

"Accept greetings to your convention. May your actions prove of value to the great task of building up a real fighting and class-conscious workers' movement in this country. Your past struggles and achievements justify this confidence of all of us in you.

"WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA."

"District 8 of the Workers' Party of America sends heartiest greetings to the officers and delegates of the convention. We greet you in the name of militant labor and sincerely hope that your deliberations will serve to lay the foundation for a stronger and more unified movement, with a greater clarity of purpose that may be a source of inspiration to the American working class in their present severe struggles against the encroachments of the employers.

"We hope that out of this convention will grow a movement broad enough to embrace all workers within your industry and create the establishment of a united front against the common enemy and ultimately lead to the unification of all of labor's forces capable of carrying the struggle onward and forward to a complete control of all industries by the workers through a Workers' Republic.

"EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DISTRICT NO. 8, WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA,

**"Charles Krumbein,
District Organizer."**

CHICAGO VEST MAKERS

A delegation consisting of several hundred people representing Local 152 marched into the convention hall, ac-

companied by a band of music, which played various selections, including the "Russian Hymn" and the "Marsellaise." The marchers bore a huge scale, built of white carnations. At one end of the cross beam was a black weight with the words, "1910—Slavery." At the other end, outweighing it, was a red weight, with the legend, "1922—Freedom."

Chairman ROSENBLUM: Delegates, I introduce to you Brother Glickman, representing the vest shops of the city of Chicago, whose workers are members of Local 152.

Brother JOSEPH GLICKMAN: Mr. Chairman, delegates, and friends: The welcome with which we greet you in the home of Local 152 is hard for me to express. We are very happy, indeed, to be able to come to the first convention that is in session in the city of Chicago with a 100 per cent membership of the vest makers. There is not a man or a woman in a vest shop in the city of Chicago who does not belong to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The vest makers of this city, and particularly the men and women working in the Hart, Schaffner & Marx factory, have taken part in organizing the city of Chicago on the northwest side. There was not a morning or a noon or a night that those people from the shops were not in front of the non-union sweatshops, distributing literature and preaching and making announcements to the men and women inside those shops. After 1909 we were fortunate in organizing the whole city, and from then on every man and every woman in the vest shops belonged to the organization.

The second group were the B. Kuppenheimer vest makers. I will say that if there was ever any slavery in any place in this country, it was in the Kuppenheimer vest shop on Bloomingdale road. Slugging, patrol wagons, policemen's clubs, stabbings, and shootings were the usual thing that was

heaped upon the membership of the organization. We are happy today to be here as the representatives of that shop, and with the representatives of other shops who have learned within the last three years the spirit of our organization. We have a great many nationalities in Local 162. We have a League of Nations of our own, but they are working in a unity of spirit, the unity of spirit of the Amalgamated, which is one for all and all for one. (Applause.)

We have with us this afternoon also representatives of Alfred Decker & Cohen, and representative of all the other ready-made shops, and we have representatives with us this afternoon of the special-order shops, such as the Royal Tailors and all the rest, and also representatives of the contracting shops—and the worst sweatshops in the country used to be the contracting shops in the city of Chicago. We are happy to be able to say that today we are commanding wages, we are commanding hours, and we are commanding everything that the Amalgamated has fought for in this city, and we are getting it 100 per cent. I greet you and I welcome you with the hope that the legislation of this convention will be such that it will strengthen the organization to such an extent that it will help us in the city of Chicago to do the right thing by the organization. I take very great pleasure, indeed, in introducing to you the next president of Local 152, who is one of our shop chairmen, Brother Dalenka.

Mr. DALENKA: Delegates of the convention, sisters, brothers, and friends, and Mr. Chairman: This is the first time in my life that I have had the pleasure to stand on a platform, before a delegation gathered from all over the country to legislate for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and I want to tell you that these happy moments are worth

everything that I have done in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for the past thirteen years. We have presented a floral piece to this convention which we thought was the best representation of conditions in Chicago that we could possibly devise. We have on one side the slavery which we had in the city of Chicago in 1910 and for some years later. From 1919 to 1922, freedom weighs on the other side, abolishing the old slavery.

Through the representatives from all over the country we send a message to all the other tailors throughout the country, telling them to stay united under the banner of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (Applause.) Take back the message from Chicago that we are ready at any time, with all the other tailors throughout the country, to do our part, whatever it is. We are here in the city of Chicago, 100 per cent organized today, and we consider that we have done well with the officers who represent us. (Applause.)

Chairman ROSENBLUM: Brother Goldsmith and Brother Nelson, who are also representatives of the Vest Makers' Union, were delegated to present greetings to the convention, but because our time is limited, they have declined, so that the convention may continue with its business.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Maximum Salary of Organizers

RESOLUTION No. 14

Resolved, That the maximum salary of general organizers be not more than \$65 a week.

The committee's recommendation to non-concur adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REPORTS OF OFFICERS

Delegate GOLD: The Committee on Reports of Officers reports the following resolutions:

Report of General Executive Board to Locals and Joint Boards

RESOLUTION No. 10

Whereas, The activities of the General Officers and General Executive Board should be in the hands of the membership for study, and

Whereas, Such study will afford intelligent discussion of the activities of the union by the membership; therefore be it

Resolved, That not later than thirty days before the holding of the biennial conventions a report shall be made to all local unions and joint boards, by the general officers and the General Executive Board.

Committee's recommendation for concurrence adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate WEINSTEIN: The Committee on Organization reports the following resolutions:

Organization of Sheepskin Coat-Making Industry

RESOLUTION No. 79

Whereas, The sheepskin coat-making industry has developed to a considerable extent throughout this country; and

Whereas, The workers of the cities of Boston and St. Paul have had this branch of the clothing industry organized for some time, but that progress is handicapped by the fact that many important markets of this industry are unorganized; therefore be it

Resolved, That the incoming G. E. B. of the A. C. W. of A. take up the question of the organization of the sheepskin coat-making industry throughout the country.

Committee's recommendation for concurrence adopted.

Appointment of Women Organizers

RESOLUTION No. 84

Whereas, Fifty per cent of our membership is composed of women, especially in the smaller towns where the percentage of women is much greater, making it a large field for organization work among women; and

Whereas, We ask that in the selection and appointment of organizers to unorganized territory preference be given to women from our rank and file who understand the psychology of the working women; be it therefore

Resolved, By this Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, assembled in Chicago, that the various joint boards throughout the country recommend the most capable women to the General Office for organizers.

Committee's recommendation for concurrence adopted.

Organization of Women in Cincinnati

RESOLUTION No. 36

Whereas, There are about 4,000 women working in the clothing industry in Cincinnati who are not organized; therefore be it

Resolved, That a woman organizer be stationed in Cincinnati and that we, the Women's Organization Committee, do hereby pledge to assist her in every way possible.

Adopted.

Organization Work in Cincinnati

RESOLUTION No. 37

Whereas, We, the clothing workers of Cincinnati, Ohio, have noted with greatest satisfaction and pleasure the splendid efforts made by our general officers to assist us to organize the Cincinnati clothing industry; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the clothing workers of Cincinnati, pledge ourselves to continue to make every effort and not to relax in our endeavor to accomplish our goal, and we also request the General Office to continue to assist us as in the past, and we are sure that in the near future Cincinnati will join the Amalgamated ranks 100 per cent organized.

Committee's recommendation for concurrence adopted.

Organization Work in Montreal

RESOLUTION No. 67a

Whereas, The Amalgamated locals in the city of Montreal have before them a difficult situation which requires immediate steps to be taken to relieve the present condition; be it therefore

Resolved, That this convention instruct the General Executive Board to start immediately an active and effective organization campaign in the city of Montreal in order to organize completely the clothing workers in that city and if necessary to call and conduct a general strike in order to achieve this aim.

Referred to General Executive Board.

Organization of Cloth Examiners and Spongers

RESOLUTION No. 77

Whereas, The cloth examiners and spongers are the only remaining workers in the clothing industry that are not organized; and

Whereas, They handle the raw material and would be of great value in times of trouble; and

Whereas, In every clothing manufacturing center there are cloth examiners and spongers; therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Executive Board use its best effort to organize the cloth examiners and spongers.

Committee's recommendation for concurrence adopted.

Jurisdiction of Bushelmen's Local

RESOLUTION No. 22

Whereas, The Bushelmen's Local of Greater New York has been in existence for the last three years;

Whereas, Other locals affiliated with the New York Joint Board have bushelmen as their members;

Whereas, The Cutters' Union, Local 4 of New York, has bushelmen under its control; and

Whereas, The 3,000 bushelmen of Greater New York are suffering untold hardships due to lack of centralization; be it therefore

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, convening in Chicago, Ill., go on record to consolidate all bushelmen, scattered in different locals, under the management of the only legally chartered Bushelmen's Local of Greater New York.

Recommended referred to General Executive Board.

Delegate LEVINE, Rochester, moved as an amendment that the resolution be referred to the New York Joint Board for action.

Delegate URWAND, New York, objected to this matter being referred to the New York Joint Board, pointing out that it had been referred to the joint board before, and that no action had been taken.

Delegate COHEN, New York, argued that there was no reason for another local union to be formed. He maintained that all bushelmen are tailors, and as such have their place within the local union having jurisdiction over the tailors. He proposed that if there were peculiar conditions confronting the bushelmen, that particular local should form a separate branch, consisting of all the bushelmen.

Delegate WEINSTEIN, New York: The bushelmen Brother Urwand wants to consolidate with his local are mem-

bers of Locals Nos. 271 and 4, and have been union men for the last twelve or fifteen years. The local of bushelmen was formed only two years ago. The bushelmen who constitute the bushelmen's union are mostly men who are working in the stores making alterations on ready-made clothing. The bushelmen in Local 2 and Local 4 are working in the shops and in the cutting rooms where the garment is brought back from the factory. The bushelmen's local was formed for the purpose of recognizing the bushelmen's work primarily in the retail stores, and that is the reason why we have decided it is no more than right that this matter should be referred back to the New York Joint Board for further consideration.

Chairman ROSENBLUM: I think this entire question is not a matter of consolidating local unions, but rather involves the question of jurisdiction. If there is no objection, the amendment of Brother Levine of Rochester will stand, which is that this matter be referred to the New York Joint Board. So ordered.

Organization of Shipping Clerks

RESOLUTION No. 21

Whereas, The system of craft unionism as a weapon in the hands of the workers has proven a failure; and

Whereas, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, having recognized this fact, built its organization on the basis of industrial unionism, including all those who, in one way or another, handle the garment; and

Whereas, The stock and shipping clerks are directly connected with the industry and work side by side with the organized cutter and bushelman; and

Whereas, The members of Local 158, the Ticket Sewers' and Shipping

Clerks' Union of New York, have proven themselves good, loyal union men both in times of peace and in times of strike or lockout; be it therefore

Resolved, That the delegates to the Fifth Biennial Convention, held in Chicago in May, 1922, urge the incoming administration to organize these men in the markets where they are unorganized; and be it further

Resolved, That in the markets where a local of shipping clerks exists, no understandings or written agreements should be entered into with employers whether singly or collectively without including the recognition of the shipping clerks as bona fide members of the organization entitled to its protection and the full co-operation of the other branches of the industry.

Adopted.

Organization Work in Cleveland

RESOLUTION No. 91

Whereas, The Cleveland Joint Board of the A. C. W. of A. is conducting an organization campaign to organize the non-union workers in its fold; and

Whereas, There are several thousand unorganized men and women workers in the clothing industry in the said city who occupy an important part in the industry; and

Whereas, The rank and file of the Cleveland organization are doing everything and all that is in their power to help in this work; and

Whereas, The Cleveland Joint Board is limited in its means and facilities to carry on the organization work successfully; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Fifth Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A. go on record to begin a vigorous and active organization campaign in the city of Cleveland and continue the activity until the work is successfully accomplished; be it further

Resolved, That a staff of organizers be appointed for the Cleveland market to begin the said campaign at the earliest opportunity.

Referred to General Executive Board.

**Establishment of Organization
Department in East**

RESOLUTION No. 94

Whereas, For the last two years the clothing manufacturers in the east, especially in New York, owing to the great unemployment in all industries in order to evade the organization have established themselves in other cities on the open shop basis;

Whereas, Non-union contracting shops have been opened in small towns for the purpose of competing with the organized markets;

Whereas, Owing to the great depression and unemployment a great number of scab shops have been established in New York which are breaking down the conditions of the organized workers;

Resolved, That an Organization Department in the East with a capable man at the head of it be established immediately and an intensive organization campaign be started so as to bring all the workers into the fold of the organization and to check the open shop movement of the employers.

Adopted.

Organization of Overall Workers

RESOLUTION No. 24

Whereas, The overall industry is a branch of the entire men's clothing industry; and

Whereas, The A. C. W. of A. is striving to gather the workers of the men's clothing industry under its banner; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A. instruct the incoming general officers and the General Executive Board that as

soon as conditions warrant, an organization campaign shall be inaugurated among the overall workers of the country; and be it further

Resolved, That such an organization campaign be inaugurated under the supervision of a competent tradesman.

Committee's recommendation for concurrence adopted.

Organizing of Corporation Shops

RESOLUTION No. 26

Resolved, That this convention direct the General Executive Board to take action against the scab corporation shops which are undermining the conditions of the workers on childrens' clothing in Greater New York, especially in the Brownsville section.

Adopted.

Organization of Custom Tailors

RESOLUTION No. 85

Whereas, The organized custom tailors of Greater New York, consisting of approximately 10,000 or 15,000 workers;

Whereas, Local No. 162 is about to launch an organization campaign within this field; and

Whereas, It is urgent to have the co-operation of the General Office of the A. C. W. of A. to accomplish the same; therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Office of the A. C. W. of A. immediately send organizers in order to carry out this project successfully.

Adopted.

Italian Organizer for Bushelmen

RESOLUTION No. 20

Whereas, The 3,000 bushelmen of Greater New York are vital factors in the needle industry;

Whereas, Due to the present depression in the needle trade, the bushelmen's standard of living has been greatly reduced by the continuous cutting of wages and lengthening of working hours;

Whereas, Fifty per cent of the bushmen are Italian speaking; and

Whereas, One man could not possibly cover the city of Greater New York in order to properly organize that particular branch of the trade; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A., convening in Chicago, Ill., go on record in favor of appointing temporarily an Italian organizer to help the present official in his work in order to organize all the bushmen of Greater New York.

Adopted.

Organization Work in Utica

RESOLUTION No. 90

Whereas, The clothing workers of the city of Utica, N. Y., are employed at very low wages;

Whereas, The employers of said city, while united themselves, deny to the workers the right to belong to the union and to be represented by persons of their own choosing; therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Executive Board continues and increases its efforts to assist Utica in becoming a strong link in the powerful chain of the organized Amalgamated clothing markets.

Adopted.

Organization Work in Baltimore

RESOLUTION No. 35

Whereas, The city of Baltimore is one of the most important clothing centers of the United States and employed up to 1920 over 10,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and

Whereas, The industrial depression for the last two years has caused a number of clothing manufacturers to go out of business, thereby throwing thousands of members out of employment; and

Whereas, A number of clothing manufacturers have taken advantage of the conditions to lower the standards

established by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and while the Baltimore membership has contributed over \$100,000 in assessments since January, 1921, to assist the unemployed and maintain conditions, we are now compelled to request assistance from the national organization; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Fifth Biennial Convention, in Chicago assembled, to assist the Baltimore organization morally and financially by starting an immediate organization campaign to bring all of the clothing workers into the fold of the Amalgamated.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Organization of Baltimore

RESOLUTION No. 56

Owing to the fact that during the industrial depression the manufacturers secured advantages detrimental to our organization; and

Whereas, The fact that many shops are still unorganized in Baltimore, and so are most damaging to the conditions of the organized workers; therefore be it

Resolved, By this Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Chicago assembled, that the incoming General Executive Board start a strong campaign that will assure to our organization city-wide control of the clothing industry.

Adopted.

Organization of Shirt Workers— Establishment of Separate Department

RESOLUTION No. 16

Whereas, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has come to life through an urgent desire on the part of the progressive element in the old and stale United Garment Workers of America to create an organization

which should not be satisfied with limited results in the field of organization, but should go on until every worker in the men's and children's clothing as well as the shirt making industry becomes a member in the army of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and

Whereas, Through the wonderful campaign undertaken by our organization we have become both numerically and spiritually a leading element and inspiration in the labor movement; and

Whereas, The shirt workers of this country are still left behind, as far as organization is concerned, being spread throughout the length and breadth of our country by tens of thousands, suffering the punishment that goes with non-organization, long hours, small wages, and the subduing of their very souls to the bidding of their masters; and

Whereas, The necessity of bringing the message of organization to those non-union shops would require all the energy, time, and effort on the part of the most devoted men in our organization and a full knowledge and experience of the peculiar and intimate conditions and surroundings of the shirt making industry; and

Whereas, Our General Office today is physically not in a position to follow up and devote all the attention necessary for such a tremendous task as the undertaking of organization work in the different cities and towns where the shirt making industry operates; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Fifth Biennial Convention go on record to create a separate department of shirt workers that shall with the aid and counsel of the General Office undertake the so-much-needed work of organization; and be it further

Resolved, That this convention instruct its general officers that this work among shirt workers should go on with

the full aid of the General Office until we succeed.

Adopted.

Out-of-Town Organization Work

RESOLUTION No. 99

Whereas, By reason of the many fights that the New York organization has gone through, such as that for the forty-four-hour week, as well as the recent lockout, many firms who formerly dealt with our organization collectively as well as individually were lately lost to our organization; and

Whereas, Many others moved out of the city and opened shops in small country towns around New York, which reflect badly upon our organized shops; be it therefore

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to begin an energetic campaign to regain our losses in the city as well as around New York state.

Adopted.

Boys' Wash Suit Industry

RESOLUTION No. 187

Whereas, The boys' wash suit industry in New York is organized into Local 169 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and

Whereas, A great part of this industry in New York as well as in many other cities still remains unorganized; and

Whereas, The competition of these unorganized shops is keenly felt on the organized New York market; and

Whereas, It is impossible for the Washable Sailor Suit Makers' Union to undertake this organization campaign without the help of the General Office; be it therefore

Resolved, That the General Office give financial and moral support in the organizing of the wash suit industry in New York as well as in the other cities.

Referred to Eastern Organization Department.

Establishment of Organization Department Jointly by General Office and New York Joint Board

RESOLUTION No. 112

Whereas, At present the Organization Department of the General Office, A. C. W. of A., is functioning under the supervision mostly of one individual; and

Whereas, Many concerns in the recent fight against our organization moved out into different towns, and the above mentioned department is working independently of the local body; and

Whereas, The New York Joint Board is interested in the work of the Organization Department, and should know what becomes of firms that are deserting our ranks; be it therefore

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention decides to inaugurate an Organization Department which should be conducted by the General Office and the New York Joint Board jointly.

Referred to Eastern Organization Department.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

Delegate WOLFE reported the following resolutions:

Amalgamation of Local Unions

RESOLUTION No. 61

Owing to the fact that the ethics of the American labor movement still follow the policy of dividing and subdividing local unions; and

Owing to the fact that the future of the working class depends on the industrial character of organization; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Fifth Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Chicago assembled, give instructions to the in-

coming General Executive Board to use its influence and efforts to amalgamate the different local unions of the same trade.

Adopted.

Wages of Beginners

RESOLUTION No. 53

Whereas, Tailoring is done under a piecework system of work, where employees are paid per piece they turn out, a new employee, who is sent out to work on a two weeks' trial, most often becomes the prey or victim of the foreman or examiner.

Resolved, That we go on record favoring the payment to beginners on a week work basis during the first two weeks of work.

Committee's recommendation of concurrence defeated.

Establishment of a Board of Sanitary Control

RESOLUTION No. 82

The committee reported a substitute resolution on this subject as follows:

Resolved, That the incoming General Executive Board shall authorize all local organizations to establish boards of sanitary control wherever possible.

Adopted.

Pay for Legal Holidays

RESOLUTION No. 97

Whereas, A resolution that was introduced at the Boston Convention to demand from our employers to be paid for all legal holidays;

Whereas, This resolution was referred to the General Executive Board for consideration, and the board did not act until now; be it therefore

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to put this resolution in force wherever possible.

Adopted.

Wages of Trimmers**RESOLUTION No. 3**

Whereas, It has been and still is the practice in our industry to classify the trimming operation in some markets as inferior to the cutting operation and therefore to pay the trimmers smaller and less sufficient wages than the cutters; and

Whereas, It is our belief that this classification is unjustified and that trimming like cutting requires equal skill and experience and is an equally important manufacturing operation; therefore be it

Resolved, That in future negotiations the utmost efforts shall be made to increase the minimum wage of the trimmers to equal that received by the cutters.

Adopted.

Establishment of A. C. W. Children's Nurseries**RESOLUTION No. 130**

The committee reported a resolution asking for the foundation of A. C. W. Children's Nurseries to take care of children during working hours while mothers are working. The committee asked that the question be referred to the incoming G. E. B. for investigation and the establishment of nurseries if advisable and possible.

Resolution adopted by a vote of 86 to 66.

President HILLMAN: The chair will now take the opportunity to introduce to you one whom I personally consider an old friend of the organization, and who represents an institution that has done everything to be helpful to our organization. I take pleasure in introducing to you the editor of the "Freiheit," Comrade M. J. Olgin.

ADDRESS OF M. J. OLGIN

M. J. OLGIN: Mr. President, friends and comrades: I am really happy to

bring to you the greetings of the daily "Freiheit," of the staff of the daily "Freiheit" (applause), of the organization that is back of the daily "Freiheit," and of the readers of the daily "Freiheit." I am sure that I am speaking, not only in my own name, but also in the name of all the large groups of workers who are united behind the "Freiheit," if I say that, having followed the proceedings and having observed the spirit of this convention, I am sure that you have the right to be proud of your organization, you have a right to be proud of the wonderful spirit of the work you are doing, and you have a right to be proud of the manner in which you are paving the way for the rest of American labor. It is a year since I came from that country which is leading the rest of the world on the way of the social revolution, from Soviet Russia. (Applause.) I can state with full assurance that never, since the day when I was present at the gatherings of the workers in Russia, was I so thrilled as I have been by this convention.

You have heard from your president repeatedly that what we need is not so much theory as work. It is a great satisfaction to find an organization where theory and practice coincide (applause), where practice goes along the road outlined by theory.

Much has been said about radicalism in this country, and much slander has been thrown at it. But, after all, if you wish to state briefly what the radical trend of mind is, it is fearlessness of thought, it is the ability to face a situation squarely and to draw conclusions. It is the conclusion drawn by the radicals of the labor movement, observing the situation of the world, that capitalism has outlived itself, and that it is the task of labor to establish a new order, based on justice, equality and right for all. (Applause.)

There is another point which all the radicals in the labor movement have

emphasized, and that is, not by talking or by resolutions will you establish a new order on the debris of the old, but by accumulating and exercising working class power. Now, it is this which I find in this convention.

I find the very highest ideals of purpose, clarity of vision, and an enormous desire to assume power and use power. In fact, if I were to express the spirit of this convention, and the spirit of the organization as it is being manifested through this convention, I would be justified in saying that it is power. You do not care, perhaps, to label it; but under the able leadership of your officers, you have done big things, and it was one of the first radicals of the labor movement who said that one step of actual work is worth much more than dozens of volumes of theory. You have accomplished this. (Applause.)

There is, I find here, the spirit of harmony between the masses and the leaders. It was one of the greatest thrills to me to see the masses of the rank and file of labor of Chicago walking into this hall, walking in with faith, with a strong step, with music, and with determination, and saying, "It is not you that are legislating for us; it is we, altogether, who are making the laws for ourselves." It was one of the greatest moments when I saw the masses walking into this gathering and merging themselves with the convention, and it was also an enormous sign of strength and of ability for me to see how you all rallied around your president at the moment when he brought before you one of the most important resolutions. It is this spirit that is necessary for labor everywhere in order to establish a new order. I know very well your many other accomplishments. My time, unfortunately, is too brief to express all I see in your organization. However, there is one thing which cannot be passed in silence, and that is the

spirit of internationalism that you so wonderfully manifested today in your ability to co-operate in the restoration of Russia. (Applause.)

I was born in Russia, brought up in Russia, and earned my spurs as a revolutionary fighter in Russia, and perhaps I am able to appreciate more than many of you what an enormous step you have taken today in passing this resolution and in organizing yourselves into a body for the reconstruction of Russia. I was in Russia one year ago, and I saw the enormous injustice done to Russia by the rest of the world. I had lived in Russia under the Czar, and many of you have lived there; you know what that meant. It was a country where nobody could express a thought, a country where everything was strangled. And, then, one beautiful day the people arose and, with one mighty stroke, they overthrew the dynasty of the Romanoffs and made themselves free. (Applause.) That only shows that, although the Russian people are patient, they could not stand it any longer. There comes an end to any patience of any people, however patient. We all thought here that that was the end, and then came the second revolution. The Russian people had been too much suppressed to stand any oppression any longer. They said to themselves that they were not satisfied in overthrowing only the Czar. They said that they were not satisfied to slave for the capitalists, the peasants were not satisfied to slave for the landlords, and then they had the second revolution. They organized Russia into Soviets. They drove out the landlords and seized the land; they drove the capitalists from the factories, and they introduced for the first time in the history of the world that wonderful new law, "He who does not work shall not eat."

The capitalists of the world could not stand it. The capitalists of the world surrounded Russia with an iron

wall. I don't blame the capitalists of the world, because they are struggling for their own existence and because they know that Russia is an enemy to capital, wherever it is. (Applause.) Therefore they had to struggle against Russia. But it is a shame, it is a humiliation for organized labor, through the mouth of its leaders, to denounce Soviet Russia; and this, to our great shame, was done in this country only recently by a man who, assuming to speak for organized labor of America, urged the government of the United States not to recognize Soviet Russia, not to have anything to do with Soviet Russia. Why, much more venom and much more vituperation was spent on Soviet Russia on the part of some of the labor leaders than even on the part of some of the more enlightened groups of capitalists.

Russia needs reconstruction. And whence will come the help for Russia to reconstruct the country in order to assume the new work? I went to Russia, from village to village and from town to town. I spent six months studying conditions, and I saw people willing to work, and ready to work, all disciplined people, knowing their aim and what they were fighting for, and ready to defend their lives and ready to defend the things they consider most precious. But, unfortunately, the aftermath of the war, with the blockade, with the hunger, and the demoralizing of the economic system, makes it necessary for the rest of the world to come to the rescue of Russia in the way of economic reconstruction.

Now, who is going to help Russia? Is it going to be capital, or is it going to be labor? Here for the first time in the history of the last years, the American Amalgamated Clothing Workers went on record as expressing the true spirit of internationalism of labor. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are ready to start the real work of reconstruction.

I greet you in the name of all our friends and in the name of the readers of the "Freiheit." We shall bring the message of your wonderful achievements to all Jewish working men, and I express the wish that your work shall show the way to other organizations.

The world has been ruined. Only labor is capable of establishing the new order, and it is our hope that this convention and the example of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will show the way to all the rest of labor, and that from now on a new era will ensue in the history of the labor movement in America. (Prolonged applause.)

AMALGAMATION OF NEEDLE TRADES UNIONS

Delegate GOLD, New York, reported that the Committee on Reports of Officers had received a number of resolutions dealing with the subject of one needle trades organization in this country and in Canada. The committee had also received a communication from the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of America, and had prepared a statement covering all the resolutions, as follows:

Unification of Unions in the Needle Trades

Your committee has given consideration to many resolutions and communications and recommends the adoption of the following substitute resolution:

Whereas, All existing unions in the needle trades have gone on record favoring permanent and organized co-operation among the labor organizations in these trades; and

Whereas, The action of these unions is in response to the need and tendency evidenced in all aspects of economic life for greater unification and consolidation; and

Whereas, Unification and consolidation of all of the unions in the needle trades would result in in-

creasing the strength and power of these organizations; and

Whereas, The consolidation of these unions would bring about a considerable economy of effort and means and would release energy and treasure now lost by reason of duplication of activities, for further organization work; and

Whereas, A loose federation of unions in the needle trades with paper functions, would not increase the strength or the negotiating power of the organizations federated; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention hereby record itself in favor of complete consolidation of all unions in the needle trades into an organization with one general executive board, one treasury and with separate departments for the branches of the industry in which separate unions now function; and be it further

Resolved, That the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to negotiate with the other organizations in the needle trades for the calling of a joint convention for the purpose of uniting these unions into one organization, and the incoming General Executive Board is empowered to make all necessary arrangements for such convention; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the executive boards of all organizations in the needle trades, and published in the labor press.

President HILLMAN: You have heard the recommendation of the committee, which would become the position of the organization when and if adopted by this convention. Our position then will be that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America go on record in favor of one organization in the needle trades. (Applause.)

Delegate RIGER, Local 22, stated

that he did not favor one organization in the needle trades, but favored a federation of the needle trades, on the ground that the adoption of the resolution would make smaller and less powerful unions fearful of their existence.

Delegate CURSI, Local 202, spoke in favor of the resolution.

Delegate CATALANOTTI, Local 63, suggested an amendment that the general officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America take action in accordance with the resolution, if adopted, and publish a report of their activity within six months.

Delegate COHEN, New York, spoke in favor of the resolution, as did Delegate KOSLOVSKY.

Delegate HERSHKOWITZ, New York, called attention to the difficulties arising out of an attempted federation, briefly outlining past attempts at federation and their consequent failures.

Delegate BECKERMAN, Local 4, spoke in favor of amalgamation, but stated that in his opinion it was inadvisable for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to lay down the basis for such a federation or amalgamation. He offered an amendment to the effect that a blanket resolution should be passed, referring the matter to the General Executive Board to consider and inquire into the conditions upon which such amalgamation could be made.

Delegate RAMUGLIA, Boston, spoke in favor of the resolution, as did Delegate BEIR, of Baltimore.

Delegate JACOBSON, Local 4, moved the previous question, which was carried, and Delegate GOLD was given the floor to explain the position of the committee.

Delegate GOLD: The committee, while discussing this question, had but one idea in view. It was said on the floor of the convention that the General Executive Board and the general officers did not carry out the decision

of the last convention. Now, I differ with those statements. I say they did. There is today a Needle Trades Alliance.

But it didn't work because it wasn't feasible. It was not a workable alliance, and your committee today feels that if you should make a decision of that kind it will not work again.

The question is, is it worth while to have an amalgamation of the needle trades workers? Will the membership benefit by an organization of that kind? The answer is that we will benefit. We will have obstacles. But if the delegates of this convention will go on record for an amalgamation, I think the membership of the other trades are favorable, because, if we have such an organization, it will be a power the employers will have to reckon with.

President HILLMAN: The general officers and the General Executive Board of the organization maintain the position expressed in the resolution.

People have a right to believe that an alliance is better than amalgamation or consolidation. People also have a right to believe that a consolidation is not only preferable to an alliance, but that an alliance may be actually harmful in the needle trades. Also, we must appreciate that we do not propose to legislate for other organizations. As far as I am concerned, I do not even propose to go and say to the members of other organizations what they should think. But we should know what we want. If we are not going to dictate to others, surely others ought not to dictate to us.

The needle trades are co-operating today more than some of the federated alliances of the American Federation of Labor. Right in this city you have a federation of the building trades, with half of them working and half of them striking, and it would be much better for the building trades not to fool themselves with the federation,

because in an actual struggle it did not operate.

It has been said that if we have one organization, whatever is done for one group must be done for all the other groups. There is not a single organization in the country that has uniform rules. In our own organization we have week work and piece work. We have production standards and no production standards. The Cap Makers have week work and piece work. The Ladies' Garment Workers have week work on cloaks in New York and production standards in Cleveland.

I am against an alliance because I believe an alliance will only bring an illusion of power and when you come to fight you will find you have no power. It is well for each organization not to overestimate its power. That is why we were against a mere Needle Trades Alliance. But we tried it, and any statement that the organization did not try it in good faith is not in accord with the facts. The Alliance was formed when the lockout in New York City took place. Now that struggle is over. We came out successful, but if we had relied on the Alliance for the kind of help that one is justified in expecting from an alliance, there might have been a disastrous ending in New York City.

I am sure that every officer in every other organization was and is honest in trying to make the Alliance work, but an alliance is so loose it cannot work. If an alliance cannot work when there is a lockout involving 70,000 people, when will it work? Will it work when there is no need? If an alliance will not respond when it can be helpful to the members of the organization, why have an alliance? Even the Triple Alliance in Great Britain broke down when a real test came, and the workers in Great Britain have paid a terrible penalty for playing with the word "alliance." If the miners had known that they could not rely on the railroad

workers and the transport workers they would not have assumed the task that they did assume, and they would have brought about a settlement according to their own power and not according to illusory power. When you lean upon illusory power from outside, you destroy your own power.

Why must we make a wrong step because there is no opportunity to make a right step? It is one thing to be cautious, and another to do nothing. I hope the convention will not instruct the officers to play with something which has no basis in reality, simply to please our own notions that we have done something.

For these reasons the General Executive Board recommends the adoption of this resolution. (Applause.)

The committee's recommendation was overwhelmingly adopted.

MESSAGE TO INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

The following telegram was sent to the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in session at Locomotive Engineers' Building, Cleveland, Ohio:

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, assembled at the Fifth Biennial Convention and joyfully reviewing the work of the past two years, sends greetings to you, fellow workers. Our interests as workers and yours are identical and call for working class solidarity. That is true of the entire working class. But in the case of the needle trades there are special conditions dictating the formation of a close union of all the workers. Such a union will constitute a power which will insure to all workers concerned protection against any attack by the enemy. It is our sincere hope that

that great and all-inclusive unity will ultimately be realized.

"JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,
"General Secretary-Treasurer."

The convention adjourned at 5:15 p. m., to meet the following morning at 9:30.

CONGRATULATIONS RECEIVED

Telegrams of congratulation from the following groups and individuals, read at the third and fourth sessions, May 10, are here listed:

Local 3, A. C. W. of A., New York, Chas. Englander, secretary.

Local 14, A. C. W. of A., Rochester.

Local 38, A. C. W. of A., Chicago.

Local 51, A. C. W. of A., Baltimore.

Local 96, A. C. W. of A., Syracuse. Mary Daino, secretary.

Local 102, A. C. W. of A., Boston, Ferd Genelli, secretary.

Local 105, A. C. W. of A., St. Louis. A. Milman, secretary.

Local 141, A. C. W. of A., Philadelphia

Local 142, A. C. W. of A., Brooklyn.

Local 154, A. C. W. of A., Lynn. S. P. Couting, president.

Local 154, A. C. W. of A., Lynn. Nathan Gordon, organizer.

Local 155, A. C. W. of A., St. Paul.

Local 174, A. C. W. of A., Worcester.

Local 200, A. C. W. of A., Rochester.

Local 202, A. C. W. of A., Rochester.

Local 203, A. C. W. of A., Rochester.

Local 204, A. C. W. of A., Rochester.

Local 205, A. C. W. of A., Rochester.

Local 227, A. C. W. of A., Rochester.

Local 230, A. C. W. of A., Baltimore.

Local 248, A. C. W. of A., New York City.

Joint Executive Board, Locals 2, 3, 5, A. C. W. of A., Brooklyn. Mesh, secretary, Business Agents Weinstein, Gombino, Levine, clerk.

Joint Board of New York Children's Clothing Workers, A. C. W. of A., S. Margolius, secretary.

Toronto Joint Board, A. C. W. of A., Toronto. S. P. Almazoff secretary.

G. Artoni, general organizer, A. C. W. of A.

Executive Board, Palm Beach Workers of Greater New York.

Members of Gordon & Ferguson Shop, St. Paul.

Employees of Bashwitz Bros.' coat department, New York City, Emanuel Ganz and Max Yabovitz, shop chairmen.

Workers of Bashwitz Bros.' pants shop, Brooklyn.

Shirt Cutters' Union Executive Board, Local 246, A. C. W. of A., Harry O. Paikoff, chairman.

Chairmen of Hart, Schaffner & Marx coat shops, Chicago, Ill. Isidore Wasserman, Jacob J. Schneider, Benny Brandzel, committee.

Boston Vest Makers' Union, A. C. W. of A., Boston, Mass.

Joe Goodman, L. D. Weinstein, Benjamin Jacobson, Gertrude Weil Klein, business agents, New York Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Workers of 19th Street shop of J. Friedman, New York City. Isidor Chaiken, shop chairman, Sam Rivituzo, shop chairman, Julius Goldstein, business agent, J. Corotola, business agent.

Women's Organization Committee of Baltimore Joint Board, A. C. W. of A., Baltimore.

Abe Simon, complaint clerk, New York Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Strikers of Reuben Isaacs' shops, Rochester.

Sara Greco, Rochester Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Paul Blanshard, educational director, Rochester Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Workers of J. Samuels' shop, Brooklyn. J. Singer, chairman, M. Singer, assistant chairman, A. Graff, assistant chairman, Gershonovitz, assistant chairman.

Louis A. Uretz, executive board member, Local 61, A. C. W. of A., Chicago, Ill.

Harry Markowitz, member of Boston organization, A. C. W. of A.

"Children's Crusade for Amnesty, composed of thirty wives and children of political prisoners is in Washington on behalf of the hundred and thirteen men still in prison convicted for expression of opinion, all of whom have long records of service for the working class on the political and economic field. We have established headquarters at 938 New York Avenue and expect to remain here until freedom is granted. We need your moral and financial support and ask that your organization make as generous a contribution as possible for this struggle for restoration of constitutional rights.

"CHILDREN'S CRUSADE FOR AMNESTY."

"We, the students of the New York Active Workers' School, tonight assembled, send greetings of trust and solidarity to the Fifth Biennial Convention. We pledge ourselves to direct our education toward the goals for which our organization was founded. The spirit of class consciousness which gave us our reason for existence will lead the Amalgamated to further victories and keep our organization in the vanguard of the labor movement in America.

"THE STUDENT COMMITTEE."

"Local New York, Socialist Party, sends hearty greetings to convention of Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Continue your work to organize and solidify the ranks, following the principles laid down at your organization. Your organization has been the beacon light in the labor movement. May the American labor movement soon catch up with you, so that the American labor movement, united and combining their economic and political forces, take over the political and economic power of government, so that there will be one class, the working class, and the world a safe place for the human race.

"SOCIALIST PARTY, New York County,
"Julius Gerber, Secretary."

"Accept our heartiest congratulations to your convention. We are proud of your organization and its wonderful achievements in spite of all the thorns you found on your way. May you proceed on your way of success and come to your next convention a member of organized revolutionary federation of all American workers.

"Chicago City Committee,
JEWISH FEDERATION OF
WORKERS' PARTY."

"Please convey my congratulations and best wishes to the 1922 convention that the Amalgamated may continue its splendid achievements of the past.

"FRANCIS J. HAAS, Catholic
University of America,
Washington, D. C."

"The United Hebrew Trades of Boston sends its heartiest congratulations to the officers and delegates of the convention. Best wishes for success and harmonious deliberations.

"CARL APPEL, Secretary."

"May your work at this convention strengthen your organization and has-

ten the solidarity of labor and Socialist movement.

"SOCIALIST PARTY,
Sixth Assembly District,
Aaron Klein, Organizer."

"In behalf of the General Executive Board of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, the general membership and myself extend our hearty good wishes for the success of your convention. There never was a time requiring greater care and wisdom on the part of organized labor than today.

"THOMAS SWEENEY."

"By instructions of the Workmen's Circle convention held at Toronto, I am sending our hearty congratulations to the valiant organization of workers, who so bravely fought the battle of the laboring men and women and succeeded in maintaining all the positions won in the past. We hope all your deliberations will bring happiness and more rays of light in the life of the toilers. On with your splendid work.

"WORKMEN'S CIRCLE,
"J. Baskin."

"I am extremely chagrined to be unable to be among you on this occasion, owing to a sprained knee from which I am slowly and painfully convalescing. I am, however, always with you with my spirit and my love and the deep confidence of the oneness and invisibility of our ideal. In the name of the Italian Chamber of Labor of New York, I salute with pride and comradely love the National Assembly of the glorious Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and each and every soldier of its embattled hosts, wherever they may be, in the factory, in the office, on the picket line, in the jails of America or in the halls of the Russian Kremlin. We rejoice in your exploits of the past and draw new strength and exaltation in the assurance that your indomitable, unyielding

and constructive spirit has come out unscathed from the fierce fire of the last two years of reaction. The banner that you hold aloft is nevermore to be furled. March forth with it to ever nobler heights, always conscious that the eyes of the workers of the world are upon you, expecting ever new and mightier deeds of justice and freedom, up to the supreme achievement of the ultimate emancipation of all mankind from every form of economic servitude and social thralldom. Hail the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Long live the international solidarity of the working class.

"ARTURO GIOVANNITTI,
"General Secretary."

"We, the Jewish branch of the Young Workers' League from Chicago, greet the Fifth Convention of the A. C. W. of A., and we hope that it will succeed in its undertakings for a better life and emancipation of the working class.

"N. LEVENTHAL."

"The Clothing Contractors' Association of Boston sends you heartiest greetings and good wishes for the success of your Fifth Biennial Convention. May your deliberations result in the effecting of permanent improved conditions in the clothing industry and may your future endeavors and achievements be even greater than those of the past.

"MORRIS BILLER, Manager."

"The Chicago Fur Workers' Union, Local 45, extend to the Amalgamated convention our best wishes for their continued success in the labor movement.

"I. ISRAELSON, President,
"S. GOLDBERG, Secretary."

"Pressing professional engagements prevent my presence at Amalgamated convention. Please convey my greet-

ings to the organization and my sincere congratulations upon the remarkable achievements of the Amalgamated in the short period of its existence. The labor movement of America was never more in need of guidance and inspiration than at present and I am convinced that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will assume the leadership in the vital struggle to secure justice, prosperity and happiness for the workers of America. Long life and success to the Amalgamated.

"JACOB M. MOSES, Baltimore, Md."

"Greetings. Accept our heartiest congratulatory wishes for the success of your convention. May all your deliberations, which aim for a stronger and mightier organization and for a united front against the onslaught of our common enemy, the employer, be crowned with success. Let this convention be the guiding spirit for greater deeds and achievements for the interests of your membership. With fraternal and brotherly greetings.

"CLOAK AND SUIT OPERATORS'
UNION,

"Local No. 1, I. L. G. W. U.,
"I. Steinzor, Acting Manager."

"Comradely greetings and congratulations on the big work of your union in the labor struggle.

"LABOR PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
"James H. Maurer, President."

"The executive board of the Co-operative League sends greetings and best wishes for the success of your convention. As organized workers you are helping to build a better world for the men and women who toil. It is but natural that the workers should throw their first energies into a fight for higher wages and better conditions of labor. They are preyed upon by bankers, traders, manufacturers, the railroads, the mine owners, and other agencies of profit-making business, un-

til the workers must unite for their own protection or go down into a state no better than slavery.

"But the workers spend all they earn; therefore they are consumers as well as producers. If they are to save themselves from the clutches of profit-making business, they must protect themselves from the merchants as well as from the manufacturers. If they win higher wages from the employers and then turn it all back to the employing class every time they make a purchase, how much better off are they? The workers must combine their purchasing power as well as their labor power. Every organized town should have its consumers' co-operative store, its co-operative bank, and its house for recreation and education. This program is developing rapidly throughout the country. Already tens

of thousands of the workers are united in consumers' societies and they exercise control over the supply of food and other necessities of life.

"Co-operation has the power to free the people from the bondage into which they have fallen. The industrial worker and the farmer together can build up a movement that shall guarantee all the people peace and prosperity. We hope that great good may come out of the deliberations of your convention. May your members through their unions and through their co-operative societies, go forward to victory.

"Fraternally yours,

"EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE
CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE,"

"J. P. Warbasse, President,

"John F. McNamee, Secretary."

SEVENTH SESSION

Friday, May 12, 1922

9:30 A. M.

President HILLMAN called the convention to order at 9:30 a. m., Friday, May 12.

Assistant Secretary POTOFSKY read the following telegrams and communications to the convention:

"Twenty thousand textile workers at Lawrence, Mass., fighting wage cut, appeal to clothing workers for quick relief. Have battled seven weeks on own resources, now with back against the wall. Funds all gone, must feed thousands. Look to labor elsewhere for help. We have always answered calls regardless affiliations. Ask you suspend rules if necessary, vote emergency relief. Will appreciate wire reply, word, encouragement, action taken.

"LAWRENCE STRIKE COMMITTEE,

"Florence Shokman, Secretary."

"The 'Spravedlnost,' the only Czechoslovak workingmen's daily paper published in America, greets you and gladly offers you services. We are sure that this convention will bring strength not only to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, but to the whole labor movement.

"SPRAVEDLNOST, Chicago, Ill."

"We greet you delegates of the Fifth Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as a workers' organization which will lead the working class to its final emancipation. We wish you success in your work.

"CHICAGO FREIHEIT SINGING SOCIETY, of the Workers' Party of America."

"Greetings and congratulations to the Fifth Convention of our great or-

ganization. May it continue the good work of improving the conditions of our members, ever leading them together with the entire labor movement of the world toward the final goal, which is the complete emancipation of the workers.

**"CHILDREN'S JACKET MAKERS'
UNION, Local 175,
"Simon Hass, Business Agent."**

COMMITTEE ON LAW

Delegate McKAY, chairman, reported upon the following resolutions for the committee:

Strike Assessments

RESOLUTION No. 185

Referendum on Assessments

RESOLUTION No. 168

The committee recommended non-concurrence on Resolutions Nos. 185 and 168. Report of committee adopted.

Appointment of Organizers

RESOLUTION No. 118

Whereas, It is a condition of decisive importance for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as for any labor organization, not to be bound to any political party; be it

Resolved, That no organizer be appointed if he is an organizer of a political party.

The committee recommended non-concurrence. Report of committee adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 110

Resolution was to the effect that all general organizers be appointed by the General Executive Board.

Committee recommended non-concurrence. Report of committee adopted.

Reduction of Per Capita Tax

RESOLUTION No. 138

(See Resolution No. 31, Page 357, proceedings, May 11, 1922.)

Method of Nomination of Members of G. E. B.

RESOLUTION No. 140

Resolution proposed that candidates for General Executive Board be nominated by the locals.

Committee recommended non-concurrence. Report of committee adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 146

Resolution proposed that nomination for office in the Amalgamated be by the locals.

Committee recommended non-concurrence. Report of committee adopted.

Referendum on Minority Report

RESOLUTIONS Nos. 149 AND 155

Resolutions advocated that minority resolutions and motions be submitted to referendum.

Committee recommended non-concurrence. Report of committee adopted.

Annual Election of Local Officers

RESOLUTION No. 93

Whereas, Elections for officers in local unions are being held annually in the vast majority of locals, with few exceptions where the six-months rule is still practiced; and

Whereas, It has been proven that the six-months rule is detrimental and curbs the efficiency of the officers in these locals due to the short time given them to carry out the work of the organization; therefore be it

Resolved, That election in all the locals in the Amalgamated be held annually.

The committee reported favorably and the resolution was adopted.

Re-election of Paid Officials After Two Terms Prohibited

RESOLUTION No. 160

Resolution proposed that no paid

official except the general officers be eligible for more than two terms.

Already acted upon, see action on Resolution No. 49, Page 357 of Proceedings.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Murray Weinstein, chairman, reported on the following resolutions, for the committee:

Organization Work in St. Louis

RESOLUTION No. 75

Whereas, The clothing industry of St. Louis has grown in the last five years; and

Whereas, The shops in St. Louis now employ as many as 4,000 workers, mostly women and girls; and

Whereas, The working conditions are the worst in the country, and such conditions are detrimental to the workers, and a source of competition to the other clothing markets; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention instruct the General Executive Board to do everything in its power to unionize the clothing market of St. Louis.

Committee recommended reference to General Executive Board. Report of committee adopted.

Organization Campaign in Eastern States

RESOLUTION No. 120

Resolved, That the General Office be instructed to send a sufficient number of organizers into the eastern states to organize the many non-union clothing concerns in the smaller towns of the eastern section, in order to relieve the condition in the New York market.

Committee recommended reference to Eastern Organization Department of General Office when established. Recommendation of committee concurred in.

Organization of Shipping Clerks and Ticket Sewers

RESOLUTION No. 182

Whereas, New York has 5,000 shipping clerks and ticket sewers; and

Whereas, The majority of them are unorganized; and

Whereas, It is a physical impossibility for one man to cover the great territory of New York; be it therefore

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention go on record as favoring the appointment of an organizer to help the present official of Local 158 in order thoroughly to organize this branch of the trade.

Committee recommended reference to General Executive Board. Recommendation concurred in.

Organization Work in Buffalo

RESOLUTION No. 181

Whereas, An organization campaign has been started in Buffalo recently to build up a strong union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and

Whereas, To accomplish this difficult task we have to contend with powerful manufacturers, who have bitterly and steadily fought and opposed every move of the workers to organize in order to change this state of affairs and bring about an organization which would uplift the workers from the conditions of slavery under which they are now working; and

Whereas, The recent organization campaign conducted in Buffalo is beginning to arouse the workers and is showing results; and

Whereas, The clothing workers of Buffalo are largely composed of Poles and Italians; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention instruct the incoming General Executive Board to use all efforts and means to organize Buffalo and to send a Polish and Italian organizer and give such other assistance as

would be necessary effectively to conduct the organization work in Buffalo.

Committee recommended reference to General Executive Board for special attention by that body. Recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Organization of Philadelphia

RESOLUTION No. 165

Whereas, During the industrial depression the manufacturers secured advantages detrimental to our organization; and

Whereas, Many shops in Philadelphia are now not organized; and

Whereas, The fact that Philadelphia is not fully organized places it in severe competition with the organized centers, especially New York; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Chicago assembled, instruct the incoming General Executive Board to start a strong organization campaign in Philadelphia that will assure the control of the clothing industry, by our organization.

Committee recommended reference to General Executive Board for special attention. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Organization Work in Behalf of Pantsmakers

RESOLUTION No. 158

Whereas, Not a single convention of the Amalgamated has passed without adopting a resolution to devote special organization work for the pants trade throughout the country, which undoubtedly was of advantage to the organization at large; and

Whereas, We recognize that such general organization work was necessary for the protection of the members in the larger markets, but due to the last lockout in the New York market, the pantsmakers of Greater New York have suffered the heaviest loss due to

the establishment of pants shops in the suburbs of New York and nearby states; and

Whereas, This fact not only undermines the condition of the pantsmakers in the New York market, but absolutely threatens the very existence of our organization; be it therefore

Resolved, That the convention instruct the general officers to make a special study of the pantsmakers' situation; and be it further

Resolved, That special organizers be employed in the New York district and nearby states who shall be assigned to organization work for pantsmakers only.

Committee recommended reference to Eastern Department of General Office, when established. Recommendation of committee concurred in.

Special Rule in Strikes

RESOLUTION No. 64

Committee recommended non-concurrence in Resolution No. 64 on special rule in strikes. Report of the committee was adopted.

Organization Work in California

RESOLUTION No. 143

Whereas, The conditions in Los Angeles and the Pacific coast are such at the present time that we deem it necessary to have this convention authorize the sending of a general organizer there immediately after the convention for the purpose of straightening out matters that may mean a great deal to the locals of Los Angeles as well as the Amalgamated in general; therefore be it

Resolved, That a general organizer be sent to Los Angeles and the Pacific coast at once with full power to act as he deems best for the welfare of that section of the country and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in general.

Committee recommended reference to the General Executive Board. Recom-

mendation of the committee concurred in.

Out-of-Town Organization Work

RESOLUTION No. 142

Whereas, Many firms are moving out of town in order to have their work done with non-union help and many "corporation" shops are being established; therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Executive Board organize the out-of-town shops and take action against the "corporation" shops.

Committee recommended reference to Eastern Organization Department of General Office, when established. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION No. 119

Whereas, A large number of children's clothing manufacturers moved away from New York to escape the organization, in order that the other manufacturers shall be able to break down our standards; therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Executive Board shall be authorized by this convention to immediately organize an organization campaign against the manufacturers who have moved, and to do everything necessary to discourage other manufacturers from doing the same thing.

Committee recommended reference to Eastern Organization Department of General Office, when established. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION No. 131

Committee recommended reference of this resolution, relating to financial assistance in organizing Vine-land, N. J., to General Executive Board.

Recommendation adopted.

Corporation Shops

RESOLUTION No. 103

Whereas, The rapid growth of the small corporation shop, especially of the sort that have been formed in Baltimore, where two or four tailors who themselves hire help work like slaves from twelve to fifteen hours daily, is a menace to the organization; and

Whereas, They take work from the employers for less than the union price and in this way take work away from union members and weaken the organization; and

Whereas, Such a condition means a step backward for the working class movement; therefore be it

Resolved, That we request our general officers to put forth all their efforts to check the development of these shops and take energetic steps against those already organized.

Committee recommended reference of the resolution to the General Executive Board. The recommendation was concurred in.

Organization of Drivers and Their Helpers

RESOLUTION No. 95

Whereas, Local 240, Drivers' Union of New York, is the only local of its kind affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America;

Resolved, That the A. C. W. of A. shall start an organization campaign throughout the country to organize the drivers and their helpers in the clothing industry.

Committee recommended reference to the General Executive Board. The recommendation was concurred in.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate KROLL, chairman, reported for the committee.

Political Action

The committee recommended the adoption of the following resolution

as a substitute for Resolutions Nos. 6 and 117:

SUBSTITUTE RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the General Executive Board shall stand instructed to make a careful investigation of the question of political action, and after due deliberation make recommendations for political action that will represent the ideals, aspirations and aims of our organization.

President HILLMAN: The recommendation is that the General Executive Board make an investigation, and if it comes to any conclusion, then it shall recommend to the membership what political action should be taken in conformity with the ideals and aspirations of our organization.

Delegate GOLDMAN, Local 15, Baltimore, said that he was not in favor of the recommendation, in that it would cause discord in the organization.

Delegate WEINSTEIN, Local 4, New York, was absolutely opposed to the resolution as presented.

Delegate WEXLER said that the labor movement in this country at the present time was facing a most serious situation and that political action was necessary.

Delegate DI BLASI, New York, urged the convention to adopt the resolution.

Delegate BECKERMAN, New York, spoke against the resolution, and said that the time was not ripe for political action.

Delegate SNAPPER called for the previous question. (Motion carried.)

President HILLMAN: The question will now be placed before the house. Before placing the question, the chair will take this opportunity to state its position. It is very regrettable that when propositions are brought before the convention, certain delegates do not confine themselves to what the resolution says, but first frame a resolution of their own, and then oppose it be-

fore the convention. This resolution reads that the General Executive Board shall stand instructed to make a careful investigation on the question of political action, and after due deliberation, make recommendations to the general organization for political action that will represent the ideals and aspirations of our organization. There is nothing in this resolution that commits the convention to any existing political party. There is nothing in this resolution that even commits us to follow the general labor movement, if it takes political action. It does say that the time has come when the labor movement should look for a way out in political action.

Resolution adopted.

DELEGATION OF COATMAKERS

(At this juncture a group of 1,500 coatmakers marched through the hall, led by a band, and presented the convention with a large floral piece in the shape of an aeroplane.)

General Executive Board Member SKALA: Brother Chairman, and delegates: In presenting to you the coatmakers of this city, we cannot help but keep in mind the other groups that came to pay their tribute to this convention, day after day, ever since the opening last Monday. These different groups gave you a beautiful picture of true working-class solidarity.

As I saw these men and women standing in the rain this morning, I saw visions pass before me, visions of the struggles that were waged in this industry for years and years. I saw a vision of girls with torn dresses and bruised arms. I saw men with bandaged heads. I saw strikers carrying their comrade who was almost beaten to unconsciousness by the police. I saw the strikers as they marched in solemn procession to pay their last tribute to their comrade who sacrificed his life on the altar of humanity. I saw the Chicago jails filled

with strikers until over 2,000 arrests were made in one single strike.

And as these memories came back to me, I was wondering which was the greater honor, whether to sit here as a delegate to this convention and as a member of the General Executive Board, or to march in the ranks of those who made this organization possible. (Applause.)

I greet you, comrades, and I am proud to be one of this group of workers. I take great pleasure in introducing to you one of the coat makers' deputies, Brother Weinstein. (Applause.)

Brother WEINSTEIN: Brother Chairman, delegates, and friends: In the name of all those who were oppressed until 1918, but who have since been organized, in the name of those who have struggled, fought, suffered, and died for this organization that we have today, I cannot express in words the feeling that I have at the present moment.

I can only tell you that we greet you in the name of all these people who have been organized since 1918 and we wish you delegates a hearty welcome and hope that your deliberations may strengthen the organization towards a better future for all of us, that they will carry us towards unity and more unity in our organization, and hope that our ranks shall not be divided in the fight against the common enemy. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: I am sure that the delegates to the convention appreciate not only your presence, but your activities and your cooperation that have made the achievements of the organization possible. They are confident of your full co-operation in the future, so that we may go on and on along the road to further progress and achievements. I want, on behalf of the convention, to express our gratitude

to you members of the rank and file of our organization in this city. (Applause.)

Standards of Production

The Resolutions Committee had referred to it six resolutions relating to standards of production, week work, and the abolition of piece work. The committee recommended the adoption of the following substitute resolution:

SUBSTITUTE RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention, assembled in Chicago, reaffirm the action of the Fourth Biennial Convention at Boston, and refer it to the incoming General Executive Board.

The action of the Fourth Biennial Convention is as follows:

"Resolved, That we recommend the week work system with standards of production; and be it further

"Resolved, That the General Executive Board be empowered to inaugurate this system as soon as possible and determine the standards as conditions may require."

President HILLMAN: The motion is that our old position be reaffirmed. Are you ready for the question? All those in favor of the motion that the old position of the organization shall stand as the policy of the organization will signify by saying aye. Opposed, no. (The chair called for a division. There were 98 votes for and 63 against.)

Equal Pay to Women for Equal Work

RESOLUTION No. 178

(See Resolution No. 80, Page 358, Proceedings, May 11, 1922.)

Forty-Hour Week

The committee recommended non-concurrence with Resolutions Nos. 69, 55, and 102.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Thanking Jewish Bakers of Boston
for Assistance in Lockout**

RESOLUTION No. 145

Whereas, The Jewish Bakers of Boston voluntarily gave to the locked out members of the Amalgamated in Boston 3,000 rolls each day during the long lockout struggle in that city; and

Whereas, The contribution of the Jewish Bakers was of material assistance to the locked out members of our organization; and

Whereas, By this action the Jewish Bakers of Boston demonstrated their sympathy with the Amalgamated; and

Whereas, This expression of true working class solidarity was a source of great inspiration and help to our membership; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention extend its heartfelt thanks for the assistance so generously given and record its feeling of gratitude for the splendid example of solidarity and working class spirit shown by the Jewish Bakers of Boston.

Adopted unanimously.

Affiliation with Third International

The committee recommended non-concurrence with Resolutions Nos. 33, 106, 136, 157, and 186.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Children's Clothing Joint Board

RESOLUTION No. 144

(See action on Resolution No. 60, same subject, Page 359, Proceedings, May 11, 1922.)

Leadership

RESOLUTION No. 141

In order to maintain the class spirit in the organization, which is the first condition required for the real emancipation of the workers; be it

Resolved, That no member shall be nominated to leadership if he is

not known as a loyal soldier of the class struggle.

Adopted.

**International Unity of Labor
Organizations**

RESOLUTION No. 67

Whereas, The whole tendency of modern times is toward the international co-ordination of all movements and enterprises, whether they be of labor or capital; and

Whereas, These are times of monster combinations of capital, over-reaching all national boundaries, engaged in sinister attempts to defeat and crush the labor movement both within each nation and on an international scale; and

Whereas, A well-defined movement to defend the sacred cause of labor by co-ordinating our industrial organizations on an equally broad international scale is shown in the communications to the Amsterdam Trade Union International from the Moscow International of Labor Unions, inviting the former to participate in the formation of a United Front of all the labor unions of the world; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in its Fifth Biennial Convention assembled, express its approval of the efforts for a United Front of all the labor organizations of the world, and give its heartiest co-operation in the fight against organized capital.

Adopted.

**COMMITTEE ON REPORTS OF
OFFICERS**

Delegate GOLD, chairman, reported for the Committee on Reports of Officers:

Sick and Disability Benefits

The committee gave consideration to Resolutions No. 2, 39, 87, and recommended non-concurrence, believing that

it would be best at this time to refer the matter to the local unions for such action as they deem best.

Recommendation of the committee adopted.

Tuberculosis Sanatorium

Resolved, That the incoming General Executive Board be authorized to proceed immediately with the foundation of plans for the establishment of a sanatorium for the treatment of tubercular members of our organization, and the General Executive Board is instructed to present a plan for the financing of such an institution by the levying of a special per capita tax for its support.

President HILLMAN: The General Executive Board feels that it is very essential that we take care of our own members who are disabled by consumption, and therefore recommends that something should be done immediately to take such action in regard to the establishment of a sanitarium of our own as may be necessary.

Motion unanimously carried.

Federation of Independent Labor Organizations

RESOLUTION No. 43

Whereas, The official American labor movement, represented by the American Federation of Labor, does not give any support to independent labor organizations; and

Whereas, The joint efforts of the manufacturers are used against every union; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America promote a federation of all independent organizations.

The committee recommended non-concurrence on the ground that, regardless of the merits of the proposition, with the attempt to organize a federation of Needle Trades Workers still unsuccessful there is no justifica-

tion for attempting a federation as contemplated by the resolution.

Recommendation of the committee adopted.

Help for Russia

RESOLUTION No. 132

The committee recommended placing this resolution on file, as the subject was covered by resolution on this subject adopted unanimously (Page 371, Proceedings, May 11, 1922).

RESOLUTION No. 184

Resolution proposed working two hours for the Russian children.

Committee recommended non-concurrence. Recommendation adopted.

COMMITTEE ON MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

Delegate Wolf reported for the committee:

Wage Reductions

RESOLUTION No. 41

Whereas, After years of struggle and sacrifice the workers in the clothing industry have succeeded in bettering their conditions by reducing the hours of labor and advancing their wages in order to meet the high cost of living; and

Whereas, Since the war ended the employers all over the country have been using all their efforts in every possible way to reduce the wages of the workers, and diminish the conditions of the toilers; and

Whereas, Prevailing conditions in the clothing industry till now forced the organization to make compromises with the employers and to submit to certain reductions in wages of the clothing workers. In order to avoid struggles and to have our members employed so as to keep up the organization by making their sacrifices in reducing the wages of the workers. But this act encouraged the employers to make more demands from the workers, and this actually became

a habit or so to say a chronic disease where every season the employers trying their utmost to reduce these wages; be it

Resolved, That this convention go on record and declare itself that the last agreement made between the manufacturers and the union in the markets of Chicago and Rochester, and the reduction forced upon us last year in the New York market is the final concession given to our employers; and be it

Resolved, That this convention recommend to the incoming G. E. B. that no compromises are to be made in reducing the prevailing conditions in the organized centers of the A. C. W. of A. that exist today and make the employers realize that by no means we intend to go backwards but our aim will always be to go on forward, improving conditions of the workers.

And in order to carry out successfully our determination we propose that the incoming G. E. B. re-organize some local unions for a better defensive purpose and also carry on an agitation to encourage our members to take a more drastic stand against reducing wages in our shops.

Referred to General Executive Board.

Collective Bargaining

RESOLUTIONS Nos. 32, 115, 148

Resolutions proposed abolition of collective agreements.

Committee recommended non-concurrence; report of committee adopted.

Polish and Bohemian Papers to Be Published Weekly

RESOLUTION No. 174

Whereas, The information given the membership through our weekly publications is of great value as information and inspiration; be it therefore

Resolved, By this Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Chicago as-

sembled, that the Polish and Bohemian publications be issued, like the *Advance*, each week.

Referred to General Executive Board for action.

President HILLMAN: The Bohemian publication has been issued weekly for several months.

Delegate KRZYCKI announced that an invitation was extended to the delegates to visit Milwaukee.

Assistant Secretary POTOFSKY announced that an amnesty petition would be presented to the delegates as they left the hall and suggested that the delegates sign it.

Secretary-Treasurer SCHLOSSBERG read the following telegram from Moscow:

"Following from Moscow: 'All-Russian Jewish Publicom Organization for Relief Workers, Ukrainia, White Russia, sends fraternal greetings congress Amalgamated Union, Jewish toilers Ukrainia, White Russia, suffered terribly from bloody bandits raised by all capitalist governments. Shall never forget moral, material assistance from American workers, notwithstanding joint disco and other obstruction. Bloody pogroms ceased. Counter-revolution conquered, thanks effort proletarian Red Army. But heavy aftermath urges outside assistance in addition help rendered by workers. Soviet government engaged fighting famine, Volga. Workers Ukrainia, White Russia, call upon brothers Amalgamated for real constructive help reinstate country, guard interests international proletariat. Allow member presidium Publicom Rashkes greet congress our name and tell our needs and great struggle. Proletarian greetings.

"Members Presidium Publicom,
"MANDELSBERG, MINLIN,
CANTOR."

The session was adjourned until 1:30 p. m.

EIGHTH SESSION

Friday, May 12, 1922

1:30 P. M.

President HILLMAN called the eighth session to order at 1:30 p. m. Friday, May 12.

Assistant Secretary POTOFSKY read telegrams of greetings from the employees of Rogoff & Co., New York, and from Locale Italiano, Local 202, Rochester, A. C. W. A.

CONSTITUTION

President HILLMAN: The next subject to take up is the constitution. Brother Wolman will read it, section by section. The General Executive Board has gone over the constitution as a whole. We are not going to read only the changes to the delegates, but the constitution as a whole. The draft will not become the constitution unless adopted by a referendum vote.

Brother Wolman read the constitution, and the delegates voted favorably upon it, section by section.

CHICAGO PANTSMAKERS

(At this point the pantsmakers of Chicago entered the hall in a body and presented the convention with a large floral piece amidst loud cheering and applause.)

President HILLMAN: General Executive Board Member Marimpietri will introduce the committee in behalf of the pantsmakers' organization of the city. (Applause.)

General Executive Board Member MARIMPIETRI: Delegates and friends, sisters and brothers, I am very pleased, indeed, and it comes from the bottom of my heart, to have the honor and privilege of presenting to this convention the pantsmakers of this city. (Applause.) On the first day of the convention a group representing the coatmakers was introduced to you, and then the cutters and other cutters, and other coatmakers, and then the vest-makers. The pantsmakers seem to be

the last, but this very group was the first one that blew the spark into a flame in 1910 for the wonderful revolution in the garment industry. It may be a mere coincidence, but nevertheless they came in the proper time in the middle of our legislation, because no other group has any more right to be here than they, for they made it possible for us to legislate for the industry.

I take great pleasure in introducing to you one of the brothers who has done much to keep together this wonderful spirit of the pantsmakers of this city. (Applause.)

Brother HARRY SCHEPPS: Mr. Chairman, delegates, brothers and sisters and friends: I am not going to make a speech. I know that you have had many delegations from various branches of the trade. I want to say in the name of the officers and members of the Pantsmakers' Local 144 that we present to you this floral piece in the form of a loving cup in appreciation and love for the wonderful work of our leaders, with Brother Hillman at the top.

Yesterday morning's session of the convention was one of the greatest moments in the history of our organization, and one that I will not forget for a long time. I want to say to you that I am not a veteran of this local, for I was a member of Local 193 before joining Local 144; but here is one who was in it from the beginning, and that is Brother Spitzer. (Applause.)

Brother SPITZER: Mr. President, officers, and delegates to the convention: I am much pleased to have the honor at this great convention to say a few words in the name of our pantsmakers.

We feel proud of being members of this great organization, the Amalga-

mated Clothing Workers of America. The pantsmakers were already introduced, as they deserved to be introduced, by Brother Marimpietri. The pantsmakers were the first ones to have the courage to start the walkout in the Hart, Schaffner & Marx factory, which involved all the clothing workers of Chicago, and through which walkout we are in a position to sit here today and legislate for nearly 200,000 members of the great Amalgamated.

In the name of the pantsmakers, we wish that all delegates who are here today representing this great number of people go back and give the message that the Chicago people as a whole have realized from the very beginning the necessity of an organization, and there is no question in our minds that we will at all times realize the same principle, that we are conscientious members of a conscientious organization.

We will do our best after the convention is over to carry out every law that is decided upon here. (Applause.)

WOMEN PIONEERS

President HILLMAN: Delegates, there are certain notions that are accepted by the labor movement, which examination would show to be fallacies instead of facts. One of the notions is that women cannot be organized. The Chicago organization was started by a young woman working in one of the shops of Hart, Schaffner & Marx. It was also started in that part of the industry that is considered very hard to organize, and that is the pantsmakers' part of the industry.

It gives me real pleasure to present to you the leader of the revolution of 1910, Sister Anna Shapiro, and those who are left of the army of fourteen seamers who walked out of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx plant in 1910 and started the strike that was the beginning of our organization. (Prolonged applause.)

(At this point a delegation marched through the hall and presented the convention with a floral piece.)

NEW YORK THANKS CHICAGO

General Executive Board Member PETER MONAT: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I ask the convention for unanimous consent for the New York delegation to introduce a resolution.

There being no objection the following resolution was presented:

Whereas, Our membership in New York was locked out by the employers in New York, at the end of 1920, for the purpose of breaking our organization; and

Whereas, A struggle of many months was required to defend the life of the organization against powerful enemies; and

Whereas, In that hour of our great need the membership of the country came to our aid; and

Whereas, Among the cities that have come to our aid the Chicago organization made the most generous offering;

Therefore, the New York delegation takes this opportunity on behalf of the membership of New York to express to the delegates of all cities, and particularly to the Chicago membership, the profoundest gratitude and appreciation of the great help you have given us and the fraternal spirit in which you have done it.

Abraham Miller.

Peter Monat.

Nathan Siegel.

A. I. Shiplacoff.

Benne Romano.

I. Rappaport.

S. Zutkoff.

H. Heller.

Murray Weinstein.

A. Beckerman.

H. Jacobson.

Joseph E. Shea.

George Stone.

Abraham Silverman.

J. Goldstein.
 S. Lampert.
 Sam Katz.
 Harris Cohen.
 David Goldstein.
 Jake Itzkowitz.
 Morris Koffler.
 Morris Rappaport.
 Max Schultz.
 Nathan Wertheimer.
 Joe Cohen.
 H. Kalushkin.
 Harry Kantor.
 Abraham Hershkovitz.
 Bernard Lader.
 Samuel Liptzin.
 Jacob Pollock.
 Benjamin Reinisch.
 Samuel Herman.
 Jacob Schwartzberg.
 David Weiss.
 Morris Goldstein.
 Jacob Malkin.
 Frank Margolis.
 Sam Stein.
 Zelig Mandel.
 Hyman Novodvor.
 Isidor Fader.
 Joseph Leppo.
 J. B. Palionis.
 Jonas Takalaukas.
 William Cernis.
 John Kreaucevicus.
 Joe Catalanotti.
 Ruffino Conti.
 Giovanni Crispo.
 Sam La Scala.
 Michael Romano.
 Joseph Gluck.
 Abraham Yelowitz.
 Anthony Di' Blasi.
 Murray Zafrano.
 Theodore Pilger.
 B. Addeo.
 Anthony Belles.
 Harry Taylor.
 J. A. Valicenti.
 David Horowitz.
 I. Kagel.
 Phillip Kushner.
 Max Sahn.

Jack Covin.
 Max Potah.
 Jack Silver.
 Harry Yanofsky.
 Walter Weinstein.
 Max Schean.
 M. Urwand.
 Morris Epstein.
 Michael Rini.
 Sam Winter.
 I. Young.
 Lorenzo De Maria.
 Joseph Gold.
 Herman Bernstein.
 Rebecca Felsenfeld.
 Sam Fisher.
 Yudie Kanor.
 Ralph Prager.
 Sam Riger.
 Julius Powers.
 B. Goldscholl.
 Louis Stein.
 Peter Wisotsky.
 H. D. Angelo.
 Giuseppe Procopio.

President HILLMAN: The chair will take this opportunity to introduce one who, while not a delegate to this convention, is one of the men who has the privilege to represent one of our largest organizations, a man who has actively participated in the great lockout that took place in New York City a year ago, a man who has been at previous conventions, and even before he was actively connected with our organization has always helped the work and the upbuilding of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America—Manager of the New York Joint Board, Abraham I. Shiplacoff. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF A. I. SHIPLACOFF

Brother SHIPLACOFF: Brother Chairman, sisters, and brothers: I am going to omit the introduction of my speech, the usual introduction of being allowed to greet, et cetera, and I will tell you first of all that

while I am sorry for having declined the nomination to be a delegate to the convention, on the other hand, I find it is quite an advantage not to be one. In fact, it is a pretty safe insurance policy, at least against getting up and making foolish motions. (Laughter.)

There is another advantage in being an outsider. I think that within the last few days I probably have been able to size up the work of the convention more closely than some of you people who are in the arena, in the ring, and I think I have it sized up right.

Barring all the little mistakes that human beings usually make, I feel that if the work which you have already mapped out is carried out, this convention will be not only one of the greatest that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America ever had, but probably one of the most epoch-making conventions of any labor organization in this country. (Applause.)

There are three things that we must bear in mind as we leave this convention.

I believe that a very definite departure has been made by this convention in establishing a precedent contrary to precedents that have been established by representatives of the "officially organized labor movement of America."

We have heard time and again of the representatives of labor hobnobbing with members of a Civic Federation. I believe we have laid the foundation stone here this week for a new kind of Civic Federation, a Civic Federation of the Workers of the World, and that Civic Federation has been established by the fact that we have come out with an open hand and an open mind and an open heart to the aid of our starving and struggling brothers and sisters in Russia. (Applause.)

And I ask you, if we are not to come to their aid, who is to come to their

aid? No one expected Wall Street to help them, because Wall Street knows pretty well that if the spirit of Russia begins to dominate the world today, there will soon be no Wall Street in existence. (Uproarious applause.)

The second great piece of work for which a foundation was laid here was the federation of the needle industry. Those of us who are in the struggle, in direct contact with the actual work, are beginning to realize what a ridiculous arrangement it is for each one to be pulling his own load, whereas we can so conveniently discard the old one-horse car and put up a good, modern, up-to-date mode of conveyance and carry on our work by one powerful organization of the needle trades.

I want to assure you that no great deed can be done without having its effects. I can see now what a tremendous effect it will have upon the awakening of the workmen when the cloakmakers, the waistmakers, the furriers, the custom tailors, and all the needle workers join hands with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in one powerful industrial organization.

Last, but not least, is our own work, strengthening, perfecting and building our organization as much as possible, strengthening the weak places and making it a real, powerful force. Let me conclude by asking your permission, in view of the fact that I am in a sort of a religious environment here, to do two things: First, I want to offer up thanks to that invisible force that guides the progress of human destiny for the fact that so many of us have the faculty of imagination. If those of us who spent their early lives in the sweatshops did not have the vision to see the possibilities for labor and abolish that curse, we would not be where we are today. If the Russian pioneers could not have foreseen the future freedom for Russia, Russia to-

day would not be what it is, and I am therefore thankful for the natural gift that many of us possess of seeing things with the mind's eye long before the naked eye can see them. Second, I want permission to pray that we, as long as we cannot all be great, may all be big; that we may all outgrow our petty passions. May we take this word from here, particularly the three points which I have mentioned, and carry on, carry on with a big, broad spirit of genuine brotherly love?

In conclusion, in behalf again of the New York membership, and I am sure that I am expressing the thoughts and feelings of every one of them, I beg of you delegates to take home to your constituency the profoundest appreciation and gratitude of the members in New York who for twenty-seven weeks stood the brunt of the picket lines in the lockout, and to feel that it is you, in your beautiful spirit, who saved the situation for New York. (Great applause.)

President HILLMAN: The chair takes this opportunity to present to the convention one who I am sure is known to all the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who has been actively helpful in the building of the organization—Judge Jacob Panken of New York City. (Tremendous applause.)

ADDRESS OF JACOB PANKEN

Judge PANKEN: Mr. Chairman and comrades: In the first place, let me give my thanks to the General Executive Board and to the convention at large for the privilege that has been accorded me to come to this convention and again to rub shoulders with the representatives of the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

I keenly feel the honor which the invitation bespoke, and I am grateful for it. It feels good to come into a

convention of workers; it even feels good to hear applause and to hear a cheer. I am not usually met by applause or a cheer when I come to court, there is only a feeling of solemnity; everybody rises and waits until I sit down, and if I should not sit down for a day, they would keep standing until I made up my mind to sit down. The position to which I have been elevated, and in a large measure the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is responsible for my elevation, has sort of built a fence between me on the bench and the rest of the folks in the body of the court room.

After all, the only thing that is worth while to the thinking, reasoning, feeling human being is the movement, that movement which has for its purpose the upbuilding of a world in which there should be no misery, no crime, no poverty, the upbuilding of a world in which judges should not be necessary and in which lawyers should be put to work to make clothes instead of expounding the law. (Applause.)

Every time I have an opportunity to come, and to get in touch with the people, I take it. I want to feel the heart-pulse of the masses. I want to feel the thoughts that are transmitted to me by the waves that emanate from the minds of my fellow men.

When I sat here this morning and this afternoon and pondered the deliberations of this convention—and I had to ponder them—I will be frank and admit that I was surprised when I saw 1,500 men and women coming up this aisle and filing past the president and the General Executive Board, and filling the galleries, and bringing roses and laying them at the feet of the organization. I was surprised when I saw the men and women filing up this aisle this afternoon bringing a message of good-will, bringing not only a message but a pledge of loyalty, a pledge of solidarity, a pledge of fealty

to the cause of labor. I was surprised, surprised beyond measure of words, for I conjured up in my mind a picture to the south of Chicago, way down in the southland of our nation. I conjured up in my mind a picture with long, lanky Rosenblum in the capitol at Nashville, Tennessee, making points of order, making motions upon motions and being overruled. I conjured up in mind the picture of the men and the women who had been relegated into the balcony, into the gallery, and on a moment's notice walked down the capitol hill into a dingy room in Duncan Hotel, without music, without flowers, without a word of welcome. And so I saw two pictures—a picture of hope, a picture of crusaders firing the light and asking the masses of the people to rally around that light, and today I saw before me another picture, the organized men and women in the needle industry, responding, and who have responded; who are not only making a fight for a fair day's wage, for a fair day's work, but are laying the cornerstone for a new world, for a new idealism, for a new principle. (Tremendous applause.)

Comrades and fellow workers: I am interested in this convention, and I was interested in the work of the convention this morning. I heard your president, in discussing one proposition, say to the delegates that "we did not desire to be isolated." I remember Sidney Hillman with somebody else, I do not now recall the other, going to the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor and knocking upon the door. And I remember Shiplacoff being sent across the country to San Francisco to present the claim of the clothing workers of the United States. "We of the Amalgamated have no desire to be isolated," said the president. "Yet, have no desire to compromise. We want to stick by our guns. We want to

stick by the principles that animated us when we first organized."

I am interested particularly in the the work of the convention, because what the convention does reflects the collective mind of the organization. You, the spokesmen of those inarticulate men and women in New York, in Chicago, in Cleveland, in Syracuse, in Rochester, and away over on the Pacific Ocean, give voice to their aspirations, give articulation to their hopes in this convention.

The discussion today on one resolution was to me pregnant with tremendous possibilities, not only for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the World, but for the labor movement in America. It has always been the task of a pioneer to clear the path for those who were weak, and for those who were indifferent, and for those who were cowardly. It has been the business from time immemorial of the pioneer to go with his scythe or sickle and cut out the path in the underbrush, so that those who are weak may follow. You, today, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, by the adoption of a resolution with reference to political action, have laid the basis for a movement in the United States that will ultimately result in the capture of the American government by the workers, for the workers, and in the interest of the workers. (Applause.)

You have achieved, you have accomplished, you have done wonders. But my message to you this afternoon is, "Do not be satisfied with the achievements and the accomplishments that you have been able to get for the Amalgamated. Life itself does not progress, life itself does not continue, life itself does not reproduce itself, unless there is some dissatisfaction, unless there is discontent, unless there is a striving

ever for something better, a striving ever for something higher. In these labor organizations the children of discontentment are planting the seed of a new life, of a new world. (Applause.) The human race cannot any more be adequately supported by the earth alone. In order that the human race continue, in order that the human race live, and in order that the human race propagate, work must be done, men must be productive. We need co-ordination in life. We need organization. It is the trade union, it is the labor organization, that is preparing the working man to take over industry, co-ordinate it, organize it, and make use of it for the human race.

Comrades, at this time when you are meeting in your Fifth Convention, I want you to think back upon the history of your organization, ponder what is going on today, and from the past, and from the present, you will find the way for your activity in the future. I for one have no misgivings. I for one have no doubt as to the growth, as to the glory, as to the efficiency of this organization. I am hopeful, I know that you are not satisfied. I know that you do not believe in the status quo, I know that you want to march forward. I know that your eyes are directed to the east where the sun rises every morning. I know, comrades, that you are ready, ready to fight, and fight the masters. This is my message to you—fight, fight, fight the masters who control the world, so there is no room to fight among yourselves. Fight, fight, fight for a better world. Fight, fight, fight for your future—for the future is yours. (Tremendous applause.)

SUPPORT RUSSIAN PLAN

President HILLMAN: Delegates, before this convention has an opportunity to adjourn, a referendum vote

is already going on on some of the propositions taken up by the convention. I am happy to read to you a telegram from one of our local unions in New York City, Local 161, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America:

“Fraternal greetings to the Fifth Biennial Convention. Brothers, we the undersigned, wish to express our feeling with congratulations on the proposition of financing Russian clothing mills. We also appeal to all members of our organization to put aside their political views and support this to a successful end. Fraternally yours,

“LAPEL MAKERS' AND
PAIRERS' UNION,

“Local 161, A. C. W. of A., Louis
Labiento, Secretary.”

Even before this convention had an opportunity to report, we already have messages that it has expressed the spirit and desires of our membership all over. (Applause.)

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate GENIS, chairman, reported for the Committee on Education.

Educational Work

RESOLUTION No. 47

Whereas, The working class must rely upon its own education in order to attain both the immediate material ends of labor and to further the class consciousness and solidarity of labor at large; and

Whereas, The working class must rely upon its own ranks for those who are to be its honest and efficient representatives; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, delegates to the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, most urgently advise and will co-operate in the establishment of an “Educational Institution,” throughout the Amalgamated Republic, based upon a

sound and constructive class-conscious educational program, to be managed by competent persons, and to have for its ends the following goals:

1. Education primarily adapted to train workers in order that they may become efficient shop chairmen;

2. Education especially adapted for the training of business officials in order that they may be able more efficiently to serve the organization.

3. Education at shop meetings which is to interpret the daily occurrences and struggles of the shop in the light of the working class philosophy of the capitalist system;

4. Education at mass meetings in the form of lectures and debates which are to further the class consciousness and solidarity of our members;

5. Education for the militant members of our organization which is to consist of elementary Marxian economics, labor history, psychology, etc., this work to be carried on in connection with and with the co-operation of the official papers of our organization.

The committee recommended concurrence.

Delegate KATZ: I am opposed to this resolution for the reason that if education in the Amalgamated is necessary, then it should be done in the proper form. I believe the membership in the West does not know what education is necessary for the membership in the East.

President HILLMAN: The chair desires to state that the General Office has not assumed an attitude of not permitting joint boards to go on with their education, if they believe that the education of the General Office is not adequate. We do not claim for a moment that we have the most perfect program for educational activities, but we do know that until the General Office started an educational campaign in New York City, there was no educational work done in that city.

Report of committee adopted.

Education for Polish and Bohemian Members

RESOLUTION No. 176

Committee recommendation for reference to General Executive Board adopted.

COMMITTEE ON REPORTS OF OFFICERS

Delegate GOLD reported the following substitute for a number of resolutions on unemployment:

Unemployment Fund

SUBSTITUTE

Whereas, Unemployment is the most serious evil confronting the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and

Whereas, This organization went on record at its convention in Boston, in 1920, as favoring the creation of an unemployment fund contributed by the industry; and

Whereas, The agreements just signed by this organization provide for annual negotiations on this issue; therefore be it

Resolved, That this organization emphatically reiterate its position on this matter and instruct its general officers to take all the steps necessary for the establishment of such a fund.

Delegate SUGARMAN, Rochester, was opposed to the manufacturers participating in the unemployment fund, and asked for an explanation as to how the officers were going to go about establishing the fund.

President HILLMAN: The delegates do not seem to be satisfied with the resolution as read, but are trying to put up their own resolutions and present arguments against them. The convention acts only upon the resolution read to the convention. This resolution states that we consider it the responsibility of the industries to support the workers, or provide funds for the sup-

port of the workers, when there is unemployment.

The resolution was adopted.

Working Hours

RESOLUTION No. 147

Whereas, The capitalist system floods the world markets with its products by the development of machinery and the concentration of labor power;

Whereas, On account of long hours, the working season is shortened, a surplus of clothing is produced, and thousands of our union members are cast out of the shops; be it therefore

Resolved, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Local 54 of Brooklyn, demand that the decision of the Boston Convention which calls for a forty-hour week be instituted by beginning the work for this purpose.

Committee recommended reference to General Executive Board. Recommendation adopted.

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING SITUATION

Delegate GOLD: Your Committee on Report of Officers after going over the situation in the children's clothing trade of New York City makes the following report:

Resolved, That this convention express its whole-hearted approval and appreciation of the determined stand taken by the General Executive Board in the matter of the recent children's clothing workers' situation in New York for the protection of the interests of the organization. It is, however, the unanimous opinion of the committee that such matters of grave importance to the organization as those involved in the children's clothing situation should not be left to persons outside of our organization for determination. We realize that the general officers were prompted in their action entirely by the best interests and welfare of the organization; it is,

however, our conviction that all affairs of the Amalgamated should be dealt with by the Amalgamated alone. We recommend to the convention accordingly.

Recommendation adopted.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate KROLL reported for the Committee on Resolutions.

Freedom for Political and Working Class Prisoners

RESOLUTION No. 29

Whereas, A large number of workers are confined in federal and state prisons for no other crime than that of loyalty to their class and expressions of unpopular ideas; and

Whereas, A few, including Eugene V. Debs, imprisoned for the same offense as the others, have been pardoned; and

Whereas, Men like Jim Larkin, Tom Mooney, Warren K. Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti, and a large number of other political and industrial prisoners still languish in federal and state prisons; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, that we demand full and complete amnesty for all those prisoners; be it also

Resolved, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America co-operate with the rest of the labor movement for that purpose; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the president of the United States and to the governors of all states where political and working class prisoners are now confined.

Brother SCHLOSSBERG: This resolution takes the place of Resolutions Nos. 4, 19, 48, 58, 134 and 177, presented to the convention on the same subject.

Committee's recommendation for concurrence adopted.

Message to Russia

Brother KROLL: The Committee on Resolutions suggests that the following cablegram be sent to the president of the Russian Red Cross:

“To Soloviev, President, Russian Red Cross, Moscow:

“The Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America received with great joy and enthusiasm your message of fraternal greetings. The convention was thrilled by your statement that our contribution to the relief of the famine sufferers has saved 36,000 lives. This convention voted to organize a large corporation for the purpose of helping Russia on a large scale to reconstruct her economic life.

“We thank you heartily for your inspiring message.”

The delegates unanimously voted to send the message.

Affiliation with Other Labor Organizations

The committee had referred to it resolutions Nos. 34 and 54 relating to this subject. This subject was reported on by the Committee on Reports of Officers, which report has been concurred in by the convention. The committee therefore recommended said resolutions be placed on file.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE ON MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

Delegate WOLFE reported for the Committee on Miscellaneous Matters.

Abolition of Impartial Machinery

RESOLUTION No. 71

Whereas, Believing that as long as there are a ruling class and a ruled class, an economic organization must unceasingly struggle to maintain and wrest from the ruling class more and more of its power every day; and

Whereas, The impartial machinery as instituted by our organization places all the power in the hands of the impartial chairman; therefore be it.

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention instruct the General Executive Board that no future agreements be entered into between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the employers with a clause providing for impartial machinery; and be it further

Resolved, That the organization place itself in a position whereby it can perform its functions as sole guardian of the interests of the workers in our industry.

RESOLUTION No. 12

Resolved, That the impartial machinery be abolished on questions of wages, hours of labor, and discharge of workers; and be it

Resolved, That such questions be settled by both parties through negotiation or stoppage of industry.

The committee recommended non-concurrence.

Delegate SUGARMAN, Rochester, stated that he was in favor of abolishing the impartial machinery policy.

Delegate Licastro, Rochester, pointed out some of the injustices of the impartial machinery.

Delegate WEINSTEIN, New York, stated that he wanted to go on record as favoring the impartial machinery, and that it was the duty of the convention to non-concur.

Delegate DIBLASI also was in favor of continuing the impartial machinery.

President HILLMAN: The previous question has been called for. All in favor that the question shall be put, say aye. Opposed, no. The ayes have it.

It is very unfortunate that delegates to the convention, at least a number of them, still consider the convention

a place to come to and announce certain theories that they themselves will not fight for in life.

It is a very, very peculiar situation that this convention is asked to legislate to abolish the impartial machinery, after we have made agreements in Chicago and in Rochester for three years. Regarding the situation in New York, we have not abolished it. Naturally, the convention can pass any resolution, but I believe we might better try to do away with all the foolish notions that are so much in the way of real constructive work in the organization. The idea that the impartial machinery destroys the spirit of the membership is ridiculous. I believe that during the convention the contrary has been shown. I do not believe that any of the delegates will question that there is the proper organization spirit in this city. The position of the organization is, and I hope will be for years to come, that it will determine by negotiation what problems it will submit to the arbitration machinery, but it will hold on to the impartial machinery for the adjustment of matters that come up in the period between negotiations. I believe that our organization has paid too great a penalty for the lack of indi-

vidual judgment in adjustment of complaints.

We know that we have made some mistakes in the past, but the new agreements have limited the power of the impartial machinery. I still believe in this machinery, after being personally largely responsible for its introduction, not as a fetish, not as a cure-all, but as a sensible way to avoid friction on matters where there should be no room for friction. Therefore I hope that the convention will support the report of the committee and non-concur in the resolution.

(Division was called for. The recommendation for non-concurrence was carried by a vote of 128 to 45.)

COMMITTEE ON LABELS

President HILLMAN appointed the following Committee on Labels:

Joseph Hadac, Local 6, Chicago, chairman; Alex Cohen, Local 1, Boston, secretary; Theodore Pilger, Local 101, New York, J. Miller, Local 38, Chicago, Henry Ortibln, Local 188, Cincinnati, H. Pittler, Local 86, Pittsburgh, Mabel Ashcraft, Local 275, Chicago, J. Katz, Local 141, Philadelphia, B. Goldscholl, Local 50, New York.

The convention thereupon adjourned until 9:30 the following morning.

NINTH SESSION Saturday, May 13, 1922 9:30 A. M.

President Hillman called the convention to order at 9:30 A. M., Saturday, May 13, 1922.

Assistant Secretary Potofsky read messages of greeting from the following organizations:

Local 3, A. C. W. of A., New York City, N. Y. Joseph Horowitz, Secretary-Treasurer.

Employes of Waldman-Kelles Pants Shop, New York City, N. Y.

"Chicago, Ill.

"Heartiest congratulations to your Fifth Biennial Convention, assembled in this city. You are leading the labor movement to the golden era of human happiness.

"EXECUTIVE BOARD, 478 W. C."

"Greetings: May your strenuous efforts and good work towards the

emancipation of the working class bear its fruit.

"CLOAK AND SUIT TAILORS'
UNION, Local 9, I. L. G. W. U."

"Please convey to officers and delegates of your convention the heartiest greetings and congratulations from the International Fur Workers' Union. May your deliberations result in still greater accomplishments for your organization and be helpful to the rest of our movement.

"MORRIS KAUFFMAN, President,
"ANDREW WENNEIS, Secretary-
Treasurer."

"The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, Local 169, of the Bronx, express their deepest solidarity with you and send you best wishes and success.

"M. RUBENSTEIN, Secretary."

COMMITTEE ON LAW

Delegate McKAY, chairman, reported for the committee:

Status of Members Leaving Trade

The new constitution submitted to the convention yesterday provides that when members leave the trade, and are not in the employ of the organization they do not retain active membership in the organization. They can hold their membership, but they cannot participate in union meetings, or in any election, local or otherwise. Whenever they re-enter the trade they may come back as active members. This constitutional recommendation is offered as a substitute for the following resolutions relating to the subject which the committee asks be placed on file:

Resolution No. 183, introduced by Local 19, New York City; Resolutions Nos. 40 and 171, introduced by Local 22; Resolution No. 125, introduced by delegates of Local 3; Resolutions Nos. 127 and 167, introduced by delegates of Local 5; Resolution No. 161, introduced by delegates of

Local 8; Resolution No. 129, introduced by delegate of Local 208.

The action of the committee was concurred in.

Shop Delegate Representation

The committee recommends the following resolutions be placed on file, as the new constitution, to be submitted for adoption to the membership, deals with the subject:

Resolution No. 105, introduced by Local 269; Resolution No. 11, introduced by delegates from Locals 209, 157 and 167; Resolution No. 128, introduced by Delegate Velona of Local 208; Resolution No. 65, introduced by delegates of Local 270; Resolution No. 164, introduced by Delegate Koslovsky of Philadelphia; Resolution No. 137, introduced by delegates of Local 138; Resolution No. 89, introduced by delegates of Local 102.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Per Capita Tax

Resolution No. 63, introduced by delegates of Montreal; Resolution No. 175, introduced by Locals 230 and 100, were ordered placed on file, as the new constitution approved at the session of May 12 contained a provision dealing with the subject.

Selection of Editor for Lithuanian Official Paper

The committee recommended non-concurrence in Resolution No. 153 and the committee's recommendation was adopted.

Reports of General Executive Board to Locals

RESOLUTION No. 111

Whereas, The meetings of the General Executive Board have not been held regularly as provided for by article 5, paragraph 2, of the constitution; and

Whereas, The local unions are not informed through written reports of

the sessions of the General Executive Board that are to be held every three months; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention directs that meetings of the above mentioned body be held regularly and that written reports of each session be issued to all local unions of the A. C. W. of A.

Committee recommended reference to incoming G. E. B. Recommendation adopted.

COMMITTEE ON APPEALS AND GRIEVANCES

Delegate MAX MICHAELSON, chairman, reported for the committee:

Appeal of Philip Shieber

The Committee on Appeals went into the case of Brother Phillip Shieber, formerly of Local 39, Chicago, who appeals against the decision of the General Executive Board, which sustained the action of the Appeal Board of the Chicago Joint Board, that he shall stand expelled from the organization.

The committee, after examining at length the evidence and the testimony presented in this case by Phillip Shieber, and the various witnesses called before the committee, unanimously agreed to sustain the decision of the General Executive Board.

The committee is of the opinion that Phillip Shieber shall continue to work at the trade, if he so desires, without interference on the part of our organization.

Delegate SCHNEID spoke on behalf of Brother Shieber, and was replied to by General Executive Board member ROSENBLUM.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Appeal of Max Tigerman

The Committee on Appeals and Grievances heard the case of Brother Max Tigerman of Local 271, Chicago, who appealed against the decision of the General Executive Board, which

sustains the action taken by the Appeal Board of the Chicago Joint Board, assessing him \$25 and also barring him from attendance at local meetings for a period of six months on account of not paying an assessment levied by this local, and for slandering the organization and its officers.

The committee listened to the testimony of Brother Max Tigerman, and also the explanation of Brothers Taylor and McKay, and it unanimously decided that the action taken was necessary in order to preserve discipline in the organization, and therefore confirmed the decision of the General Executive Board.

The committee recommendation was adopted.

Sol. Cutler vs. Shirt Makers' Joint Board, New York

In the case of the Shirt Makers' Joint Board, New York, which refused to abide by the decision of the General Executive Board to issue ex-Manager Sol. Cutler a withdrawal card on his application for such, the committee heard the delegates of the Shirt Makers' Joint Board, and after examining at length all records connected with the case, the committee finds that Sol. Cutler was entitled to a withdrawal card in accordance with our constitution. We therefore recommend that the General Executive Board be sustained.

President HILLMAN: Is there any one to speak for the Shirt Makers' Joint Board on this proposition?

Delegate STERN, Local 248, explained the reasons of the Shirt Makers' Joint Board in refusing to abide by the action of the General Executive Board.

Secretary-Treasurer Schlossberg explained the position of the General Executive Board.

The recommendation of the committee that the General Executive Board be sustained was concurred in.

Appeal of Local 169 re Its Jurisdiction

This is an appeal from the decision of General Secretary Brother Schlossberg, who acted as arbitrator in the jurisdictional dispute between Locals 169 and 19. Your committee, after examining thoroughly the records and the testimony in the case, unanimously recommends that the decision of the General Secretary, Brother Schlossberg, in the above case be sustained, and that Local 169 be ordered by this convention to abide by the decision.

President HILLMAN: Local 169 not being represented, we shall read a letter from them. (Letter read.)

General Secretary Schlossberg stated the reasons for his decision.

The recommendations of the committee were adopted.

Appeal of Brother Zorn, Local No. 1, Boston

The Committee on Appeals and Grievances heard Brother Zorn of Local No. 1, Boston, who appealed against the decision of the General Executive Board that he shall not be permitted to hold any office in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for a period of five years, as provided by the constitution. After listening to the lengthy explanation and defense of Brother Zorn and his witnesses, the committee unanimously decided to confirm the decision of the General Executive Board.

President HILLMAN: The committee's recommendation is that the position of the General Executive Board be sustained by the convention. I will ask the delegates of Boston to ask the convention for special permission to hear Brother Zorn.

The Boston delegation asked permission of the convention to hear Brother Zorn, which was granted.

President HILLMAN informed Brother Zorn that the rules of the

convention were that fifteen minutes would be allowed to each side to state its position.

Brother ZORN made a lengthy defense of himself lasting for half an hour, during which he appealed to the members not to sustain the action of the General Executive Board.

President HILLMAN spoke for the executive committee and stated the position of the General Executive Board.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President HILLMAN: We want the Boston delegation to understand that they are to accept the decision of this convention in good faith.

Delegate MICHAELSON: I have a communication from Brother Ludwig, who has been found guilty and asks for clemency.

President HILLMAN: Refer it to the incoming General Executive Board. Is there any objection? No objection. So ordered.

Delegate MICHAELSON: I have here an appeal from Nathan Klein, appealing from the decision of the General Executive Board, but he does not state what.

Ordered placed on file.

COMMITTEE ON REPORTS OF OFFICERS

Delegate GOLD, chairman, reported: We have received the following recommendation of the General Executive Board:

Purchase of Building for National Office

Resolved, That this convention authorizes the General Executive Board to purchase or build a home for the General Office as in its judgment it may find appropriate.

Adopted.

COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Delegate HADAC, chairman, reported: The Committee on Labels con-

sidered the following resolutions: Resolution No. 96, introduced by Local 5, and Resolution No. 25, introduced by Local 178.

The committee recommends the following substitute for the resolutions:

Distribution of Label

SUBSTITUTE RESOLUTION

We, the Committee on Labels, after careful consideration given to the resolutions No. 25 and No. 96, reached the conclusion that the present method of distributing the label of the A. C. W. of A. is sufficient. We are convinced that the organization will be more benefited if the energies and funds of the organization be applied to organizing the workers in the industry who are still unorganized than to the promotion of the union label.

Recommendation of committee concurred in.

COMMITTEE ON LAW

Delegate McKAY reported for the committee.

Salary of General Officers

RESOLUTION No. 15

(Resolutions Nos. 101, 30, 180, 151, 154, 139, same subject.)

Resolved, That the compensation of the General President and General Secretary-Treasurer be reduced to \$5,000 per year.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in this resolution.

Delegate McKAY: I wish to announce, delegates, that this is one of seven resolutions on the same subject. I read this resolution of \$5,000 a year for the reason that the committee considers it as representative of all introduced on the subject. If there is a demand from the body I will read every resolution.

At this point, General Executive Board Member Marimpietri took the chair.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE ON MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

Delegate WOLFE, chairman, reported for the committee.

Editorship of Lithuanian Official Paper

RESOLUTION No. 108

Resolution was to the effect that the Lithuanian locals be permitted to recommend an editor for "Darbas."

Committee's recommendation of non-concurrence adopted.

Fixing Anniversary of Day Organization Was Formed as Holiday

RESOLUTION No. 133

The committee recommendation of non-concurrence was adopted.

CHICAGO SHOP CHAIRMEN

The officers and deputies of the Chicago Joint Board, the office employes of the Joint Board and the Chicago shop chairmen and chairladies marched into the hall accompanied by the Amalgamated Band, and presented the convention a floral piece. (Tremendous applause, everybody rising.)

President HILLMAN: We have the pleasure of having with us at the convention the captains of the Chicago army of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the World.

I will call upon General Executive Board member, and the manager of the Chicago Joint Board, Brother Levin, to introduce to you the chairmen and chairladies of the Chicago organization who are here. (Applause.)

Brother LEVIN: (Loud applause.) Brother President, delegates, officers of the Chicago organization, and sisters and brothers: Last Monday, when the convention opened, the shop chairmen and executives of Chicago bade you welcome to our city. You have been here a week. You have seen demonstration after demonstration of workers, not

organized with a purpose, but only with the intention of celebrating the convention while in our city and showing the delegates from other cities that the Chicago organization is composed of members who know the labor movement and who assume the responsibilities, and appreciate the importance of the convention legislating for the future of our organization. (Tremendous applause.)

This morning we have with us the Joint Board, the executives of all local unions, the shop chairmen and chair-ladies, the captains who are carrying out the legislation adopted at conventions and at the joint boards. I am proud to say on behalf of these officers who are with you this afternoon, that we have here in the city an army of executives and officers and shop chairmen who will carry out the legislation which has resulted from your deliberations 100 per cent. (Applause.)

These are the people who have served the labor movement, and who not only made sacrifices for our own industry, but who stretched out their hands to help the steel strikers. When the General Executive Board, at its historical meeting, called during the lockout in New York, asked for help, the Chicago delegation pledged one-half a million dollars, and it was these captains that caused the Chicago contribution to go over the top. (Applause.) It is these captains who responded in full measure in the organization's work for the relief in Russia.

Last winter, with our agreements expiring, these officers and captains, realizing the responsibilities to the workers whom they represented, made possible the collection of a reserve fund big enough so that if we were challenged, we would be able to take up the challenge. (Applause.)

We have an organization in Chicago that is united on an industrial basis, and we have an organization such that, when once something is taken up

and decided upon, it means that the entire industry in the city of Chicago is united in carrying it out. We hoped at the opening of the convention that the convention would be imbued with the spirit of the Chicago organization, and it is our good fortune on the last day to come and say that our hopes have come true. Today, the last day of the convention, we are here to bid you farewell, and we hope that you shall take our spirit to your cities, and with the united spirit we shall make a stronger Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (Loud applause.)

For the last year and a half in Chicago we have been deliberating about opening the first labor bank in this city. We wanted to make sure that the Amalgamated would set the pace in this matter, as in many other labor activities in Chicago. We thought the matter over carefully before we decided on action. In Chicago, we are sure that once the organization decides something, it is going to be here, and it is here already. (Applause.)

This very same army, these very same captains are the ones who cooperate with the organization on every subject and every project, and it is these very same people who are pledged to make a success of the Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank, as with everything else we have undertaken in Chicago. (Applause.)

We hope that Chicago will get the proper co-operation, the same co-operation that Chicago is willing to give, not only to our own brothers and sisters, but to the entire labor movement as well. Here in Chicago we are practically the only organization that is imbued with the real international spirit.

You delegates, no doubt, have been able to size up the people who marched into this hall all week—people from all walks of life, with different beliefs and different religions, with different ideas, but they have all learned one thing,

and that is the Amalgamated above everything else. (Applause.)

My friends, this convention, with the proceedings and with the legislation adopted to be carried out during the next two years, will require our united energy and united efforts to bring them to a successful conclusion. We shall do our best and we shall be ready for even further opportunities. (Tremendous applause.)

President HILLMAN: The chair will now introduce to you the financial secretary of the Chicago organization, to greet the convention on behalf of the office staff of the Chicago Joint Board, Brother Burr. (Applause.)

Brother BURR: Mr. President and delegates: I should like to address the convention at this time, but I have been talking so much all week that my voice is gone. I want to extend to you the greetings of the office force. I want you to understand that here in Chicago not only the membership works for the organization, but everyone who is connected with the Chicago Joint Board works for the welfare of the organization. Those girls up there in the gallery work just as conscientiously as any officer or any one connected with the organization. During the winter we have a series of educational concerts and meetings, and when these girls have done their day's work and are asked to usher at these meetings at night, they always respond and never fail.

On behalf of the Band of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers I also extend greetings. We have fifteen of them here with us today. (Applause.)

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CO-OPERATION

Delegate TAYLOR, chairman, reported for the committee.

Establishment of Banks

Whereas, The Chicago Joint Board has organized a State Bank in the

City of Chicago, capitalized at \$200,000 with a reserve of \$100,000 owned and controlled by the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and

Whereas, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is dedicated to the proposition of promoting activities in the interests of the labor movement, and extending the influence and effectiveness of organized labor in various directions; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention extend its heartiest congratulations to the Chicago membership upon its splendid foresight and courage in organizing a bank, to be owned by Amalgamated members; and be it further

Resolved, That our local organizations and the entire membership be called upon to do all in their power to assure the success of the Amalgamated Bank in Chicago; and be it further

Resolved, That the General Executive Board be instructed to lend all possible aid to promote the organization of similar banking and co-operative enterprises by other local bodies of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Adopted unanimously.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate STONE reported for the committee:

Thanks to Arrangement Committee

RESOLUTION No. 92

Whereas, The Arrangement Committee of Chicago has done wonderful work for the out of town delegations and has shown great taste and judgment in making things as pleasant as possible;

Resolved, That the Fifth Biennial Convention unanimously extend the heartiest thanks for the hard work put in to make this convention the greatest the Amalgamated has ever had.

President HILLMAN: Motion is made for a rising vote.

(Whereupon the convention unanimously arose and greeted the resolution with cheers.)

(A photograph of the convention was then taken.)

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Delegate PEARLMAN, chairman, reported for committee:

Requests for Financial Assistance

There is an appeal from the New York "Call." The committee recommends favorable action and refers it to the General Executive Board for action.

Recommendation adopted.

Appeal made for financial assistance by the Federated Press. The committee recommended favorable action and referred request to the incoming General Executive Board.

Adopted.

Appeal made by Secretary Nockels for financial assistance for the Mooney case. Committee recommended reference to the General Executive Board.

Recommendation concurred in.

Young People's Socialist League. The committee recommended a contribution of \$100.

Report of committee adopted.

Jewish Socialist Institute of Northwest Side, Chicago. The committee recommended a donation of \$100.

Adopted.

Request for financial assistance for the Modern School Association at Stelton, New Jersey. The committee recommended donation of \$150.

Carried.

Communication from Naturalization Aid League for financial assistance. Recommended favorably to the General Executive Board.

Recommendation concurred in.

Appeal made by the Jewish Book Fund for Russia. The committee referred this appeal favorably to the General Executive Board.

Recommendation concurred in.

Communication from "Labor Age" for financial assistance. The committee recommended a donation of \$100.

Carried.

Financial assistance to the Rand School of Social Science (Resolution No. 156). The committee recommended this to the General Executive Board for consideration and recommendation.

Report of committee concurred in.

Appeal for financial assistance to the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (Resolution No. 114). The committee recommended that the matter be referred to the General Executive Board for favorable action.

Report of committee concurred in.

Communication from the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America, also Resolutions Nos. 88 and 38, requesting assistance to the striking textile workers. The committee recommended favorably on this matter to the General Executive Board.

Report of committee concurred in.

Resolution No. 179, introduced by Delegate Horowitz of Local 158, to give financial assistance to the Consumptive Relief Association of California. The committee recommended favorably this matter to the General Executive Board.

Report of committee concurred in.

Communication from the Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home, Denver, Colorado, asking financial assistance. The recommendation of the committee was that \$100 be given.

Carried.

Communication from Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee; subject, financial assistance. The committee recommended that a donation of \$1,000 be given.

Recommendation adopted.

Resolution No. 166, asking that financial assistance be given the "Avanti" Publishing Company, was recommended by the committee to be

referred to the General Executive Board for consideration.

Recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 135, asking that financial assistance be given to the Workers' Defense Union and the General Defense Committee of Chicago. The committee recommended favorably on these requests to the General Executive Board.

Report of committee adopted.

Communication from the United Hebrew Trades of Chicago. The committee recommended \$300.

Report of committee adopted.

Communication from the "Messenger" magazine. This is a magazine of the colored workers. The recommendation was that \$100 be donated toward this magazine.

Delegate BECKERMAN amended the recommendation of the committee, and said that a donation of \$250 should be given.

Delegate La SCALA pointed out the important work that this magazine was doing for the colored workers, and asked that a donation of \$500 be given.

Delegate PEARLMAN: The committee will accept the recommendation that \$250 be given.

President HILLMAN: The committee recommends \$250. Any objection to this recommendation?

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Appeal by Walter B. Fogarty, United Shoe Workers of America, and Resolution No. 107. The committee recommended that the appeal be referred to the Rochester Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Recommendation of committee concurred in.

COMMITTEE ON MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

Delegate WOLFE, chairman, reported for the committee:

Payment for Legal Holidays

RESOLUTION No. 124

Resolved, That the convention go on record favoring presentation of a demand to the manufacturers that the workers be paid for legal holidays.

Committee recommendation to refer to General Executive Board concurred in.

Preference of Employment

RESOLUTION No. 121

Resolution urged that preference in employment be given to those directly dependent on the trade.

Committee recommendation of non-concurrence adopted.

Jurisdiction of Operators' and Pressers' Locals

RESOLUTION No. 83

Whereas, The General Executive Board of the A. C. W. of A. established a Pressers' Local in Greater New York, and since the organization of the A. C. W. of A. has held to a policy of not permitting operators' locals to accept pressers as members; and

Whereas, The General Executive Board of the A. C. W. of A. has recently chartered a new Russian local known as Local 103, and the said new local, ever since it was chartered, has been taking and actually forcing members of Local 30 to leave that local and join Local 103 contrary to the understanding that was made by General Executive Board Member Hyman Blumberg at the time he organized the Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board; therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America be and hereby is requested to instruct Local 103

to abide by the understanding that was made by a general officer of our organization and accepted by all of the locals in the children's clothing trade.

Committee recommendation of reference to General Executive Board adopted.

Competition Between Cities in Matter of Wages, Etc.

RESOLUTION No. 74

Whereas, Various standards of wages and working systems in the different organized cities are very detrimental to the solidity of our organization in its daily efforts; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Chicago assembled, instruct the incoming General Executive Board in all its new agreements that one city will not be in competition with another.

Resolutions Nos. 57 and 81 deal with the same subject matter.

Committee recommended that Resolutions Nos. 74, 57, 81 be referred to General Executive Board. Report of the committee adopted.

The session was then adjourned to meet at 2:30 o'clock p. m.

TENTH SESSION

Saturday, May 13, 1922

2:00 P. M.

President Hillman presiding.

Delegate McKAY, chairman of Committee on Law, reported:

Eligibility of Paid Officials As Members of General Executive Board

RESOLUTION No. 162

(Also Resolutions Nos. 172, 173, same subject.)

The committee's recommendation of non-concurrence was adopted.

Delegate McKAY moved that Resolution No. 104, relating to representation in conventions, and Resolution No. 126 on term of office, be placed on file, as these subjects were dealt with in new constitution.

Motion carried.

Delegate GOLDMAN of Local 15, Baltimore: Is a motion in order?

The CHAIRMAN: Not unless you get the unanimous consent of the convention. Is there any objection to granting Delegate Goldman the floor at this time? No objection.

Delegate GOLDMAN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, in view of the

fact that almost three days of the period allowed for the convention were taken up by preliminary work, the Baltimore delegation and I feel that the period of the conventions should be extended from the time allowed now to a ten-day period.

President HILLMAN: It has been suggested that the time of the convention be extended from one week to ten days.

Delegate GOLD, New York: I second the suggestion if all conventions are to be held at Chicago. (Laughter.)

President HILLMAN: The way to do that is to legislate it and make it compulsory. Is there any discussion on the suggestion made by the delegate from Local 15?

Delegate RIGER, New York, spoke against the suggestion, as it would only serve to increase expenses.

President HILLMAN: Are there any further remarks? Are you ready for the question?

Delegate KATZ, New York, spoke against the suggestion and suggested that in the future the General Executive Board should arrange so that the delegates have more time to speak.

Delegate GENIS, St. Paul, opposed the motion and said that past experience had proven that the General Executive Board could safely be entrusted with the work of the organization, and it was therefore unnecessary to extend the time of the convention and greatly increase expenses.

President HILLMAN: There is nothing before the convention. The delegates may initiate a referendum vote or they may have the General Executive Board initiate a referendum vote. It is well for the delegates to understand that, hard as the officials of the convention may try, the first few days are naturally taken up with preparatory work. We cannot bring any business before the convention until the delegates are seated, committees appointed, resolutions referred to them and they begin making reports on the resolutions. Because there are too many resolutions introduced it is impossible for the delegates to give as much time to some of the resolutions as may be deemed necessary. It is well, however, for the delegates to give careful consideration to this matter. If they so desire, they may ask the General Executive Board to initiate a referendum vote, or five local unions from different states may initiate such referendum.

Brother Miller of New York, asked permission to present some matter on behalf of the Boston delegation.

Permission granted.

ABRAHAM MILLER: Mr. Chairman, delegates and friends. I wish to express the thanks of the Boston delegation and also my personal

thanks to the Chicago organization for the splendid assistance that the organization here has rendered to the city of Boston during the historic lockout. About a year ago today we were in the throes of one of the blackest conspiracies that was hatched in New York and Boston by the manufacturers in order to break up our organization. I had the honor to take care of the Boston situation during the lockout, and I wish at this moment to express the thanks to the Boston delegation for the wonderful co-operation and sacrifice that was given in that strike to us by the Chicago organization. (Applause.) I wish to read to you a resolution signed by all the delegates of the city of Boston. A copy of this resolution will be engraved and presented to the Chicago Joint Board. This is the resolution (reading):

Whereas, In the crisis our organization met with in the winter of 1920-21, the Boston clothing manufacturers attempted to smash our union by rushing to the aid of the New York employers in the crusade of the latter against the Amalgamated for the establishment of the so-called open shop;

Whereas, The Chicago members were most generous in the aid given our locked-out members, so that the A. C. W. of A. might win the struggle; be it

Resolved, That the Boston delegation to this Fifth Biennial Convention of the A. C. W. of A. express their gratitude for the splendid hospitality of the Chicago Joint Board and take this opportunity to express the sincere gratitude of the Boston Amalgamated Clothing Workers to the Chicago Amalgamated Clothing Workers and our admiration of the brotherly manner in which the great

help was given to us in the hour of our great need.

A. J. Bowden	J. Leikis
F. Carroll	D. Genovese
S. Rosnitsky	S. Trachtenberg
F. Lerman	M. Kaufman
M. Willinsky	A. Ramuglio
Wm. Ginsburg	A. Landfield
A. Cohen	N. Biller
H. Wiseberg	A. Raiser
S. Di Pasquale	H. Levin
F. Falcone	B. Skerstons
A. Martini	L. Hollander
M. Masselli	S. Albert
S. Pukiaricia	Joseph Salerno

Mr. MILLER: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I need not say any more except this: Had it not been for the splendid help of the Chicago organization and of the organizations in all other cities, our organization in Boston would have suffered very much. With that help we have won out. Let everybody know that we shall never forget the wonderful assistance and real brotherly love and solidarity of our fellow workers. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: It is very regrettable that the convention is now coming to a close and we have not the opportunity to receive as good and elaborate a report as we would otherwise wish on the investigation that Brother Schlossberg made when he was abroad and when he came in contact with the labor movement in different countries. Brother Schlossberg had the opportunity especially to investigate conditions of the labor movement in Italy. I say, it is really regrettable that we will not be able to receive a full report. I take this opportunity, before the close of the convention, to call upon Brother Schlossberg to give the convention a brief report of his experiences with the labor movement abroad. (Prolonged applause.)

Mr. SCHLOSSBERG: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I am afraid that

if you keep up the ovations at this rate, the coming conventions will have to last ten weeks instead of ten days, as suggested this afternoon. (Applause and laughter.)

Delegates and friends: I want to submit to you now, very briefly, a message of internationalism. If the convention had more time I would take more time. Now, I shall touch but briefly upon a few of the leading points. My observations abroad have been published in a series of articles in our press, whenever I had time to write them. Some more will be published later, those parts of my observations which have not yet become obsolete.

The General Executive Board, in accordance with instructions received by the Boston convention, honored me with the election as delegate to the International Clothing Workers' Congress at Copenhagen, August, 1920. That was my first opportunity to see the labor movement in Europe. For that matter, it was my first opportunity to see Europe. I was born in Europe and lived there a few years; but it was not really in Europe; it was in the pale of settlement in Russia. In all the years I have been here, I have been dreaming of the international labor movement and the brotherhood of the workers of the world. I read as much as a worker here can read of the labor movement in the various countries. I listened to some people who came here from European countries and learned whatever little one could learn in that manner. I had never had an opportunity to see those movements myself, with my own eyes, get my impressions first hand and bring them back to you. I was, therefore, grateful for the opportunity to go to the other side and come in personal touch with the European labor move-

ment. There I met with very pleasant surprises, and also with painful disappointments. My first disappointment in connection with the trip was right here, when the British representatives in this country refused to honor the passport given to me by the government of the United States, recommending me, through that passport, to admission to England, and I had to cancel my ticket and go to Europe by another way.

I attended the conference of the clothing workers at Copenhagen. That was the first gathering of an international character in this industry since the war. The one before that was held in Vienna in 1913, the year before the war. The next congress was to be held in 1916, but the war made it impossible. It was quite thrilling to me to meet the representatives of the different countries so soon after the war. The internationalism that one of us finds in Europe is at least in one respect different from the internationalism which we have here. We have in our convention here an international family, representatives from all the different nationalities, but they are all workers living in this country with whom we meet every day in the year. At the Copenhagen congress I came in contact with representatives from various countries, who had come from their several countries and later went back from the congress to their respective countries. That internationalism is, therefore, in a sense a more real one. It was very pleasant to meet with the representatives of the different countries and legislate with them for the clothing industry in all of those European countries. This Clothing Workers' Federation is of great value to the European workers. It was my impression that the relationship among the clothing workers in the several

countries in Europe is somewhat similar to the relationship among the several clothing markets in America. So are the geographical distances. Thus, the international organization is perhaps as necessary for the European workers as our own organization is here for the workers in the different cities, to co-ordinate and supervise the work of our organization in the different parts of the country.

The congress at Copenhagen adopted resolutions in favor of industrial unionism in the full sense of that term. Industrial unionism is much more general and more firmly established in the European labor movements than in this country. The congress also adopted resolutions in various other respects to strengthen and make more effective the organization work in the clothing industry. In Europe, the clothing industry is very backward, as compared with the clothing industry here. There are few factories of the kind we have here. The development of machinery has not reached the stage that it has here, and there is still very much home work. In some cases the bulk of the membership consists of home workers. They come into a store, something as journeymen tailors do here, take a few garments home and make them there. These workers are often compelled to have their wives and children help them in their work at their homes, because the earnings of the father are not enough to feed his family, without the aid of the other members of the family. The International Congress passed resolutions demanding the abolition of home work. Home work in Europe is not like the home work we had known here in the past. Here only some minor operations were done at home; in Europe the

whole garment is made at home. It was quite a revelation for the European workers to learn that we here have large factories, that home work has practically been completely eliminated, that we have the forty-four hour week and that we speak of such large memberships and such large sums of money. It was very interesting to see the representatives from the different countries, which had been at each other's throats a short time before, meeting in conference to legislate for their common interests. The hatred and animosity and human bitterness engendered by the war, which had poisoned the human minds everywhere, were still there. They had not been eliminated by the various peace treaties but a conscientious effort was made on the part of everybody to overcome those obstacles. Human prejudices and international hatred engendered and developed in the course of centuries asserted themselves when the war broke out and it was no easy task for the teachings of international labor solidarity, teachings which make their appeal to the mind and to reason, to subdue those deep-rooted, centuries old, mutual hatreds, which were so deep in the blood of those people. The hopeful sign was that a real effort was made on the part of everybody to work in the spirit of human brotherhood.

There were a number of things done by the congress that were encouraging, and held out hope for the future; there were other things that were not encouraging. Among the latter was the hostile attitude toward Russia. The Russian clothing workers were not invited to the congress, and it was impossible to get the congress to adopt a resolution in favor of Russia, who was at that time blockaded by her enemies.

From Copenhagen I went to other

parts of Europe. I went up north, and came to Reval, which had been a part of Russia before the war, and which has since become the capitol of a so-called self-determining republic, Esthonia. You know, the peace treaty at Versailles was very democratic. The makers of the treaty left it to each country to determine its own boundaries, and Esthonia was allowed the principle of self-determination. This principle actually means that the country can do nothing without the permission of the allies. I saw "self-determination" there. While I have been and still am a very firm believer in self-determination, I must say that if self-determination is what I saw in Esthonia, I think the less the world has of it the better off it will be. (Applause.)

In Reval I met with friends and enemies of Russia. I was so close to Russia that I was practically in Russia. Russia has its official representatives in Reval, and there were many people coming from Russia and going back there. The people I most met with were against Russia, as those who were for Russia were exceedingly cautious with strangers. I heard hair-raising stories about Soviet Russia. One of the men who talked to me was staying at the hotel where I was stopping and was waiting for the time that the allies would overthrow the Russian government and give him back his factory. He is still waiting. (Laughter and applause.) That man told me of the great work he had done in the revolutionary movement under the Czar. He was at that time a large employer. The Soviet government deprived him of the opportunity to continue serving himself as an employer of labor, and he is highly dissatisfied. I have heard many terrible stories. I listened attentively

to all of them. I did not attempt to discount any of them. It was those stories, told me there by the enemies of Russia, that convinced me of the necessity of the workers of the world coming to the defense of Russia. If the history of Russia is ever written by true historians, and they record those stories as I heard them, they will draw an indictment against the civilized world for having forced people who had unselfishly made the greatest sacrifices for Russia's freedom, to commit those alleged acts of cruelty in the defense of their country's right to live. Those stories strengthened my conviction of the necessity of standing by Russia in her trials and tribulations.

I had hoped to be in Russia and see conditions for myself. Having been unable to enter Russia I went back. I was in Germany, in France, in Italy, and in Austria. I do not want to take up much time to give you my observations in all those countries. I shall tell you what I saw in Italy. I came there when the workers occupied the factories in order to forestall a lockout. (Applause.)

I was in Paris and Lille studying the labor movement in France. I was fortunate to get in touch with comrades who facilitated my investigations and I was able to get a great deal of information, which was published in our papers. While there I heard of what was going on in Italy. I decided to go down to Italy and see what had really happened. In the train, on the other side of the Franco-Italian frontier, an American manufacturer was among my traveling companions. Recognizing me as an American, he began talking. He was engaged in some manufacturing line in Italy and one of his factories was seized, so that he was quite interested in the situation there. (Laughter.) It was his firm opinion

that all that was necessary in order to solve the industrial problem in Italy was to take out the labor leaders and shoot them. If the leaders were shot, there would be peace and order and security and safety and happiness in Italy. But the government had no backbone, and didn't have the courage to shoot the leaders of the labor movement. As the train was speeding on, we passed by one place. I had not noticed it, but my companion called my attention to it. He said, "See this?" There was a shipyard and a red flag was flying over the building. (Uproarious applause and laughter.) And he said, "You see, they have seized it and they put the red flag there." And before I had a chance to catch my breath, we reached another place, and again there was a red flag over a factory. (Uproarious applause.) And the manufacturer said, "You see, here is another one." (Laughter and applause.) And so the poor man nearly collapsed with heartache (laughter) from the sight of those red flags on the factories. The man was wondering how the government permitted all that. The red flags kept on growing in number and my companion was telling me how unreliable the government was. He wanted to know, "Why do we pay taxes if the government does not protect us?"

I arrived at Rome. During my three month trip through Europe, I had many thrills. An American who does not know Europe gets many unexpected sensations in Europe. I had traveled through different countries and cities and found new impressions everywhere, but no city in the world impressed me as Rome did.

It is an old city. It is a beautiful city. When I entered old Rome and saw the names on the street signs

and palaces and other buildings and recognized names of persons and institutions recorded in history, names of the great men of the ages; when I thought that those people were walking on the very spot where I was, and when I passed by those palaces and other buildings, and when I came to the Coliseum, that famous Coliseum of which we have all read, and to the Arch of Titus, and other monuments of past ages, I read the history of the human race. I visualized the people of those ages walking through the same streets, I almost saw them alongside of me. I was in an atmosphere and in a state of mind where I realized the continuity of the human race.

When you come to the ancient Roman Forum and look at those old ruins, in which the famous orations were delivered, you can almost hear them. Then you begin to feel that you are a link in the long, human chain and can trace your lineage back to the beginning of history. Then you begin to feel that you are a living part of the past ages, and that the past ages live in you. Then you can also give full play to your imagination and see the generations that will follow us and be a direct continuation of ourselves and we shall live in them.

It was those impressions that remained strongest with me. Then I was able to understand why Rome was called the Eternal City.

I arrived at Rome on Sunday. Monday morning the Italian comrades took me into one of the metal factories, which was occupied by the workers. I was welcomed as a representative of American labor, and when I told them that we had many Italian members in our organization, I was doubly welcome. The secretary of the metal workers' union gave me a letter, the only key to open the gates of the factory with.

(Laughter.) With my Italian comrades I landed in front of the factory, which looked very attractive because of the fine red flag which adorned the building and the red sentinel who was keeping watch. (Applause.) I handed my letter to the gatekeeper; he took it to the chairman of the factory council. The chairman, with a few members of the council, came out to receive me. They did not know me. It was not to me the honor was extended. The letter said that I represented a big and progressive labor organization in America. They opened the gates wide and took us into the office. They called the whole council to meet us. It happened to be at the lunch hour, so the council took us into an improvised dining room. The workers were there eating lunch prepared for them by their wives on the factory premises. The council then took us through the factory. The first thing that attracted my attention was a series of inscriptions on the walls, including also the Soviet emblem. (Applause.) The most prominent of the inscriptions was: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." (Applause.)

The members of the council showed me all departments of the factory, and explained to me how they were running the factory. Here is one instance: There was a certain kind of raw material of which they had more than they needed, but they were short in coal, so they arranged with the general organization of the metal workers, which had taken an inventory of the stocks of the various occupied factories throughout the country, to take off their hands the surplus raw material and give them coal in return. They got the coal and operated the factory. The council showed me stocks of foodstuffs sent them by the peasant Socialist

co-operatives. They also showed me their wonderful discipline. There was a bulletin board near the factory gate on which was posted the name of every workingman who had neglected his duty, came in late without sufficient excuse, or who had not done his work properly. Nominal fines were imposed for the moral effect. And the moral effect was there. The workers were reminded by inscriptions on the walls, in large type, that they were responsible for the success of the factory and they must not fall down on the job. And they didn't fall down on the job.

On that day conferences were going on with the employers. A settlement was reached, the workers received important concessions and the next morning the employer was allowed to come into the factory. (Laughter.)

A great deal has been said all over the world in criticism of the settlement made by the Italian metal workers. My attitude during that trip through Europe was that while I have my definite opinion of the affairs of the labor movement, and while I have definite views on certain subjects in Europe, I was an observer only. Knowing how little we know of conditions in Europe, and also how little the workers in Europe know of the labor movement in America, and how faulty our judgment of them is and their judgment of us is, I did not undertake to judge them. I mingled with all of them, the rights and the lefts and the centrists. I mingled with all the groups and gathered information everywhere but did not undertake to judge whether they acted right or wrong. I left that entirely to the Italian workers themselves.

In the articles which I wrote for "Advance" I explained both sides, those who favored holding the fac-

tories and those who favored a settlement. While I do not undertake to pass judgment on the above matter, I can say this with a clear conscience: In Italy, more so than in other countries in Europe, there is a real and genuine labor movement. The movement may make mistakes, but it is capable of learning from its own mistakes and striving to correct them. When I came into that occupied metal factory and saw the young girls there, workers in that factory, with the crosses hanging down from their necks, and doing their share in protecting the factory against possible attack and working in every respect along with their fellow workers, I knew that the influence and power of the labor movement, capable of inspiring loyalty and full co-operation in those workers, was not superficial, but that the movement was real, and deep-rooted in the workers' hearts and souls. (Applause.)

The workers of the world may be proud of the labor movement in Italy.

There are as many alignments in the Italian labor movement as anywhere else in the world. You have rights, centers and lefts, revolutionists, reformists and clerical unions, but when a general working class situation arises they act unitedly. I had the pleasure of seeing one such demonstration on the 14th of October, 1920. A committee, including representatives of all factions, was formed for the purpose of promoting the interests of Russia. That committee proclaimed a general strike of two hours for October 14, from 4 o'clock to 6 o'clock in the evening. When 4 o'clock came, the entire industrial life came to a standstill. Every worker left his place of work and came to the various meetings to give expression to the demand

of the Italian laboring men upon the Italian government to recognize Soviet Russia. (Applause.) I was then in Milan. When I walked through the streets I saw several groups of soldiers hidden in places where they could not be observed, ready to rush upon the workers and shoot them down. When I saw the workers of all trades carrying out that great demonstration without giving those soldiers the slightest chance to fire upon them, I knew that the Italian movement was a real movement and with perfect discipline. There were raids upon the labor movement made by the Fascisti, raids upon Socialist papers and union headquarters. But they were planned and carried out secretly, when the workers were unprepared.

There is also in Italy the wonderful peasant co-operative body, the Socialist peasant co-operatives, with nearly 1,000,000 members.

Of Italy I could speak at very great length and never get tired of speaking. I still feel in me the inspiration of the Italian labor movement. But I promised to be brief because of lack of time.

From Italy I went to Austria. There I saw another picture, a picture of hunger and death imposed upon the country by the war and the peace that followed it. There I saw people dying of starvation while walking the streets of the beautiful city. I had never seen anything like that before. I had never seen multitudes of people in whose faces you read hunger. I saw them there.

But in the same city I saw another thing, which holds out hope for the future. The vice-mayor of the city, a Socialist, whose term of office was expiring about that time, took me through several institutions maintained by an organization for the workers' children. The salutation in those institutions is "Friendship,"

instead of "Good morning," or "Good evening." The vice-mayor told me that the Italian labor movement took hundreds of those children, placed them in the Riveria, gave them the best care and kept them for several months, according to the needs of each child. The child that was in the worst physical condition was kept longer than the child in better condition. The Italian workers gave them the best possible care, and when the children regained their health, they were sent back and others taken in their places. I was told that it was the intention of that organization to arrange for an interchange of visiting children among the several countries. When conditions improve in Austria, the Austrian labor movement will invite Italian children to visit them; children will be sent to Italy to play with Italian children, and the same will be done with other countries. Thus, the children in each country will grow up with personal love for the children of every other country. And if another war should come, the new generation will say, "We cannot fight those who were our comrades in childhood." This, my Austrian friend said, will build up a new international—the international of sacred and pure childhood and will make its contribution towards making war impossible in the future. (Applause.) When I saw that, I said to myself, "So long as faith in the nobility of human nature is so powerful that even under such terrible conditions as those under which the Viennese people are living, or rather, slowly dying, they can still dream of bringing up the new generation in that sacred spirit which will make the future safe for the people, then there is hope that the people will ultimately take the affairs of the world in their own hands, and there may be no more wars." And there is

hope that as those people take a greater share of the problems of the world into their own hands for solution, they will take all of the world's problems into their own hands and give us a better world, a beautiful world, a world safe for every honest man and woman willing to help in doing the world's work. (Continuous and uproarious applause ensued for a period of three-quarters of an hour.)

President HILLMAN: The next order of business is nominations for thirteen members of the General Executive Board, general secretary-treasurer and general president. The chair will ask General Executive Board Member Rosenblum to open nominations for president.

Delegate SCHWARTZBERG: If I have the permission of the chair before nominations are made, I would like to make a motion.

President HILLMAN: What is the motion?

Mr. SCHWARTZBERG: My motion is this: Brother Schlossberg's report seems to me to be one of the most masterly and interesting reports delivered before this convention, and therefore I move that this report be printed and that it be distributed to the general membership.

President HILLMAN: You heard the motion. If there is no objection, it will be so ordered. (Applause.)

Chairman ROSENBLUM: Nominations are now in order for the office of general president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

(Whereupon from all portions of the floor of the convention, cries of "Hillman" arose, and at least 100 delegates demanded the floor simultaneously, each shouting, "Hillman.")

Chairman ROSENBLUM: I will recognize Brother Genis.

Delegate GENIS: Can a member speak on the nominations?

Chairman ROSENBLUM: No, no speech-making.

Delegate GENIS: Then I nominate Brother Sidney Hillman. (Prolonged and uproarious applause.)

Chairman ROSENBLUM: Are there any other nominations?

(Prolonged and uproarious applause ensued, together with at least 50 delegates demanding the floor, each moving that nominations for general president be closed.)

Delegate LEVINE: I move we make the nomination of Brother Hillman unanimous.

(Wild and continuous cheering and applause ensued for a period of one hour.)

Chairman ROSENBLUM: There being no other nominations for the office of president, the chair will declare that Brother Sidney Hillman has been nominated for the office of general president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the World by unanimous vote. (Uproarious applause.)

President HILLMAN: The next in order is the nomination for the office of general secretary-treasurer of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

(Cries of "Schlossberg" came from all portions of the room, and delegates from all portions of the hall demanded recognition by the chair, moving that nominations be closed and the nomination of Brother Schlossberg be made unanimous.)

President HILLMAN: Are there any further nominations? (No response.) Brother Schlossberg has been unanimously chosen as the nominee for the office of general secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (Prolonged applause.)

President HILLMAN: The chair wants to draw your attention to the

fact that there will be nominations for thirteen members of the General Executive Board. The delegates are requested not to stand up during the time of these nominations. All the names suggested will be taken down by the secretary. Now, please stand up, just one at a time, and don't mention the name until you are recognized by the chair. We want one nomination at a time and then you will carefully listen to what the assistant secretary will read off, and if a name was omitted it will be added to the list. Each nominee must have at least twenty seconds. There will be no speeches.

(Whereupon President Hillman appointed tellers to count the vote, and the following persons were nominated as members of the General Executive Board.)

NOMINATIONS

August Bellanca, Local 63, New York City, N. Y.

Hyman Blumberg, Local 36, Baltimore, Md.

Samuel Levin, Local 61, Chicago, Ill.

Lazarus Marcovitz, Local 172, Boston, Mass.

Anzuino D. Marimpietri, Local 39, Chicago, Ill.

Abraham Miller, Local 8, New York City, N. Y.

Peter Monat, Local 262, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Sidney Rissman, Local 61, Chicago, Ill.

Frank Rosenblum, Local 61, Chicago, Ill.

Mamie Santora, Local 170, Baltimore, Md.

Nathan Siegel, Local 2, New York City, N. Y.

Stephan Skala, Local 6, Chicago, Ill.

Abraham Beckerman, Local 4, New York City, N. Y.

J. A. Bekampis, Local 58, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Frank Bellanca, Local 63, New York City, N. Y.

Anthony Capararo, Local 63, New York City, N. Y.

Alex Cohen, Local 3, New York City, N. Y.

Ruffino Conti, Local 63, New York City, N. Y.

Aldo Cursi, No. 202, Rochester, N. Y.

Philip De Luca, Local 51, Baltimore, Md.

Anthony Di Blasi, Local 85, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Joseph Gold, Local 5, New York City, N. Y.

Emilo Grandinetti, Local 270, Chicago, Ill.

Harris Heller, Local 5, New York City, N. Y.

Louis Hollander, Local 2, New York City, N. Y.

Morris Koslovsky, Local 75, Philadelphia, Pa.

Jacob Kroll, Local 61, Chicago, Ill.

Leo Krzycki, Local 151, Milwaukee, Wis.

Philip Licastro, Local 200, Rochester, N. Y.

Abraham I. Pearlman, Local 14, Rochester, N. Y.

Benne Romano, Local 63, New York City, N. Y.

Stanley Satalecki, Local 38, Chicago, Ill.

Abraham I. Shiplacoff, Local 5, New York City, N. Y.

Gustav A. Strebel, Local 96, Syracuse, N. Y.

Philip Weiner, Local 5, New York City, N. Y.

Murray Weinstein, Local 4, New York City, N. Y.

President HILLMAN: The chair will take this opportunity to give the delegates a few minutes' time to consider where they want to meet the next time. Now just do your think-

ing. Brother Fisch will in the meantime make an announcement.

(Entertainment plans for the evening were announced by M. C. Fisch, secretary of the Arrangement Committee.)

President HILLMAN: There is very little time left and I am sure the delegates would like to hear a few words from one, who, while not always on the platform, you meet at the conventions, at the General Office; one who, at all times, is in touch with every movement of our organization, and one whom I can hardly conceive our organization to be without. Delegates, I take great pleasure in introducing to you Brother Jacob Potofsky. (Prolonged and uproarious applause ensued for a period of one-half hour.)

Mr. POTOFSKY: Brother Chairman, delegates and friends: Most of you delegates know that I am not much of a speaker, so please keep order and give me a chance. (Laughter.) Since the chair has called upon me to say a few words, I just want to express my sentiments on this convention. This, the Fifth Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has been the most glorious convention, the greatest convention ever held by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (Prolonged applause.) It has been the most glorious, both in spirit and in achievements. No other convention can claim such a record, such a wonderful spirit and such demonstrations as we have had here during this week.

Before the convention opened there were rumors and gossip of what would take place at the Amalgamated convention. People made prophecies. There were those who spoke about dissension in our ranks, about breakups and about this and about that. But this convention has proved to be one of the most har-

monious conventions that was ever held in the history of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (Applause.)

There is one more thing that I want to say, and that is about Chicago. I remember twelve years ago, in 1910, when the seamers, whom you saw here yesterday afternoon, first marched out of shop No. 5, no one dreamed that there was ever going to be such an organization as we have today in Chicago. (Applause.) And even in 1915, after the great strike of twelve weeks, the complete organization of Chicago was still a dream; the same in 1916. But today we have an army of 40,000 members in Chicago. We are all proud of Chicago, and of the wonderful reception they have given to the delegates from the various cities. The arrangements made could not possibly be any better. The reception in Chicago, the daily demonstrations and the splendid arrangements have all contributed towards the harmonious spirit and successful deliberations of this convention.

(At this juncture Brother Potofsky was showered with flowers from all parts of the room.)

I thank you heartily for your tribute. (Prolonged applause.)

President HILLMAN: The chair will call upon Sister Santora.

MAMIE SANTORA: Brother Chairman, delegates and friends: As I am the only woman on the General Executive Board, I feel a little bit conceited to be called upon by our president to address you. As one from the ranks of the workers, who knows the conditions which we have had to face during the past two years, especially the great lockout which took place in the city of New York, depriving 65,000 men and women of their support, the many injunctions that were issued against us, the use-

less fight for the dissolution of our organization, I am proud of our organization. (Applause.) It was the spirit of solidarity that brought us together here where we may congratulate ourselves and feel happy.

I hope that at the next convention we shall have something new to be proud of, something more beneficial. I also want to bring one thing to the delegates' minds, and that is this: When you leave this hall remember that our future success depends upon the same solidarity of the working class which has made our success in the past. I would like to talk more but I have instructions from our president to talk only a few minutes. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: Secretary-Treasurer Peter Monat of the New York Joint Board, a member of the General Executive Board, will now address the convention.

PETER MONAT: Mr. Chairman, delegates and friends. There is one thing we must bear in mind, that the hour is late, twenty minutes of five. I want to say, at the closing of the convention, that from the time we gathered here for the opening of the convention last Monday, this has been the greatest week, I believe, in the life of everyone here today. Only ten or twelve years ago we had slavery, and today we are celebrating our freedom. I was personally desirous to be present in the city and attend the convention, the city that was so notorious in the past for its slavery in the clothing industry and so famous in the present for the accomplishments and the establishments of new conditions which our organization has brought about. I want to say right now that the work carried on by the Chicago organization has shown its absolute efficiency and also the courageous way of doing things. The work of arranging the convention and the giving the

delegates all the accommodations and everything that goes with that was splendid, and on behalf of the New York delegation, and I believe on behalf of everybody, particularly New York, who can not forget the assistance you gave us in the time of our lockout, we thank you. I hope two years from now we will have the convention in New York to celebrate. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: Brother Marcovitz will speak to you for just two minutes.

LAZARUS MARCOVITZ: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I will not speak on the harmony and the spirit that prevailed at this convention. You all know that. I want to remind the delegates that all that we have achieved at this convention will mean nothing unless every one of us, when we return back to the various cities, take our posts and do the things we must do. I am sure that every one of us will do his full share, so that when we meet at the next convention we may have reason to be proud of our new accomplishments. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: Brother Blumberg of Baltimore will now speak to you.

HYMAN BLUMBERG: Mr. Chairman and delegates, while sitting here at this convention, I, as an official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, saw the reward and received the only reward that an official, in my judgment, can possibly hope for. I happen to be a veteran in the clothing industry. For over twenty-five years I have spent every day of my life in the ranks of the clothing workers, and there come to my mind the days when I first started working in the clothing industry. Those were the days when the operator owned his own machine, the days when the operator paid for the use of his electric power and when

the presser bought his gasoline stove in order to heat the iron that he was working with. And in those days it seemed to be impossible that the clothing workers would ever elevate themselves to the standard of living, the standard of brotherhood, and the height of understanding their rights and their power that we have reached today. That was made possible only when the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was substituted for the defunct United Garment Workers in 1914. (Applause.) The start was made in 1914, because it is common knowledge to all the older members of the union, those who worked in the clothing industry twenty years prior to 1914, that not a single step of advancement was made for the clothing workers until that day. Since that time we have continually gone forward, and forward and forward. While there have been various reasons put forth, such as the spirit of the Amalgamated and everything else, as the reason for the advancement, as I understand it, in my meetings with the different people in different cities, I know that the most important reason for the advancement of the tailors has been that spirit of co-operation that exists among the rank and file and active members of the union. And may I take advantage of this opportunity to say that having been selected from the ranks of the workers for a position of honor and trust in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, it is my conviction that the success of our organization has been due to the wholehearted co-operation given us. I know that I have received such co-operation, first, from the Baltimore boys who brought me out in 1915 (applause), and second, when I was asked by the president of this union to come to New York and direct, in a small way, some of the smaller

details that Brother Hillman personally did not have time to attend to, I received wholehearted co-operation in every city where I was sent, to do, in my small way, everything to bring about a successful termination of the different issues. While I am speaking I take the opportunity to ask the delegates from the various cities that I may visit on behalf of the organization to give their full co-operation in the interests of the clothing workers in the shops, leaving everything else out but the interests of the workers in whose name we all speak. (Uproarious applause.)

PRESIDENT HILLMAN: I am sure the delegates will want to hear before the adjournment of this convention once more from one who, while a member of the General Executive Board, is in charge of a large part of our organization in Chicago and its vicinity, and I again take great pleasure in introducing to you, and for the last time at this convention, Brother Rosenblum. (Applause.)

FRANK ROSENBLUM: Brother Chairman, fellow delegates, sisters and brothers; I am not going to make a speech. We have but eight minutes before adjourning and there are a few members of the board the president wants to call on. I do want to repeat and reiterate the sentiments expressed by Brother Potofsky. I think this convention has been the most glorious and the richest in achievements and in spirit of all the conventions ever held. I congratulate you all for the work done. I will also take this occasion to congratulate my own organization, as I think it has done wonderfully well in entertaining you. (Applause.) This convention will be long remembered in the history of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. I hope and trust that future conventions will be just as splendid and

rich in results as this convention has been. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: Brother Miller from New York City. (Up-
roarious applause.)

ABRAHAM MILLER: I shall not speak about the glorious accomplishments and achievements of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and I don't want to repeat what has already been said, but I want at this moment to say that it is indeed a privilege and a pleasure to have the opportunity to say just a few words at the conclusion of this convention. I have had the honor to say a few words at the close of every convention, including the one that was held in Nashville, and now I want to express the hope that when we return to our respective cities we shall not forget the sheafs of resolutions that we decided upon, particularly those resolutions that dealt with organization work on the Atlantic coast or in the East. I hope that the city of Baltimore, and New York, Boston, and all other cities in the East will be in a position at the next convention, which will be the tenth anniversary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, to claim as Chicago does today the distinction of having a 100 per cent organization. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: I will call on Brother Marimpietri.

ANZUINO MARIMPIETRI: Brother President, delegates and friends: I wish you sincerely good-bye until we meet again. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: If votes were taken for the best spech, I am sure you would carry off the honors. I will call upon Brother Rissman. (Applause.)

SIDNEY RISSMAN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I want to take the opportunity at this moment to congratulate the city of New York for the victory they had a year ago, and

upon the splendid fight they have put up. I also want to congratulate the city of Boston for the splendid fight they put up, and I want to congratulate the delegates as a whole for the splendid spirit and the behavior shown at this convention. And I also want to congratulate our general officers and the delegates for the resolutions that have been passed here, especially the one that is going to be a landmark in the history of the world, and that is that great proposition that our international president has presented to us and that has been adopted at this convention with reference to Russia. (Applause.) I only hope that the things that we placed on record at this convention will be carried out so that when we meet again, two years from today, we will be able to report much more progress than we have been able to report at this convention.

I wish you all farewell and I know you will take back the spirit of this convention to your cities. (Applause.)

President HILLMAN: I regret I am not in a position to introduce a member of the board who has given a great deal of his life to the organization. I regret exceedingly that I am unable to introduce to you Brother August Bellanca, a member of the General Executive Board (applause), but I am sure that the best wishes of all of us will go to him. The chair will now appoint a committee of five tellers who are to gather in New York City to count the referendum vote cast for the several candidates for office. The chair will appoint Delegate Joe Catalanotti, of Local No. 63, of New York; Delegate Harry Cohen of Local No. 36, Baltimore; Delegate Reuben Block, of Local No. 61, Chicago; Delegate John McMahan, of Local 205, Rochester, and Delegate S. Stol-

berg, of Local 216, Toronto. When the vote comes in they will all come to New York, count the ballots, and announce who were elected. Are there any objections to the appointments? If not, the appointments stand.

The next order of business will be nominations for the city where the convention is to be held.

(The city of New York was selected as the next convention city.)

President HILLMAN: Delegates, we are going to adjourn the convention in a few minutes and I will call for just a few words by the secretary of our organization, and there will be a few words by the chairman, and the convention will stand adjourned.

Brother SCHLOSSBERG: This convention has been a great spiritual symphony. This convention has been characterized as the greatest of all conventions we have ever held. Each convention, at the time it was held, was the greatest convention. But we are now setting new standards. We all feel that we owe a great deal to the Chicago organization for the contribution it has made, for the spirit that has prevailed at this convention. The Chicago organization has shown something inspiring to the membership. It was a revelation. The membership here has come in personal and physical contact with the representatives from the various cities, and they have brought a new message to this convention. The greatest thing demonstrated here, among all of the great things, including the plan submitted to us by Brother Hillman, which was so enthusiastically accepted, was the splendid spirit of unity which has taken hold of all of us, overcoming all obstacles. Differences of opinion have not prevented unity in action.

We are about to close a convention which marks the beginning of a new

epoch in our organization. We shall come back, two years from now, to a convention that will be the tenth anniversary of this organization. We want to be able to look back upon two years of activity and results and achievements that should be in complete harmony with the constant progress made by us. So let these two years that are ahead of us open new fields for us and develop new power in our organization, and let us come to New York two years from now with a new message to our members, to the labor movement in this country, and to the labor movement of the world, in keeping with the conditions as they will be then, as we have done today, at this convention, in keeping with the conditions of today. We leave this convention with even greater unity than we ever had before. Let us all remember that in our work, unity in purpose, unity in action is the thing that determines our success. (Prolonged applause.)

President HILLMAN: A few minutes more and this convention will stand adjourned. I want to take this opportunity to thank the delegates for their co-operation with the presiding officer. I want to thank you for all you have done to help in the work of the organization. I do not feel that I should dwell much on what has been done. I do not know if much has been done. It will depend largely on whether the policies laid down by this convention are carried out. What I want to urge upon you at this time, delegates, is to go back to your localities and bring into life what the convention has decided.

I want to extend to you the wish of peace, success, and the hope that you will return to the cities ready for the every-day struggle, so that we may come to New York City two

years from now with a record of achievements that the organization will have reason to be proud of.

This the Fifth Biennial Convention, now stands adjourned, to reconvene in New York City two years from now.

(Whereupon the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America adjourned to meet two years hence in New York City.)

Proposed New Constitution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

This constitution was acted upon seriatum at the eighth session, Friday, May 12, 1922, and was ordered submitted for adoption at referendum vote to the membership:

ARTICLE 1

NAME AND JURISDICTION

Section 1. This body shall be known as the AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. In it alone is vested the power to establish local unions and joint boards and to it is reserved the right to finally determine and adjust all matters of general importance to the welfare of any members thereof.

Section 2. All legislative powers shall be reserved to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America duly convened in session; except as hereinafter provided for, its executive and judicial powers, when not in session, shall be vested in the General Executive Board.

ARTICLE 2

HEADQUARTERS

Section 1. The headquarters of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shall be in the city of New York, N. Y.

ARTICLE 3

GENERAL CONVENTION

Section 1. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shall meet biennially in general convention on the second Monday in May at ten (10) A. M., at the place chosen by the last convention and ratified by referendum vote.

Section 2. On motion of five (5) local unions, no two of which shall be of the same state or province, the place for holding the convention may be changed by a general vote, a two-thirds majority to decide. A special

convention may be called in the same manner.

Section 3. Local unions shall be entitled to representation in conventions on their average membership for which they pay per capita tax during the twenty-four (24) months ending January 31st immediately preceding the convention, and new local unions on their average membership from the date of their organization. Representation shall be on the following basis: One (1) delegate for each local union of one hundred (100) members or less, and one (1) additional delegate for every additional five hundred (500) members or majority fraction thereof. Each joint board shall be entitled to one (1) delegate. A joint board delegate to convention must be a member of one of the locals affiliated with the joint board in that city.

Section 4. All local unions and joint boards shall be notified by the general secretary-treasurer sixty (60) days before the biennial convention takes place, to elect the number of delegates they are entitled to on the basis of representation.

Section 5. Delegates shall be elected at a special meeting of the local unions, or joint boards, by ballot, and a plurality vote shall constitute an election. No person shall be eligible as a delegate unless a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who shall have been a member in good standing of the local union he represents for at least one year immediately preceding the date on which said election is held. Where a local union or joint board has not been in

existence for a full year immediately preceding the date on which the convention is held, the candidate must be a member in good standing of said local union or a local union affiliated with said joint board from the date of its organization. An equal number of alternates may be elected at the same time and in the same manner. In case of death, resignation, inability or other disqualification of a delegate the alternate having the highest number of votes at the election shall succeed to the vacancy and become the delegate.

No member shall be eligible as a delegate to the convention who has not worked in the industry for at least one (1) year preceding the date on which the convention is held. Employment by the organization is considered working in the industry.

Section 6. Delegates shall establish their right to seats in the convention by credentials signed by the presiding officer and the secretary of the local union or joint board and stamped with the seal of the local union or joint board. Delegates must present to the credentials committee their union books showing that they have met all the obligations of the organization with respect to their eligibility as delegates.

Section 7. Duplicate credentials shall be forwarded to the general secretary-treasurer by the secretary of the local union or joint board not later than the fifteenth (15th) day of April next preceding the convention.

Section 8. No local union shall be entitled to representation at the biennial convention unless the per capita tax and assessments are paid up to the first day of March preceding the convention, nor unless the local union has been organized at least four (4) months prior to the convention.

Section 9. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of two-thirds of the delegates attending the convention.

Section 10. The convention shall be governed by the following order of business, unless suspended by a two-thirds majority:

ORDER OF BUSINESS:

1. Call to order by general president.

Immediately upon calling the convention to order, and before addresses of welcome are made, the General Executive Board shall recommend a credentials committee of five for approval of the convention. That committee, as soon as approved by the convention, shall withdraw to pass upon the credentials presented, and shall submit a report before the first session adjourns.

2. Report of credentials committee.

3. Roll call.

4. Report of officers.

5. Reading of minutes.

6. Appointment of necessary committees.

7. Report of committees.

8. Unfinished business.

9. New business.

10. Nomination of officers

11. Selection of place for next convention.

12. Good and welfare.

13. Adjournment.

ARTICLE 4

REFERENDUM VOTE

Section 1. Amendments to this constitution adopted at the convention shall become law when approved by a majority vote of the general membership. The general secretary-treasurer shall submit all changes made by the convention to a referendum vote within thirty (30) days after the close of the convention.

Section 2. Between conventions any local union may propose amendments to the constitution and if five (5) other local unions, no two of which shall be of the same state or province, second the same, the general secretary-treas-

urer shall submit the proposition to a vote of the general membership, and if approved by a majority of the members voting it shall become law.

Section 3. The General Executive Board may submit questions to a referendum vote of the general membership. A two-thirds majority is necessary to decide the questions so submitted.

Section 4. When a referendum vote is ordered each local union shall call a special meeting and the vote shall be by ballot. In each locality where there is a joint board, the joint board shall supervise the referendum election of all locals affiliated with it. Each member shall be required to present at this referendum election his dues and assessment book and the book shall be stamped in some manner appropriate to indicate that the member has voted. The General Executive Board has authority to supervise all referendum elections.

Section 5. The president and recording secretary of the local union or joint board shall record the vote and send the record after it has been counted, under their signatures and the seal of the local union or joint board, to the general secretary-treasurer.

Section 6. The general secretary-treasurer shall issue a referendum ballot, when ordered, within two (2) weeks, and the vote of local unions must be received within thirty (30) days from date of issue of any referendum call. The result of the referendum shall be published in tabulated form in the official publications of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

ARTICLE 5

GENERAL OFFICERS

Section 1. The general officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shall consist of a general president and a general secretary-treasurer. The General Executive Board

shall consist of fifteen members, including the two general officers.

Section 2. The General Executive Board shall have quarterly meetings and such special meetings as may be deemed necessary.

Section 3. All officers shall be nominated by convention and elected by referendum. Candidates for offices must receive seconds of at least twenty (20) delegates of the convention in order to be nominated.

Section 4. The convention shall elect a committee of five (5) to count the votes of this referendum.

Section 5. No member shall be eligible as a general officer unless at least one (1) year a member in good standing of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

GENERAL PRESIDENT

Section 6. The general president shall preside over all sessions of the convention, attend to disputes between employers and employes, adjust differences between local organizations, perform necessary organizing and other work usual to the office of general president. He shall sign all official documents when satisfied that they are correct. He shall at the end of each week submit to the general secretary-treasurer an itemized statement of all moneys expended by him in the interests of the International Union during that week.

Section 7. The general president shall receive as compensation the sum of seven thousand five hundred dollars (\$7,500) per annum, and shall hold no other remunerative office.

GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

Section 8. The general secretary-treasurer shall keep a correct record of the proceedings of the convention and publish it in pamphlet or book form, preserve all important documents, papers, books, etc., all letters received by him and copies of letters sent on business of the Amalgamated

Clothing Workers of America. He shall be custodian of the seal of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. He shall conduct all correspondence of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and lay the same regularly before the General Executive Board and be subject to their direction. He shall receive all moneys due the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, giving his official receipt therefor. He shall keep a correct account of all financial business of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. He shall deposit in the name of the organization all funds belonging to the organization in a duly established state or national bank (or banks) approved by the General Executive Board, or invest said funds in such securities as will be approved by the General Executive Board. He shall give bonds in an amount fixed by the General Executive Board in a first class surety company, the cost of the bonds to be paid from the funds of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. He shall submit to the convention a report of all moneys received and paid out by him, together with any other information of importance to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The general secretary-treasurer shall have charge of the distribution of the label.

Section 9. The general secretary-treasurer shall act as secretary of the General Executive Board. He shall receive all applications for charters, and shall issue the same when approved by the General Executive Board. He shall have power to hire such clerical help as shall be necessary to carry on the business of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Section 10. The general secretary-treasurer shall receive as compensation the sum of seven thousand five hundred dollars (\$7,500) per annum, and shall hold no other remunerative office.

Section 11. The general secretary-treasurer shall keep separate and itemized accounts of expenditures made in behalf of the organization. All bills of organizers and general officers must be fully itemized.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Section 12. The General Executive Board shall decide all points of law arising under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, also claims, grievances and appeals. Such decision shall stand until the next general or special convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, when, if not reversed, it shall be final. The General Executive Board shall have general supervision over the affairs of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The General Executive Board shall present a report to the biennial convention, and may include therein such recommendations as they deem to be in the interests of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Section 13. The General Executive Board shall elect from its members a finance committee consisting of three, which shall have supervision over the finances of the organization.

Section 14. Vacancies on the General Executive Board shall be filled in the following manner: The General Executive Board shall nominate not less than two (2) candidates for each vacancy and submit their names to a referendum vote. The one receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected to fill existing vacancy.

Section 15. The General Executive Board shall have power to institute a change in the form of organization in any locality, subject to the approval of the membership in that locality.

ARTICLE 6

FINANCE

Section 1. All local unions shall pay in advance to the general secretary-treasurer a per capita tax of fifty

(50) cents per month for each member, or a corresponding sum in weekly installments.

Section 2. The general secretary-treasurer shall, upon receipt of per capita, issue weekly or monthly stamps, these stamps to be placed in the official due book of the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, as a receipt for the per capita tax paid. When the dues or assessments of a member are received by a local union, said local union shall make an entry thereof in a book kept for that purpose.

Section 3. All assessments shall take precedence over per capita tax.

Section 4. No bills shall be paid by the general office unless authorized by the General Executive Board.

Section 5. All orders for due stamps and supplies other than labels, must be accompanied by check, express or post office money order.

Section 6. Every member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shall subscribe for one of the official journals of the organization, the subscription for it to be paid at the same time and in the same manner as the weekly or monthly per capita tax, as is provided for in section one of this article.

Section 7. Whenever a joint board or local union decides to levy an assessment or tax upon its membership, it shall immediately notify the general office of that fact, and give full particulars in connection with such assessment or tax.

Section 8. The general office shall provide a uniform assessment or tax stamp to be used by all local organizations for such collections. No local organization shall collect an assessment or tax without issuing a stamp to serve as a receipt for the payments made by the member. Local unions or joint boards shall purchase those stamps from the general office, which shall sell them at cost.

Section 9. All payments of such assessment or tax shall be entered in the day book and recorded on the member's ledger cards or ledger pages in the same manner as the payment of dues is recorded, and the stamp, as provided by Section 8, shall be affixed and cancelled in the space provided therefor in the members' dues books. No joint board or local union shall print its own stamps for the above purpose.

ARTICLE 7

TRIALS AND APPEALS

Section 1. Any member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America may prefer charges against any other member or officer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Such a charge must be submitted in writing to the recording secretary of the local organization of which the accused is a member.

Section 2. Upon receipt of such charge the secretary of the local organization shall refer it to the executive board or grievance board of the local organization for investigation.

Section 3. The accused shall have the right in person or through attorney (said attorney to be a member in good standing of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America) to question all witnesses and to present evidence bearing on the charges.

Section 4. The board shall, in executive session, consider all of the evidence on the charges, shall determine the guilt or innocence of the accused upon each charge, and report its findings to the local organization.

Section 5. If any member is dissatisfied with the decision of the local organization, he may appeal to the joint board within thirty (30) days. If still dissatisfied, he may appeal to the General Executive Board within thirty (30) days.

Section 6. Any appeal from the decision of the General Executive Board

may be brought before the next general convention, provided the appeal is filed with the general secretary-treasurer within thirty (30) days after ruling is made.

ARTICLE 8

PROPERTY

Section 1. All general or joint board or local union officers shall deliver to their successors all properties and moneys of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, local union or joint board, and shall not be released from their bonds until they have done so. Any officer or member found guilty of appropriating funds of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shall be expelled and legally prosecuted.

Section 2. Any officer or member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America who illegally supplies or issues, or aids in illegally supplying or issuing, the union label, shall, upon conviction thereof, be legally prosecuted by the General Executive Board, and shall be barred from membership in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

ARTICLE 9

RULES GOVERNING USE OF UNION LABEL

Section 1. Subject to the approval of the General Executive Board the label shall be granted to any firm entering into an agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Section 2. The general secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shall be custodian of the label.

ARTICLE 10

ADMISSION OF LOCAL UNIONS

Section 1. A local union may be organized by seven or more persons employed in the clothing industry.

Section 2. They shall apply to the general secretary-treasurer for a charter, and shall send six dollars and fifty cents (\$6.50) for charter fee and seal. On receipt of the charter fee and

after approval by the General Executive Board the general secretary-treasurer shall forward the charter to the new local union.

Section 3. Each local union may make its own by-laws, provided that they do not conflict with this constitution or the by-laws of this organization.

ARTICLE 11

DUTIES OF LOCAL UNIONS AND JOINT BOARDS

Section 1. Each local union or joint board shall hold regular meetings at least once a month.

Section 2. Each local union shall maintain labor bureaus, hold lectures, maintain friendly relations with other labor organizations, and do all in its power to strengthen and promote the labor movement.

Section 3. Where there are two or more local unions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in any city or locality, they shall form a joint board; said joint board shall transact all such business for the local unions as may be provided in its by-laws which must not conflict with the constitution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Such joint board shall be chartered by the General Executive Board.

Section 4. The local officers shall produce the books of the local union or joint board when demanded by a general officer. Failure to do so within twenty-four (24) hours shall hold the local officers or union or joint board liable to suspension by the General Executive Board.

Section 5. The general secretary-treasurer shall prepare all necessary books and forms for the use of local unions and joint boards which shall purchase them.

Section 6. All printing for the general office and local organizations shall be done in strictly union shops, and shall bear the union label.

Section 7. Local organizations desir-

ing financial assistance from one another shall send their appeals to the general secretary-treasurer. In no case shall a local organization appeal directly to another local organization.

ARTICLE 12

OFFICERS OF LOCAL UNIONS— THEIR DUTIES

Section 1. The officers of a local organization shall consist of a president, vice-president, recording secretary, treasurer, sergeant-at-arms, three trustees, three members of finance committee, an executive board of at least seven members, and a correspondent for the official paper. Local organizations may, if they so desire, elect one member to act as secretary-treasurer, said officer to combine the duties of financial secretary and the treasurer.

Section 2. No member shall be eligible to any office in the local union unless at least six (6) months a member in good standing, except in the case of a newly organized local union.

Section 3. It shall be the duty of the president to preside at all meetings of the organization, sign all orders on the treasurer authorized by the body, enforce the rules laid down in this constitution, and transact other business usual to the office of president.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of the vice-president to perform the duties of the president in the event of his absence. Upon the death, removal or resignation of a president, the vice-president becomes president until the next regular election.

Section 5. It shall be the duty of the recording secretary to keep a correct account of the proceedings of the organization, which shall include a report of the treasurer, the receipts and disbursements, as well as the number of each voucher issued. He shall keep a special book, in which shall be recorded the names of all persons re-

jected, suspended or expelled, specifying the offense on which each action was taken; conduct the correspondence of the organization, keep copies of it on file and perform such other duties as the organization may direct. He shall read all documents and correspondence for the organization and keep them on file for future reference. He shall have charge of the seal of the organization and attach it to all documents requiring authentication.

Section 6. It shall be the duty of the financial secretary of each local organization to keep a record of all finances, to collect money due to the organization, to deposit such collections with the treasurer, and to take receipt therefor. He shall prepare and send monthly to the general secretary-treasurer a list of all members initiated, transferred, dropped or withdrawn during the period for which report is made. He shall draw all orders for money on the treasurer, attesting the same by signature, draw up quarterly financial reports and submit the same to the local organization. He shall on demand of the auditor of the General Executive Board, produce his books for examination. At the close of his term of office he shall turn over to his successor all books and other property belonging to the organization.

Section 7. The treasurer shall receive all moneys from the financial secretary, giving receipt therefor. The moneys received must be deposited immediately in such bank as the organization may direct in the name and number of the local organization. He shall pay all bills by check.

Section 8. The treasurer shall report in writing, at each regular meeting of the local organization, the money received, paid out, and the amount still on deposit; and deliver to his successor in office all moneys and other property of the organization.

Section 9. All officers, shop chair-

men and employes of the joint board or local unions, either directly handling or entrusted with the safe keeping of funds, shall be bonded by the general office, the premiums of such bonds to be paid for by the respective joint boards or local unions. The amount of these bonds shall in every case be large enough to fully indemnify the organizations upon proof of loss.

Section 10. It shall be the duty of the sergeant-at-arms to maintain order, inspect the membership books, and perform such other duties as are usual to the office.

Section 11. It shall be the duty of the board of trustees to supervise the funds and property of the organization, and, together with the treasurer, assume charge of all surplus money. At least two members of the board shall countersign all checks drawn by the treasurer on account of the organization.

Section 12. It shall be the duty of the finance committee to examine all bills presented to the organization, to examine at the end of each quarter the accounts of the organization and submit a full report to the local organization.

Section 13. The executive board shall be composed of at least seven members. They shall transact all business of the organization when it is not in session, adopt measures in the interests of the organization and recommend such action to the organization as they may deem necessary for its interests. All acts of the executive board shall be subject to ratification by the organization.

ARTICLE 13

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. A candidate, male or female, for membership in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, must be not less than sixteen (16) years of age and must be employed in the clothing industry.

Section 2. No local union or joint

board shall charge new members an initiation fee higher than ten dollars (\$10).

Section 3. No person who has been suspended or expelled by a local union shall be eligible for membership until all matters are settled to the satisfaction of the local union having the grievance against the person.

Section 4. No member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America can be a member of more than one local union at the same time.

Section 5. Persons working at the trade in towns where there are not enough to form a local union, or where a local union has lapsed, shall be allowed to join the nearest local union.

Section 6. No foreman or forewoman or any other representative of the employer shall be eligible to membership in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Section 7. No person who has been an employer or who has worked as foreman or contractor or in any other capacity as employer's representative shall be eligible for office, of whatever description, local or otherwise, for five years following the date of his severance of any of the aforesaid relationship.

Section 8. Any member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America leaving the trade and not in the employ of the organization shall have no right to participate in any of the activities of the organization while he is out of the trade and while he is not in the employ of the organization.

Section 9. The dues or assessment card or book, in which are placed the stamps showing receipt of such payments, shall be considered the property of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

ARTICLE 14

MEMBERS IN ARREARS—REINSTATEMENT

Section 1. Members who are employed all or part of the time must pay dues in advance. Working mem-

bers are not in good standing who owe one month's dues.

Section 2. Members three months in arrears shall stand suspended from all rights and privileges of membership. If after three months more the member fails to meet his or her obligation, the name will be dropped from the roll. Provided the member is not notified by the local organization by registered mail to the last known address at least one week before that he will be dropped from the roll.

Section 3. Any member who has been dropped from the roll can be reinstated only by paying the regular initiation fee, together with all the money due the organization at the time his name was dropped from the roll, unless otherwise decided by local union or joint board.

ARTICLE 15

WITHDRAWAL OF MEMBERS

Section 1. Any member in good standing for at least six months desiring to leave the country or quit the

trade and able to prove his intention to the satisfaction of the organization, shall be allowed to withdraw from membership by paying all debts to date of withdrawal and by surrendering his membership book or card to the local union or joint board.

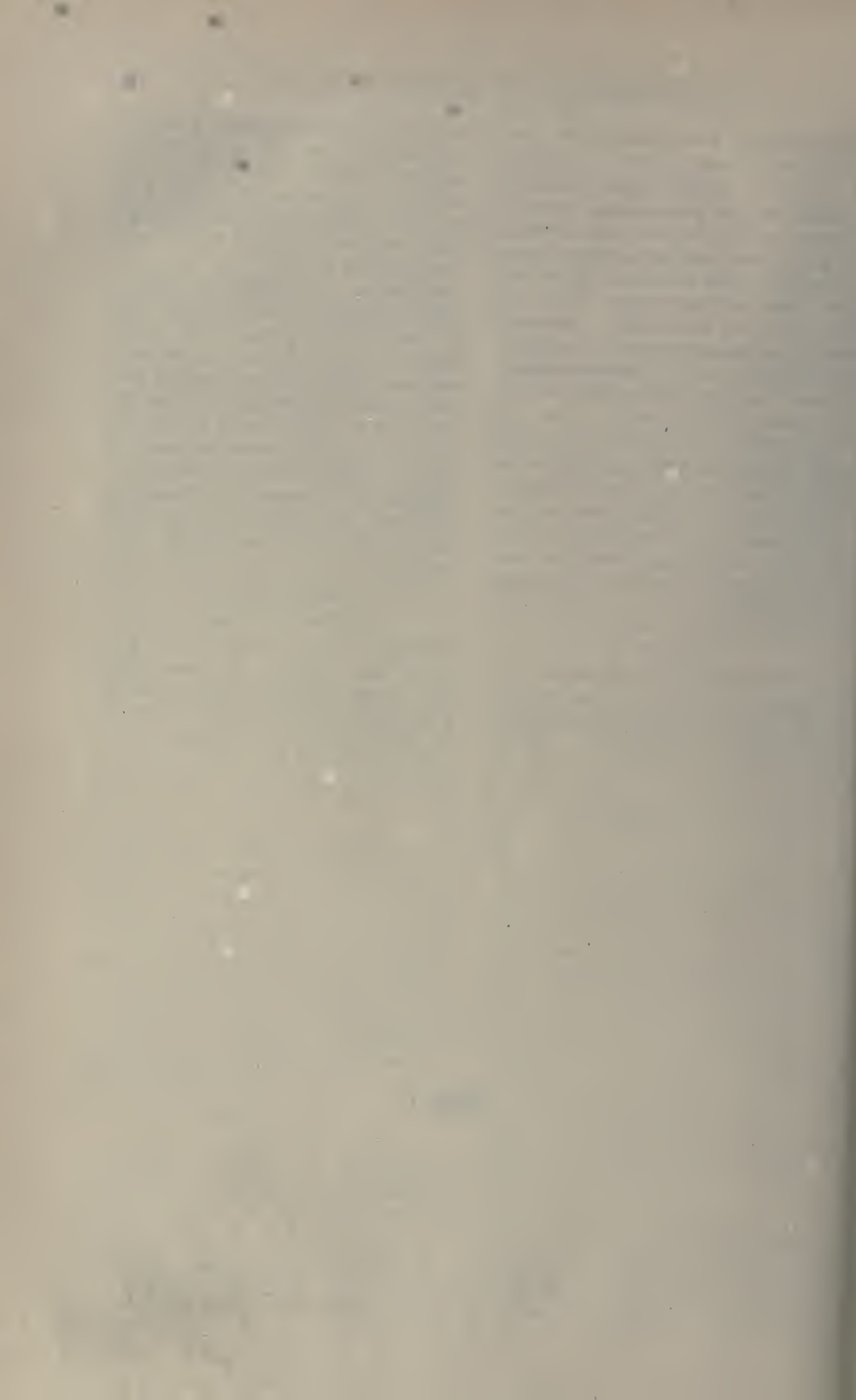
Section 2. A member receiving a withdrawal card loses all rights and privileges of membership in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and is exempted from paying dues and assessments. In the event of his rejoining the organization within one (1) year, he shall begin paying dues from the date of his rejoining.

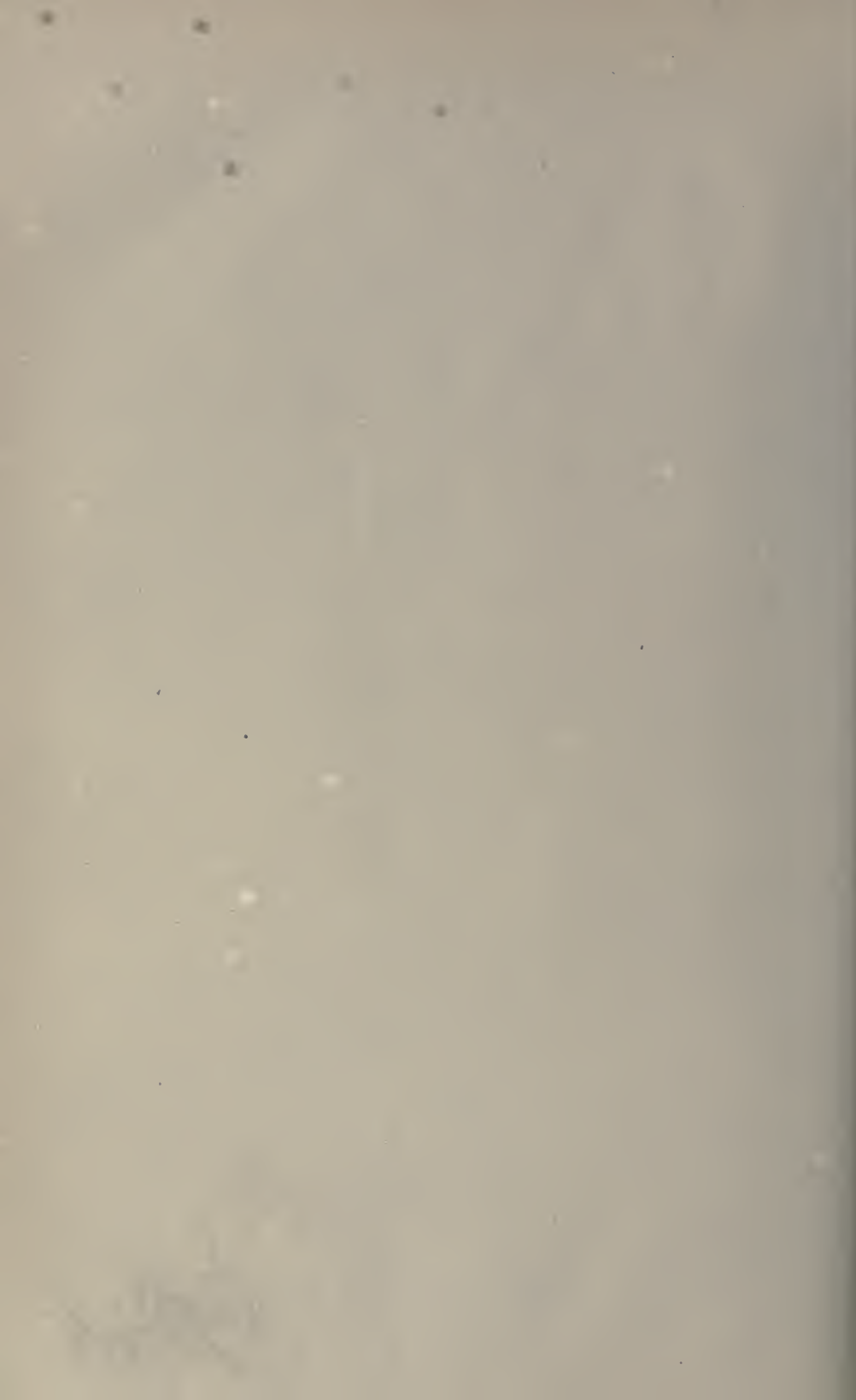
Section 3. A member rejoining his local union on a withdrawal card after one (1) year shall be treated as a new member.

ARTICLE 16

CLEARANCE CARD

Section 1. Any member desiring to travel and transfer his membership shall apply to his local organization for a clearance card for a stated time not to exceed three (3) months.





APPENDICES

MEMBERSHIP

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

July, 1915 - July, 1921

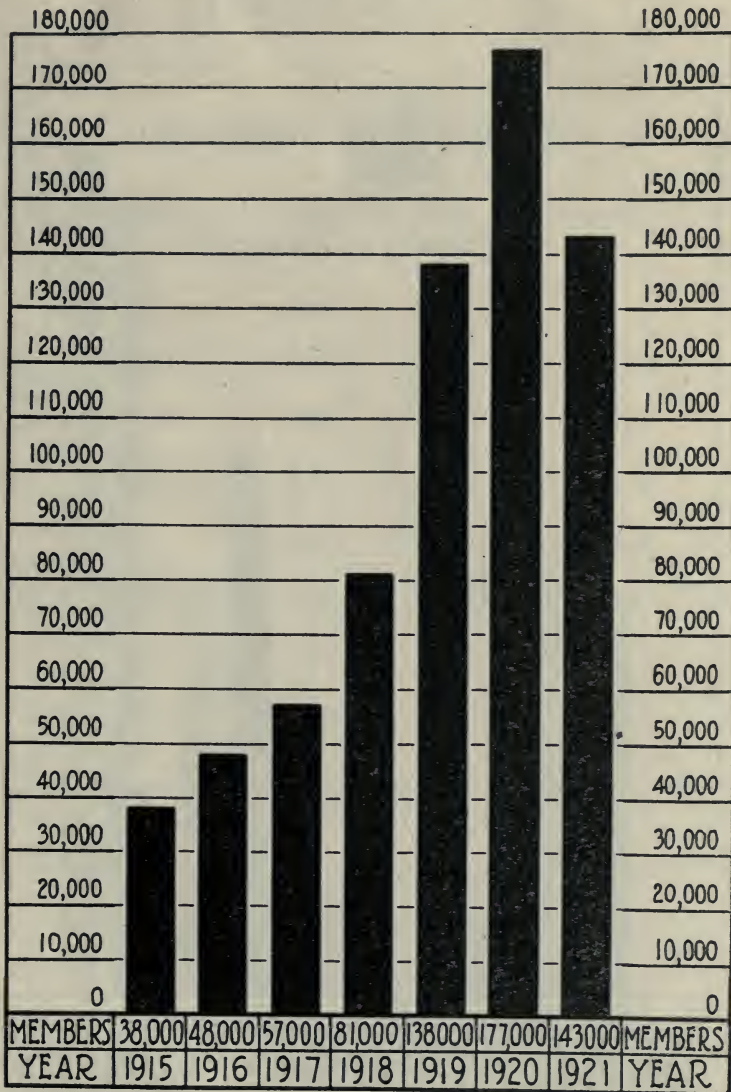
July, 1915	38,000
July, 1916	48,000
July, 1917	57,000
July, 1918	81,000
July, 1919	138,000
July, 1920	177,000
July, 1921	143,000

The figures do not include members on strike, locked out, or those who have been unemployed for a considerable period and who are therefore in arrears.

MEMBERSHIP

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA




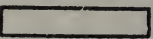

JULY 1, 1915 --- JULY 1, 1921

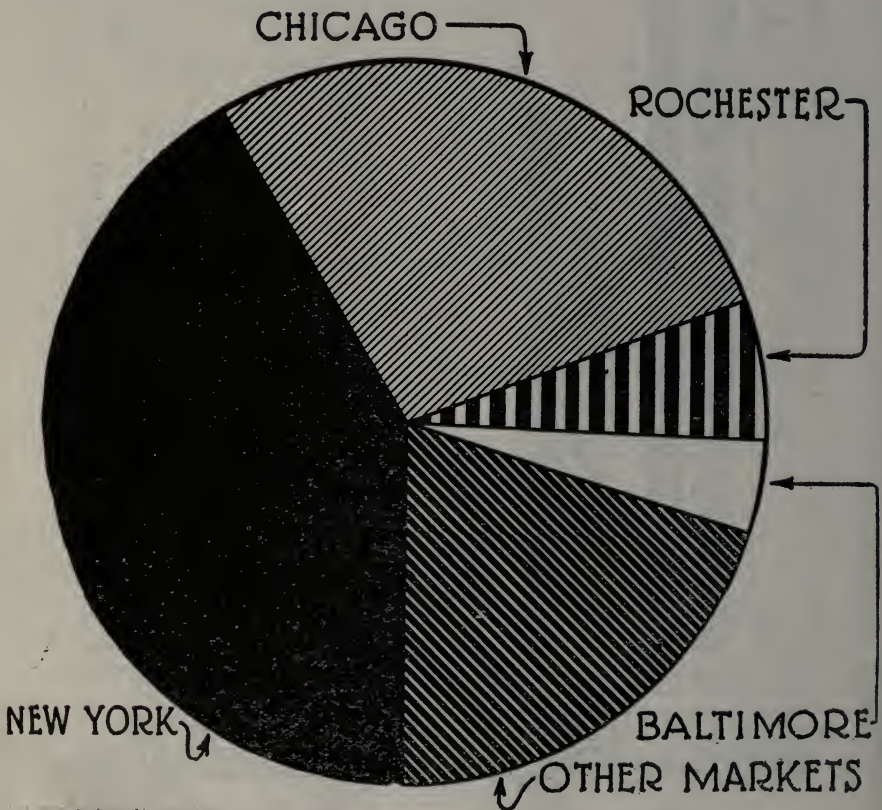


DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERSHIP**CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS
IN PRINCIPAL MARKETS**

	1919	1921
New York	44.3	41.5
Chicago	21.7	28.0
Rochester	5.8	6.1
Baltimore	6.4	4.3
Other Markets	21.8	20.1
	—	—
	100.0	100.0

MEMBERSHIP BY PRINCIPAL MARKETS

	PER CENT
 NEW YORK	41.5
 CHICAGO	28.0
 ROCHESTER	6.1
 BALTIMORE	4.3
 OTHER MARKETS	20.1
TOTAL	<u>100.0</u>



EMPLOYMENT IN MEN'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY 1914-1921

The chart on the following page shows the course of employment in the men's clothing industry during the entire period that the Amalgamated has been in existence, namely, from June, 1914, up to and including December, 1921. The figures are for New York state only, which includes, however, the two large markets of New York and Rochester, as well as a number of smaller clothing centers. The chart is based upon figures published monthly by the "Labor Market Bulletin" of the New York State Industrial Commission, giving the number of workers on the payroll.

It will be observed in examination of the chart that there are in general five important periods to be considered. Employment during the year June, 1914, to May, 1915, was affected not only by seasonal considerations but also by the industrial depression which prevailed at that time throughout the country. Beginning, however, about August of 1915 and from then until late in 1918 there is a steady increase in the number of workers employed in the men's clothing industry in New York state. This increase reflected improvement in general business conditions which resulted from the influx of war orders. The men's clothing industry, however, did not expand as rapidly as did other industries during this period, because while there was an increase in the amount of work resulting from the manufacture of uniforms, there was on the other hand a falling off in the amount of civilian clothing manufactured.

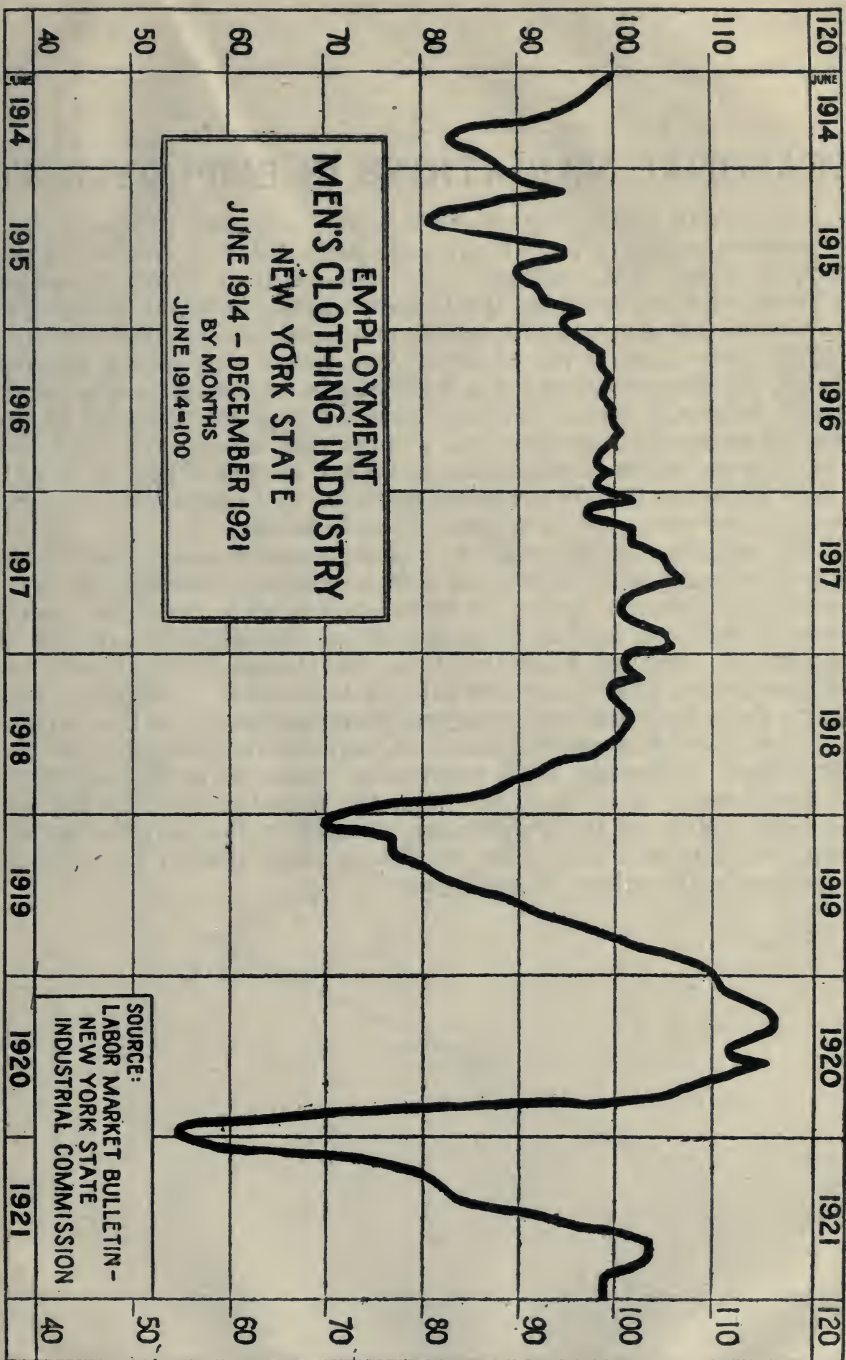
With the coming of the armistice there was a sharp drop in the number of workers employed in the men's clothing industry. The drop in New York state was in part accentuated by the lockout in New York City which lasted from the middle of November to some time in June, 1919.

The chart shows a very great increase of workers employed in the men's clothing industry during 1919 and early 1920, culminating in April of that year when the first effects of the coming depression were noted. It is significant, however, to note that although there was undoubtedly considerable expansion of the industry in 1919, the expansion was not as great as might be indicated by comparing January, 1919, and April, 1920. The New York State Industrial Commission reports that in January, 1919, there were only about 70 per cent as many workers employed in the industry in New York state, on the basis of figures from representative factories, as were employed in June, 1914, before the war. At the time of the greatest expansion, namely, April, 1920, the number of workers in the men's clothing industry was approximately 17 per cent greater than it was before

the war. The expansion in the men's clothing industry was much less than among other industries or for industry as a whole.

Beginning with May, 1920, there was a continued reduction in the number of workers employed in the industry because of the industrial depression. The low point was reached in December, 1920, when the number was undoubtedly lessened by the New York manufacturers in declaring a lockout. In 1921, as the Rochester industry gradually recovered from the depressed conditions of 1920, and as there were more and more settlements in the New York market, the number of workers employed increased. With the settlement of the lockout in June, 1921, and the coming on of the fall manufacturing season, there was a marked increase in the number of workers employed in the industry. Hence in August, September, and October, 1921, the number of workers in the men's clothing industry was slightly larger than in June, 1914. In the latter part of 1921, as the work for the fall manufacturing season was finished, there was a slight reduction in the number of workers employed.

It should be borne in mind in considering these figures that they are based upon the number of workers employed. Part-time employment or overtime is not reflected in these figures. One of the serious problems of the industry is "unemployment within employment"—that is to say, part-time employment. If it were possible to secure data showing overtime payments when the industry was busy, and decreased payments due to part-time employment when the industry was slack, variations in the growth would be much more marked and the drop from the high point of April, 1920, to the low point in December, 1920, would be much greater than appears in the chart. The chart on page xi, relating to seasonal variations in employment, shows the relation of the variations in the total payroll to the changes in the number of workers employed. It will be there noted that wages rise faster than does the number of workers employed during the busy periods, and on the other hand fall much more sharply than the number of workers employed in slack periods.



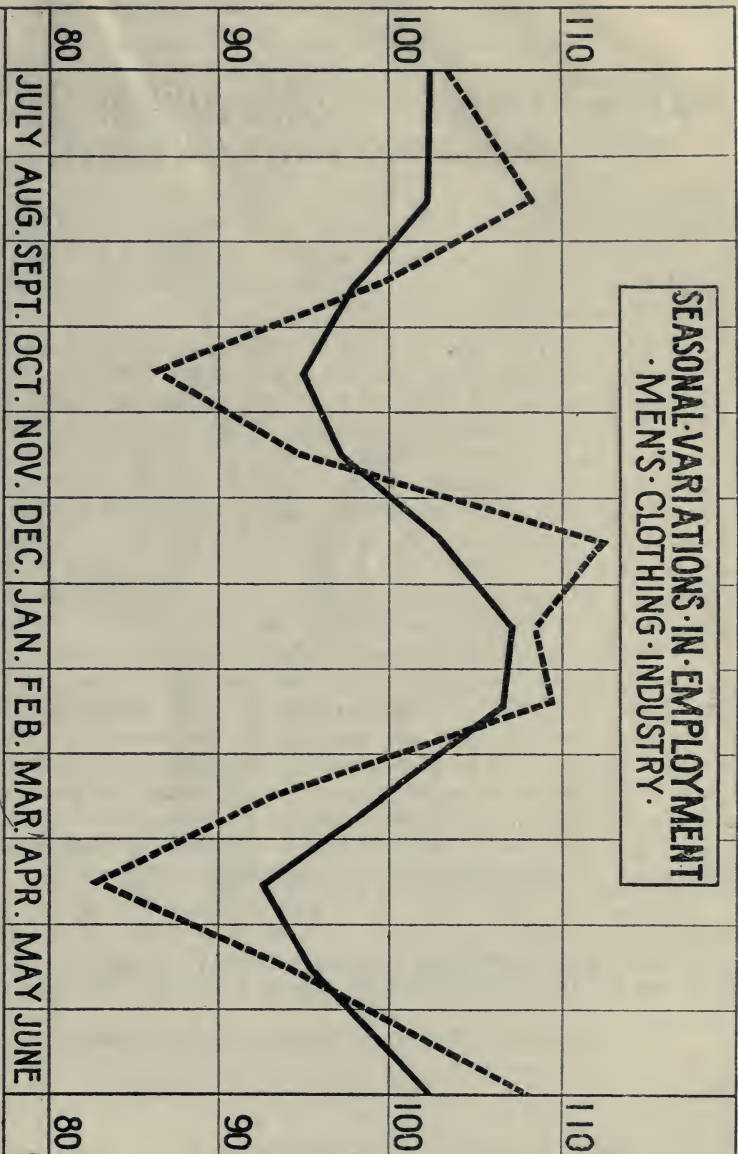
SEASONAL VARIATIONS IN EMPLOYMENT

The chart on page xi shows seasonal variations in the number of workers employed and the average payroll during the year July, 1913, to June, 1914, inclusive. The figures upon which the chart is based were collected by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics from 133 shops (mostly inside shops) employing on the average slightly more than 17,000 workers. The reason this year is selected is that the data collected are not affected by abnormal conditions resulting from war, nor do they represent a period characterized by the general prosperity amounting to a boom that occurred in 1919, nor was there an industrial depression as we had in 1914-15 and in 1920-21.

The figures of 1913-14 are therefore admirably adapted to show the change, due primarily to seasonal considerations.

Examination of the chart will disclose that we have plotted not only the change in the number of workers employed but also the average weekly payroll. It will be observed that while these two curves move in the same general direction, the variations in the amount of payroll are very much greater than the change in the number of workers employed. The reason for this is obvious. During the busy season there is an increase in payroll disproportionate to the increase in the number of workers, because of payment for overtime. On the other hand, during the slack periods the reduction in the number of workers employed is much less than the reduction in their average earnings. Many of the workers are retained on the payrolls and are employed only part time. The result is a much sharper fall in earnings than in the volume of employment.

SEASONAL VARIATIONS IN EMPLOYMENT
· MENS' CLOTHING INDUSTRY.



— NUMBER OF WORKERS EMPLOYED

- - - - - AMOUNT OF PAYROLL

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of Labor
Statistics: Bulletin No. 187.

EFFECT OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION OF 1920-21 ON EMPLOYMENT

On the following page will be found a chart showing the effect of the recent industrial depression upon the men's clothing industry. The sudden drop in the amount of employment in the men's clothing industry in New York state, and the partial recovery which has since occurred, are shown graphically.

As the chart shows, the peak of employment was reached in April, 1920, and the first signs of the depression were disclosed by the reduction of the number of workers employed during May and June, 1920, when there is normally an increase in the number of workers due to the beginning of manufacturing for the fall season. The decline reached the low point in December, 1920. At that time most of the Rochester concerns had not yet begun their manufacturing for the spring season of 1921, although the season ordinarily begins about December 1 and sometimes even earlier. The low point in December, 1920, also signalizes the practical closing down of the men's clothing industry in New York City because of the lockout which started in that month.

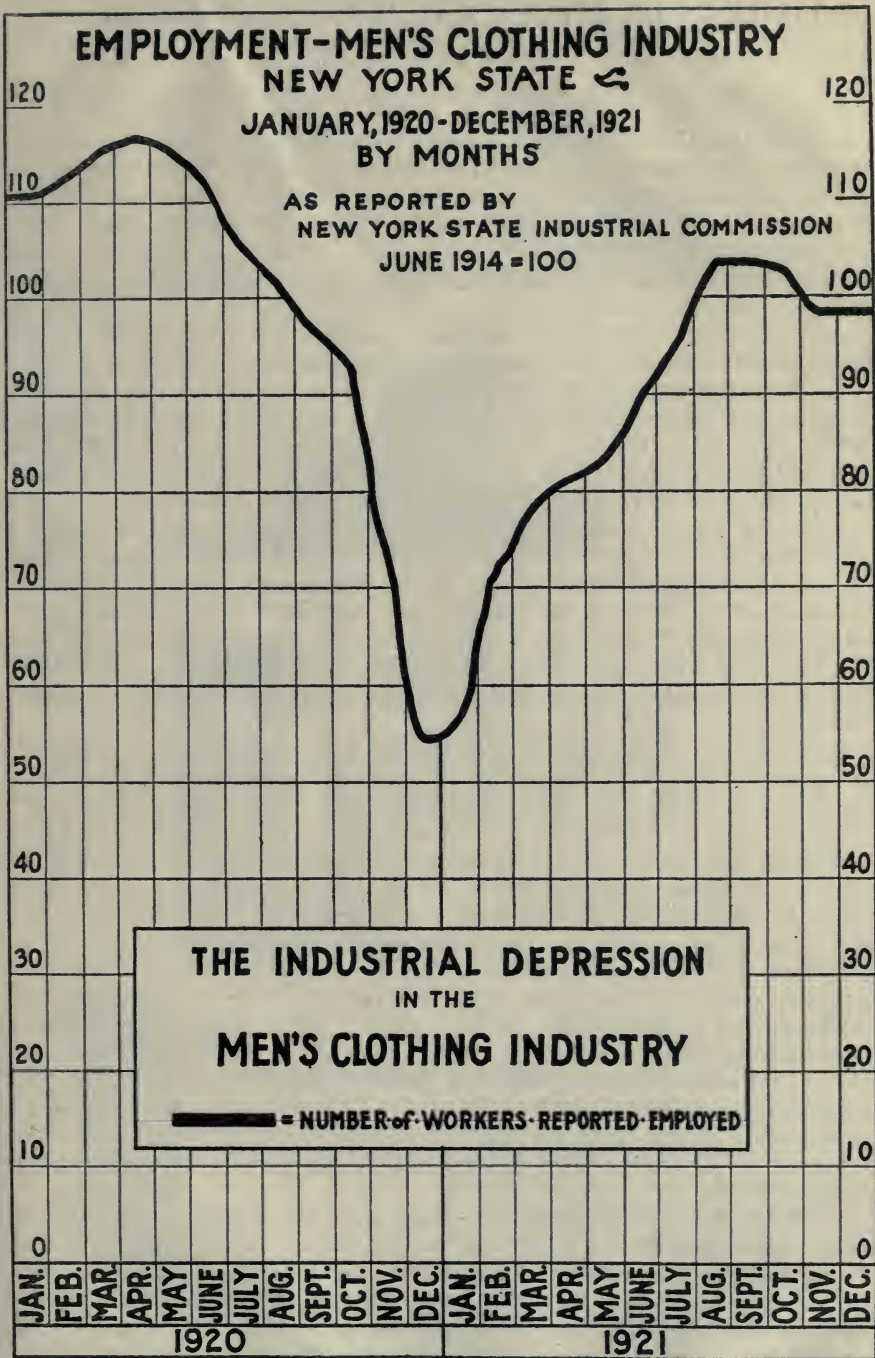
With the beginning of operations in Rochester and the increase of manufacturing in New York City resulting from an increasing number of settlements of manufacturers with the union, there was, as indicated on the chart, an increase in the number of workers employed. However, it is of interest to note that during February and March—the two months when there is normally the greatest activity in the men's clothing industry during the spring manufacturing season—only about 75 per cent as many workers were employed in New York state as were employed in June, 1914.

During the year 1921 there was continued recovery so that in August, September, and October, during the period of the fall season, there were practically the same number of workers employed as in June, 1914. More recently there has been a slight drop due to seasonal factors.

EMPLOYMENT-MEN'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY NEW YORK STATE

JANUARY, 1920-DECEMBER, 1921
BY MONTHS

AS REPORTED BY
NEW YORK STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION
JUNE 1914 = 100



**THE INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION
IN THE
MEN'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY**

— = NUMBER OF WORKERS REPORTED EMPLOYED

HOURS IN MEN'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY, 1911-1922

The chart on the opposite page shows the progress made since 1911 in reducing the number of working hours in a full-time week. In 1911 the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that 86 per cent of all workers in the men's clothing industry were working 54 hours or more. Moreover, at that time, when labor was weak in the industry, there was no penalty imposed upon the manufacturer when he worked his employees overtime, so that the full-time week reported by the bureau did not necessarily represent the actual conditions then prevailing.

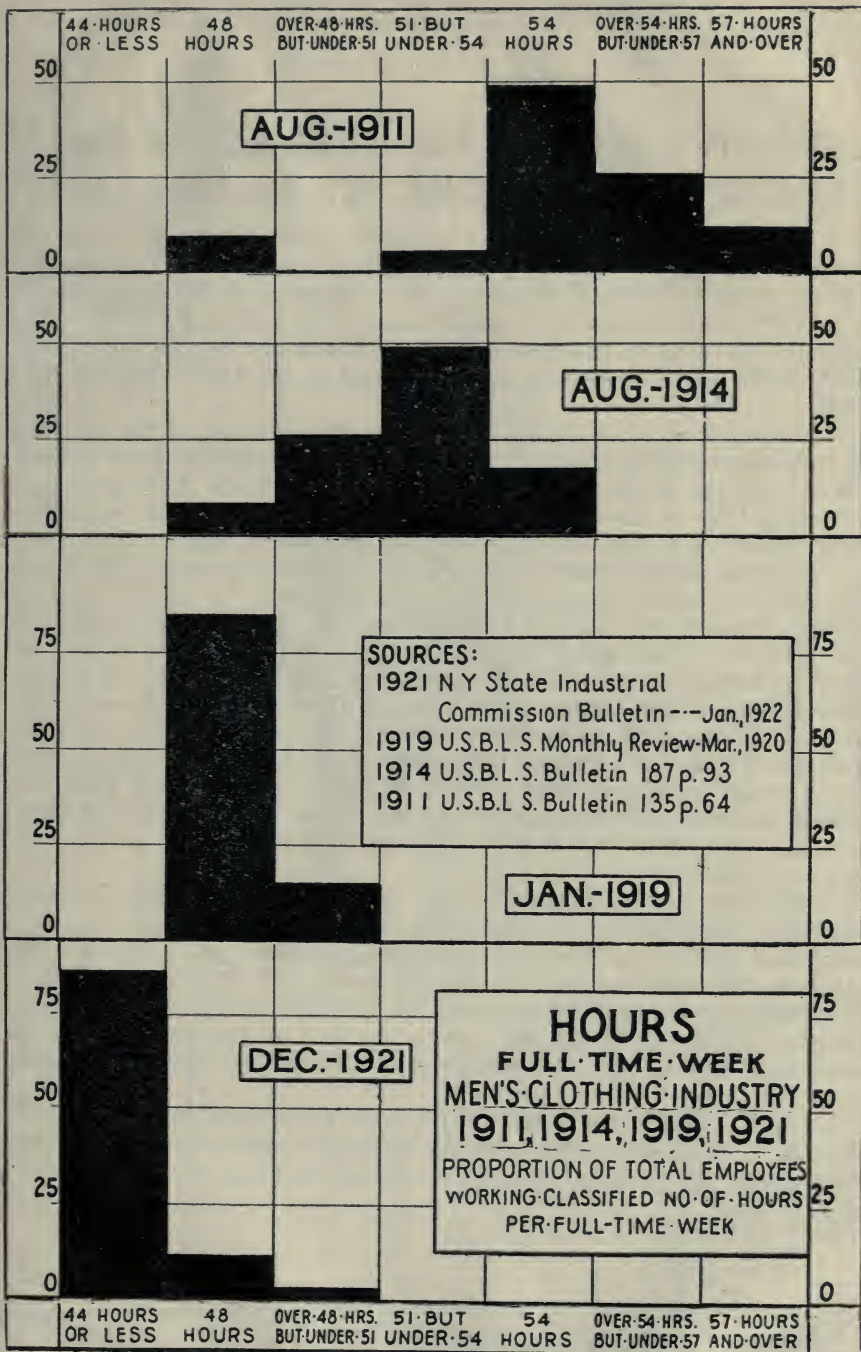
The only workers who worked less than 54 hours in 1911 were the cutters, some of whom had the 48-hour week.

With the growth of organization in the industry there has been consistent progress in reducing hours in a full-time week. In August, 1914, the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics found that hours had generally been reduced in the industry. At that time for approximately half the workers the standard number of hours was from 51 to 54. In many establishments the 52-hour week prevailed. Only 8 per cent of the workers, mainly cutters, worked 48 hours a week.

A third investigation made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in January, 1919, showed the industry on a 48-hour basis. The government then reported 85 per cent working 48 hours a week, and only 15 per cent over 48 hours. This represents conditions just before the Amalgamated was able to put in effect the standard 44-hour week.

There has been no report by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics on hours of labor in the men's clothing industry since 1919. However, an investigation made in December, 1921, by the New York State Industrial Commission in that state, which includes the large clothing centers of New York and Rochester and a number of smaller clothing markets, showed that virtually all of the workers had the 44-hour week standard. The commission's figures include all persons employed in the manufacture of men's clothing, i. e., foremen and superintendents, as well as cutters and tailors, and are not strictly comparable with the older figures which related to workers on "productive labor" only. The commission reports approximately 14 per cent working more than 44 hours. Many of these are undoubtedly foremen and superintendents, while the others are workers in non-union shops. Eighty-six per cent of all workers on men's clothing had the 44-hour week in December, 1921, whereas in January, 1919, approximately the same number had the 48-hour week.

In all the shops under agreement with the Amalgamated the 44 hour week prevails. The report of the New York State Industrial Commission for December, 1921 shows conclusively that the workers in the men's clothing industry have, despite the depression and the open shop movement, been able to retain the large gains in the improvement of working conditions which came after January, 1919.



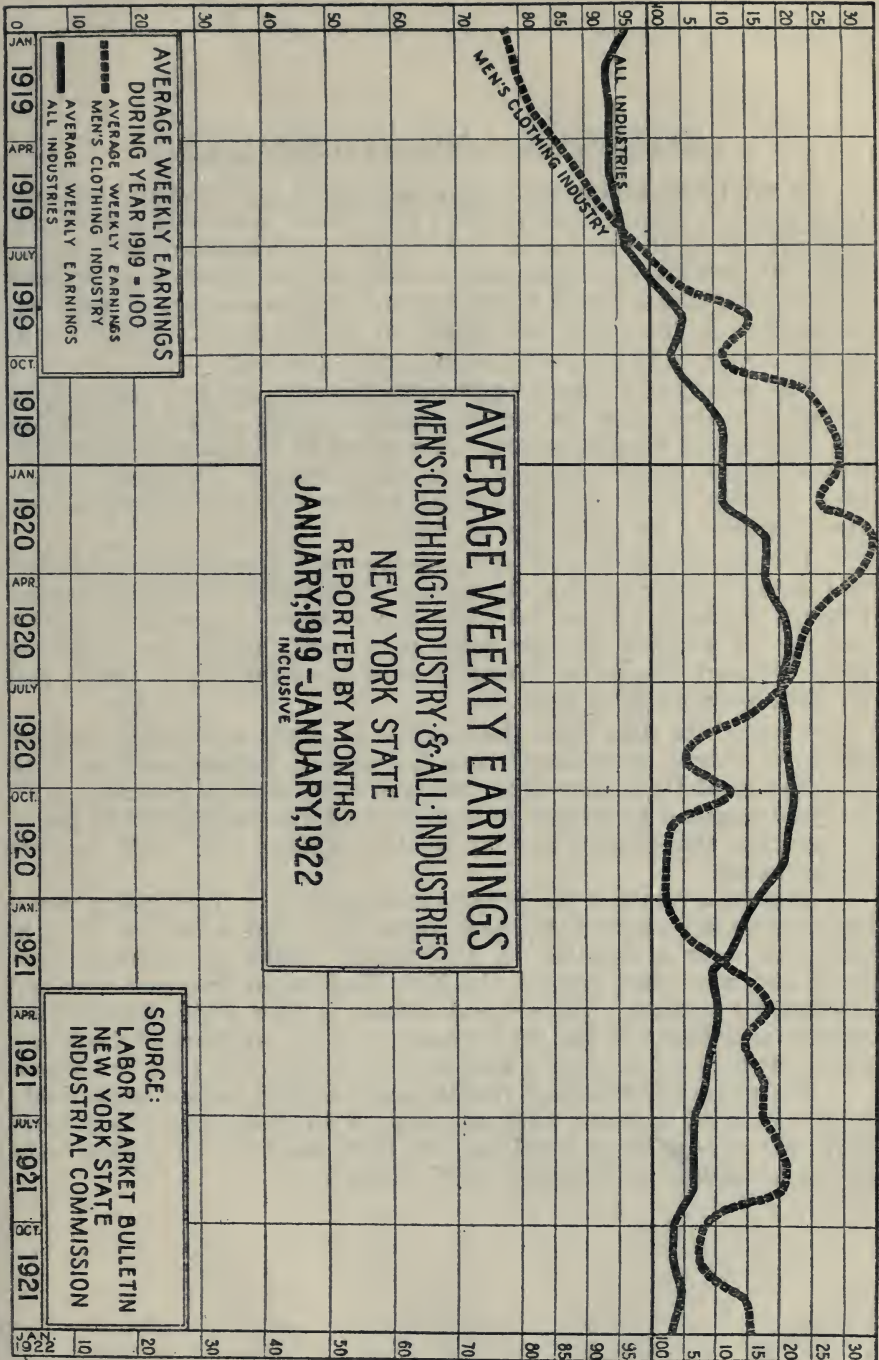
RELATIVE CHANGES IN AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS, NEW YORK STATE, 1919 - 1921

In the accompanying chart are shown relative changes in average weekly earnings of workers employed in the men's clothing industry and relative changes of average weekly earnings in all industries in New York State beginning from January, 1919 to January, 1922. The chart is based upon the figures collected monthly by the New York State Industrial Commission and published in the Labor Market Bulletin.

Examination of the chart shows that the earnings of the workers in the men's clothing industry rose much more rapidly than did the earnings of the workers in all industries in New York in the period of January, 1919 to March, 1920. The clothing industry was one of the first industries to feel the effects of the depression, and in May, 1920, the earnings of the workers in the men's clothing industry fell, while the earnings for all workers in other industries in the state were still rising, although but slightly. In the last half of 1920, the earnings of the workers in the men's clothing industry fell relatively below the average weekly earnings of the workers in all industries. As the industrial depression became more general, there was a decrease in the average earnings of all workers, in part because of wage reductions and also because of part-time employment, so that at the close of 1921 the average weekly earnings of all workers in New York State, on which reports were received by the New York State Industrial Commission, were approximately 5 per cent higher than the average for the year 1919.

The drop in the average weekly earnings in the men's clothing industry was largely as a result of the large amount of part time employment during the latter part of 1920 and the early part of 1921, when the depression in the clothing industry was most severe. Since then, because of increased employment, earnings in the men's clothing industry, relatively speaking, have risen and in January, 1922, were approximately 15 per cent higher than the average during the year 1919.

On the basis of the figures of the New York State Industrial Commission, the relative earnings of the clothing workers have been maintained to a larger extent than have average earnings for all industries in the State.



AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS
MEN'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY & ALL INDUSTRIES
 NEW YORK STATE
 REPORTED BY MONTHS
JANUARY, 1919 - JANUARY, 1922
 INCLUSIVE

AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS
 DURING YEAR 1919 = 100
 ■■■■■ AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS
 MENS' CLOTHING INDUSTRY
 ——— AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS
 ALL INDUSTRIES

SOURCE:
 LABOR MARKET BULLETIN
 NEW YORK STATE
 INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

JAN 1919 APR 1919 JULY 1919 OCT 1919 JAN 1920 APR 1920 JULY 1920 OCT 1920 JAN 1921 APR 1921 JULY 1921 OCT 1921 JAN 1922

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

In the tables following is given the record of strikes and lockouts from April 1, 1920, to March 31, 1922. There were 203 strikes and lockouts during this period, of which 117 were terminated by an agreement between the employers and the union. In fifty-nine other cases strikes were discontinued either because the manufacturer went out of business or the strike was called off by the union. There are at present, April 1, 1922, twenty-seven strikes pending.

The record of strikes and lockouts for the past two years shows a larger number than for the two previous years. This is accounted for, largely, by the increase in the number of lockouts by employers who attempted to put into effect the "open shop." There were forty-four lockouts in the men's clothing industry as the manufacturers' contribution to the open shop movement.

The largest number of strikes concerned the question of wages and hours. Many of these industrial disturbances resulted from an attempt to put into effect arbitrary reductions in wages by manufacturers. A number of these cases were really moves for an "open shop," though the direct demands were for reduction in wages and an increase in hours of work.

Analyzing the data from the standpoint of the number of workers involved, it will be observed that the general lockout in New York and Boston of December, 1920, involved more than 70 per cent of all workers engaged in strikes or locked out during the past two years. In addition, this general lockout involved slightly over 1,000 workers in Baltimore.

Also, as a result of the general lockout in New York, there was a strike involving about 6,000 workers in Philadelphia because firms in that city were attempting to do "unfair" work for firms in New York and were thus helping the New York manufacturers who had instituted a lockout. The general lockout in New York therefore accounts for between 75 and 80 per cent of all the members of the Amalgamated involved in strikes and lockouts during the past two years.

Except for the strikes in Buffalo and Hamilton, where respectively 1,500 and 1,400 workers were involved, in no other strike have more than 500 persons been involved. In fact, most of the strikes were in smaller shops affecting 100 to 200 workers.

SUMMARY OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

April 1, 1920 - April 30, 1922

Total number strikes and lockouts	203
Settled	117
Discontinued	59
Pending	27
<hr/>	
Number cities in which strikes or lockouts occurred	41
Total number of people involved	98,777
New York	73,017
Boston	7,056
Philadelphia	6,977
Baltimore	1,805
39 Other Cities	9,922
Number settled by direct negotiation	106
Number settled by arbitration	11
<hr/>	
By Cause	
Wages and hours	63
Open shop and lockout	44
Unfair work	32
Discrimination and discharge	18
For recognition of union	16
Violation of agreement	4
Miscellaneous	26
Total	203

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS—April 1, 1920 to March 30, 1922

City	Firm	Cause	No. Members Involved	Duration		Result	Method of Adjustment
				Date Beginning	Date End		
Baltimore	*L. & D. Adler	Open shop; reduction wages	60	12/29/20	June 1921	Out of business	
	Chas. Bender	" "	100	2/11/21	3/30/22	Sold out	
	*Columbia Tailoring Company	" "	175	12/29/20	8/1/21	Lost	
	Epstein Pants Co.	" "	120	10/11/21	3/30/22	Settled	Direct Negotiation
	*Isaac Hamburger & Sons	" "	300	12/29/20	11/18/21	Out of business	
	*K. Katz & Sons	" "	200	12/18/20	7/1/21	Lost	
	*J. Katzenstein	" "	100	12/29/20	7/1/21	Compromised	Direct Negotiation
	*Monumental Tailoring Company	" "	175	12/29/20	7/1/21	Compromised	"
	*H. Silverman & Sons	" "	75	12/29/20	7/1/21	Lost	
	U. S. Woolen Mills	Breach agreement re reinstatement after shutdown	300	10/26/20	7/19/21	Factory closed	
53 Coat Shops (pressers)	Reduction and to organize oppressors	200	11/25/21	11/28/21	Won: Incr. 10-20%	"	
Boston	Boston Clothiers Association (26 firms)	General Lockout; open shop	6500	1/1/21	6/1/21	Won: Assn. broken	Direct Negotiation
	Mitchell, the Tailor (custom tailor)	Open shop	6	1/14/22	Pending		
	Talbot Clothing Co.	Closing down shop: for division of work	500	9/15/20	Inj. applied for 11/18/20	Pending	
	Universal Sheepskin Co.	Moved out of town	50	1/19/22	Pending		
Bridgeport	Bridgeport Tailoring Company	Unfair work; non-union shop	75	2/3/21	2/8/21	Won: Agreement signed with union	Direct Negotiation
	Langrock	54 hrs.; 15% red. wages; 25% red. to outside tailors	45	12/22/20	1/18/21	Won	"
	Wolf & Abrams	Member assaulted by foreman	400	11/18/21	11/19/21	Won: Discharged worker reinstated and foreman reprimanded	"

City	General strike	Unfair work	1900	6/30/20	9/16/20	2 1/2 mos.	Called off
	Leeson	Discharge active workers	50	8/10/21	8/23/21	17 days	Lost
Buffalo	General strike Leeson	Unfair work Discharge active workers	1500	6/30/20 8/10/21	9/16/20 8/23/21	2 1/2 mos. 17 days	Called off Lost
Camden	M. Sion & Co. (shirts) Dreifus & Lang (Philadelphia)	Lockout	35 50	5/5/20 7/15/20	6/14/20 8/20/21	6 wks. 13 mos.	Lost "
Cincinnati	Davis Tailoring Company L. R. Marks Milton Ochs Seibler Tailoring Co.	Lockout Discharge for Union activity Discharge Union members; practically a lockout Wage reduction	36 45 375 75	11/14/20 3/11/22 5/27/20 1/7/21	2/5/21 Pending 6/23/21 3/3/21	12 wks. 13 mos. 8 wks.	Lost " "
Cleveland	Douglas Tailoring Co. Douglas Tailoring Co. Freedman Brothers L. K. Tailors National Tailoring Co. National Tailoring Co.	Layoff Closedown of shop; unfair work Open shop; piece work Lockout Discharge shop chairman 20% red. wages	85 100 60 14 100 70	4/23/20 8/3/21 5/20/20 1/21/22 9/14/20 1/26/22	5/24/20 9/23/21 7/27/20 9/16/20 2/3/22	1 mo. 7 1/2 wks. 10 wks. 11 days 8 days	Compromised; re- instatement; day's Negotiation pay Won: Piece work throughout market Shop closed Out of business Compromised Arbitration "
Coal City	Coal City Clothing Co.	Not called by A.C.W. but taken over	90	7/27/20	10/8/20	11 days	Compromised: 10% increase W. W.; Negotiation 44-hr. week; 10- 40% increase P. W.
Corona, L. I.	General Strike (11 firms)	Recognition Union	275	7/29/20	9/24/20	8 wks., 1 day	Won Direct Negotiation
East Rutherford	Modern Clothing Factory	Recognition	70	Jan. 1921	Feb. 1921	7 wks.	Lost

*General lockout following New York lockout.

City	Firm	Cause	No. Members Involved	Duration			Result	Method of Adjustment
				Date Beginning	Date End	Time Lost		
Hamilton	General Market	Reduction wages; refusal to arbitrate	1100	2/22/21	3/9/21	14 days	Compromised: \$4 Direct men; \$3.50 women. Negotiation Equal div. work; no discrimination	"
	Firth Company	For increase wages	73	6/23/20	6/26/20	4 days	According to agreement	"
	Firth Company	Violation agreement re employing non-union workers	100	11/18/20	11/18/20	1 day	Settled satisfactorily	"
	Firth Company	Lockout; discharged shop chairman	97	1/14/21	1/25/21	10 days	Won	"
	Firth Company	5-10% wage reduction	95	8/12/21	8/19/21	7 days	Won; union agreement; wage increase	"
Joliette	Kramer (Contractor for Copley, Noyes & Randall)	Refusal to pay standard wage rate	15	8/23/21	8/30/21	1 wk.	Compromised; Incr. of \$1.50 to 5 worker	"
	Thornton Douglas	Wage reduction	35	2/16/22	4/6/22	7 wks.	Compromised	"
Kansas City	J. Elkin (Montreal and Joliette)	44 hours	160	6/5/20	9/30/20	17 wks.	Compromised	Direct Negotiation
	Lazar Steinberg	" "	60	6/17/20	9/30/20	3 mos., 2 wks.	Went out of business	"
Kansas City	Midwest Tailoring Co.	25% reduction; lockout	30	12/7/20	3/9/21	13 wks.	Won; Same wages Direct as before Dec. 7. Negotiation	"
London, Ontario	Green-Swift	Reduction of wages; discrimination	100	1/26/21	2/21/21	4 wks.	Won: 6 individual cases of reduction	Direct Negotiation
Los Angeles	Haber & Company	Discharge shop chairman	100	5/3/21	5/11/21	8 days	Compromised	Direct Negotiation

Louisville	Falls City Clothing Company	For hours and time and half for overtime	6	4/23/20	6/4/20	6 wks.	Compromised: \$5-\$7 Direct increase; vacation Negotiation with pay for week
	Falls City Clothing Company	Wage reduction	42	2/10/22	Pending		
	Company Goldberg	Signed with U.G.W.	19	12/15/20	5/15/21	5 mos.	Lost
Lynn, Mass.	14 Custom Tailors	Recognition	60	8/15/20	9/8/20	3 wks.	Won Direct Negotiation
Milwaukee	People's Tailoring Co.	Lockout	30	1/30/22	Pending		
Minneapolis	Robins Fur Dressing Co.	Hours; wages	23	4/13/20	4/19/20	6 days	Won: 15% increase; 44 hrs. Negotiation
Montreal	Semi-Ready Company Dominion Clothing Co. M. Feidstein Son & Co.	Discharge union members Sending work to contractors Wage reduction	24 40 5	6/1/20 2/18/22 2/14/22	9/28/20 Pending 2/21/22	17 wks. 1 wk.	Lost Won Direct Negotiation
	Gold Brothers	Piece work; red. wages and staff	20	11/19/20	12/3/20	2 wks.	Won
	Geo. Hamilton (cont.)	Reduction wages; piece work; unfair work	30	11/25/20	2/25/21	3 mos.	Went out of business; bankrupt Settled
	Miller Clothing Co.	Piece work; red. wages and staff	20	11/19/20	1/15/21	8 wks.	"
	Pollack Clothing Co.	Against piece work	35	8/26/20	9/15/20	3 wks.	Out of business
	Robinson Company	Reduction of wages and staff	60	10/29/20	11/17/20	17 days	Won
	Robinson Company	Discharge union worker	65	2/1/22	2/11/22	10 days	Won
	Rubin Brothers	Piece work; wage red.; 49 hrs.; sending work out of town	90	12/17/21			Moved factory out of town
	Society Brand Shapiro (cont.)	Lockout Wage reduction	25 20	6/7/20 5/5/20	6/23/20 8/5/20	15 days 3 mos.	Won Out of business Settled
	Spector	Piece work; reduction wages and staff	20	11/19/20	1/31/21	10 1/2 wks.	Direct Negotiation
	Samuel Wener Co.	Reduction wages and staff	60	11/4/20	11/11/20	7 days	Won
	Samuel Wener H. Vineberg	Reduction of working force Wage reduction; lockout	75 200	12/16/20 12/8/20	1/17/21 12/14/20	1 mo. 1 wk.	Compromised Won

City	Firm	Cause	No. Members Involved	Duration			Result	Method of Adjustment
				Date Beginning	Date End	Time Lost		
Montreal (continued)	H. Vineberg & Co., Ltd.	Piece work; 49 hrs; wage reduction; open shop	200	1/6/22	1/6/22	1 day	Compromised: Av. Negotiation erage 10% reduc- Direct tion wages	
	H. Vineberg & Co., Ltd.	Reduction wages; arbitrary production standards	200	1/11/22	1/16/22	5 days	Won: Reduction of 1/8/22 changed to 7%; time and half for overtime; no piece work	
Mt. Forest	Superior Knitting Mills (Overalls, Sweaters)	Wages; recognition; breach of agreement	25	6/7/20	8/18/20	10 wks.	Lost: Settled June 9, 1920 favorably, but firm then backed out	
New Haven	General lockout	Lockout; reduction of wages	350	1/24/21	3/11/21	7 wks.	Won	
New London	Goodman Saransov Mc Lane	44-hour week	35	10/11/20	10/18/20	7 days	Won	
New Philadelphia	Nathan Fagzan	Lockout	100	9/27/20	1/1/21	14 wks.	Lost	
New York	Ansonge Brothers	Discharge and unfair work	200	4/5/20			Firm moved out of town	
	Samuel Blum	Layoff	400	5/10/20	7/19/20	10 wks.	Compromised	
	J. Davis J. Friedman & Co.	Recognition of Union Refusing to give work to old contractor	75 950	4/1/20 2/7/22	9/22/20 2/18/22	25 wks. 1 wk.	Lost Won	
							Direct Negotiation Impartial Chairman	

New York (continued)	General Market	65,000	12/16/20	6/2/21	6 mos.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Open shop; piece work; re- duction of wages; unlimited right of discharge						
	Layoff and unfair work	150	6/14/20	7/19/20	5 wks.	Won	"
	" " " "	150	7/19/20	8/2/20	2 wks.	Won	"
	Recognition of Union	75	4/1/20	5/5/20	5 wks.	Lost	"
	Discharge worker	300	6/25/20	9/3/20	2 mos., 1 wk.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	To regain control of shop	14	1/14/22	Pending			
	Layoff	500	5/16/20	7/16/21	14 mos.	Moved to Portches- ter; Lost	
	Lockout; open shop	110	10/4/20	10/18/20	2 wks.	Lost	
	10% increase wages	135	5/10/21	6/30/21	6 wks.	Compromised	5% Direct Negotiation
	For increase in wages	650	3/27/22	4/6/22	4 wks., 2 days	Won; average in- crease wages \$6.00	
	Unfair work	100	12/9/20	4/19/21	19 wks.	Won	"
	Reduction of wages	65	6/4/20	7/16/20	6 wks.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Collective bargaining	120	5/1/20			Discontinued; firm went out of busi- ness	
	Abolition inside shop	75	7/1/20	10/1/20	3 mos.	Shop closed	Direct Negotiation
	Reduction of staff and wages	90	12/10/20	2/8/21	7½ wks.	Won	"
	Abolition inside shop	350	12/9/20	5/23/21	23½ wks.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Collective bargaining	450	4/30/20			Firm moved out of town	
	Violation agreement re sending work to cut, make and trim	130	4/10/20	2/5/21	10 mos.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Introduction machinery without proper provisions	350	5/8/20	6/1/20	24 days	Compromised	"
	Collective bargaining	700	5/2/20			Firm moved out of town	
	Unfair work	130	12/1/20	12/28/20	24 days	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Recognition of Union	35	6/11/20	8/3/20	8 wks.	Won	"
	Reduction in wages	70	2/27/22	3/17/22	2½ wks.	Compromised	Arbitration
	Discrimination	100	5/11/20	Pending			
	Recognition of Union	35	11/30/20	12/30/20	1 mo.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Unfair work	18	1/17/22	3/17/22	2 mos.	Lost	
	Refusal to employ union help	110	12/24/20	Aug. 1921	8 mos.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Shirts						
	American Shirt Co.						
	Bakal (Ozone Park)						
	Besco						
	Bishop Brothers						
	Commercial Shirt Co.						
	Commodore Shirt Co.						
	Custom Shirt Co.						

City	Firm	Cause	No. Members Involved	Duration			Result	Method of Adjustment
				Date Beginning	Date End	Time Lost		
New York (continued)	Shirts U. & H. Shirt Co.	Unfair work	90	10/30/21	Pending			
	Civiter	Reduction in wages	40	1/25/22	Pending			
	Double Wear Shirt Mfg. Co.	Unfair work	10	12/1/21	Pending			
	Freer & Son	"	70	9/27/20	12/27/20	3 mos.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Goldsmith	"	45	12/1/20	12/28/20	24 days	Won	"
	Greenberg & Stein	Violation agreement; unfair work	65	11/25/21	Pending			
	Greenpoint Shirt Co.	Lockout; recognition of union	130	July 1921	Pending			
	High Grade Shirt Co.	Reduction in wages	45	2/27/22	3/17/22	2½ wks.	Compromised	Arbitration
	Isacovitz Brothers	Discrimination	50	4/10/20	11/1/20	29 wks.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	S. Jaffee & Son	Unfair work	11	3/2/22	3/8/22	6 days	Won	"
	S. Kantor	"	145	12/1/20	3/7/21	3 mos., 1 wk.	"	"
	Liberty Shirt Co.	Reduction in wages	90	2/27/22	3/17/22	2½ wks.	Compromised	Arbitration
	North American Shirt Co.	"	80	10/14/21	Pending			
	Superior Blouse Co.	Lockout	40	9/20/22	"			
	Superior Shirt Co.	Reduction in wages	50	11/7/21	"			
Thrifty Shirt Co.	"	90	2/27/22	3/17/22	2½ wks.	Compromised	Arbitration	
A. C. Tanzer	Discrimination cutters	12	8/9/20				Discontinued; moved plant to Wellingford, Conn.	
Paterson	UnityShirt Co.	Reduction in wages	110	2/27/22	3/17/22	2½ wks.	Compromised	Arbitration
	Weiss, Meyer, Schleifer	Refusal to employ union members in one shop	80	11/18/21	Pending			
	Zerline	Reduction in wages	65	2/27/22	3/17/22	2½ wks.	Compromised	Arbitration
Philadelphia	9 Shirt firms	Unfair work	62	7/15/20	8/13/20	1 mo.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Nankin Brothers	Reduction in wages	7	1/4/21	1/18/21	13 days	Won	Direct Negotiation
Philadelphia	S. Abrahams	Reduction in wages; change in system of work	40	8/23/20	8/28/20	6 days	Won	Direct Negotiation
	S. Abrams & Co.	Discharge shop chairman and worker	60	9/13/21	12/6/21	12 wks.	Lost; signed with U. G. W.	

Philadelphia (continued)	Barovsky	Unfair work	25	3/1/21	3/31/21	1 mo.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Brownstein	Open shop	35	1/5/22	3/31/21	14 days	Lost	
	De Longo	Unfair work	100	1/15/21	3/31/21	1 mo.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Farbman Brothers	"	75	3/1/21	3/31/21			
	Feinberg	"	60	1/29/21	3/3/21	6 wks.	Shop closed	
	General strike	" " for N. Y.	6,000	3/11/21	3/23/21	9 days	Won: 700-800 new membership	Direct Negotiation
	Goldsmith, Zandler & Miller	Against 48-hour week; open shop	150	11/17/20	11/18/20	2 days	Won: 44hr. week; union shop	
	Lipski	Open shop	45	1/1/22	Pending			
	Marion Pants Co.	Reduction in wages	25	3/1/21	3/31/21	1 mo.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Marion & Shore	Wage reduction	17	8/18/20	11/8/20	12 wks.	Won: secured week work	"
	Pioneer Shirt Co.	Reduction of wages; discrimination	25	3/8/21	3/9/21	2 days	Compromise: recognition of union; 44 hrs; piece work	"
	Progressive Pants Co.	Discharge union workers	18	3/1/21	3/31/21	1 mo.	Won: shop under union control	"
	Patty	Recognition	40	1/15/21	3/31/21	14 days	Lost	
	Reliable Clothing Co.	Lockout	100	4/26/20	8/16/20	16 wks.	Lost	
	Rutberg	Unfair work	12	3/1/21	3/31/21	1 mo.	Won	Direct Negotiation
Pittsburgh	Saquit Shirt Co.	Reduction in wages	70	3/1/21	6/15/21	3½ mos.	Lost	
	Vitulo	Recognition	80	1/15/21	3/31/21	14 days	Lost	
Pittsburgh	Leeds Company	Lockout; open shop	40	10/5/21	12/5/21	2 mos.	Won	Direct Negotiation
	U. S. Direct Clothing Co.	Lockout	100	7/1/20			Bankrupt—out of business	
Portchester	S & C	Unfair work	50	6/16/20	10/16/21	16 mos.	Went out of business	
Rochester	Michael Andino	Reduction wages; unfair work	45	1/28/21	6/28/21	5 mos.	Shop closed	
	Brownstone Naylor	Violation union rules; piece work system	51	9/23/20	10/22/20	22 days	Won	Direct Negotiation
	J. C. Brownstone	Violation union rules	70	Sept. 1920	Oct. 1920	4 wks.	"	"
	Berger & Snyder	"	35	12/30/20	1/7/21	1 wk.	"	"
	Berger & Landau	Refusal to abolish home-work	35	11/23/21	11/28/21	5 days	"	"
Blumenthal & Zelden	Birnbaum & Kaplan (cont.)	Failure to live up to union standards	18	12/16/21	12/21/21	5 days	Won	"
		Reduction of wages	35	12/30/20	2/3/21	5 wks.	"	"

City	Firm	Cause	No. Members Involved	Duration		Time Lost	Result	Method of Adjustment
				Date Beginning	Date End			
Rochester (continued)	Brownstone Naylor	Unfair work	50	10/2/20	10/27/20	22 days	Won: Preliminary agreement signed shop closed	Direct Negotiation
	Etkin & Miller	Minimum wage refused to one worker	35	9/28/21	10/5/21	1 wk.	Shop closed	
	Finkelstein & Phillips	Unfair work (N.Y.)	1	1/3/21	1/6/21	4 days	Won	Direct Negotiation
	Hyman Green & Sanzel Green & Seltzer	Reduction of wages	35	12/20/20	12/27/20	1 wk.	"	"
		Abolition of home work; time and half for overtime	25	7/26/21	7/27/21	2 days	"	"
	Reub Isaacs (including 6 contractors)	Non-union conditions in contract shops	250	2/22/22	Pending		Shop closed	Direct Negotiation
	Kosofsky Clothing Co.	Unfair work	50	11/8/20	4/8/21	5 mos.	"	Direct Negotiation
	Kovell & Caplan Co.	"	50	11/8/21	11/11/21	4 days	"	Direct Negotiation
	Polish Clothing Co.	20% reduction of wages	25	1/18/21	2/7/21	18 days	Firm bankrupt	Direct Negotiation
	Sherman Brothers Snyder Brothers	Unfair work Failure to live up to union standards	50 20	11/8/21 12/13/21	11/11/21 12/14/21	4 days 2 days	Won	Direct Negotiation
St. Louis	Nelson Pollack Ritter Clothing Co.	Lockout 25-50% reduction	25 45	7/23/20 12/1/20	Sept. 1920 12/26/20	22 days	Inj. issued Won: later went out of business	Direct Negotiation
	S. A. Green (cont.) Frank Huntington Kurzen Brothers Liftman Brothers J. T. Schusler	Lockout; 48-hour week	125	1/21/21	6/1/21	4 mos., 1 wk.	Won	Direct Negotiation
Scranton	Ansorge Brothers Nagelberg & Feinbaum	Discrimination Equal division of work; wages; recognition of shop chairman and committee	70 90	7/28/20 7/12/20	7/28/20	15 days	Discontinued Compromised	Direct Negotiation
	Shenandoah	Levenson Co. (shirts)	50	4/21/20	4/24/20	4 days	Won: 35% increase 44 hr; recognition	Direct Negotiation

Springfield	Bauman Clothing Co.	Discharge workers	100	4/5/20	4/13/20	8 days	Temp. inj., Later firm failed
Streator	Skein (garters)	Wages; hours; recognition	150	3/9/20	6/22/20	15 wks.	Compromised: 10% reduction; 44 hrs; Negotiation recognition; vaca- tion with pay
Syracuse	O. B. C. Co.	Unfair work	60	3/10/21	3/15/21	5 days	Temp. inj. issued; Firm failed
Toronto	Goodman Jacobs	Lockout	28	11/25/20	3/7/21	14½ wks.	Won
	Imperial Clothing Co.	Lockout; wage reduction; reduction staff	35	5/31/20	7/5/20	5 wks.	"
	Ontario Boys' Wear	Reduction of wages	16	6/20/20	8/4/20	6½ wks.	"
	Oxford Clothing Co.	Open shop; lockout	30	12/8/21			Lost
	Roth & Lodner	Lockout	28	11/25/20	3/7/21	14½ wks.	"
	Sheffer & Hillman	Reduction wages; reorgani- zation of shop	20	7/3/20	7/17/20	13 days	"
Zimmerfelgel Brothers	Security for wages in ar- rears	10	6/10/20	6/20/20	9 days	"	
Vineland	Blum	Reduction of wages	45	July 1921	Aug. 1921	6 wks.	Lost
	Cohen Pants Shop	" "	18	8/10/20	8/20/20	10 days	Won
	Phillips	For increase wages	25	6/22/20	7/20/20	4 wks.	Won
	A. Schaffer	Unfair work	22	3/2/21	9/2/21	6 mos.	Lost
	Schneiderman	" "	25	5/10/21	Pending		
Woodbine	Rabinowitz	Unfair work	25	3/2/21	3/23/21	3 wks.	Shop closed
	Woodbine Clothing Co.	" "	30	2/28/21			Discontinued
Worcester	Julius Brinell	22% reduction wages	50	1/25/22	Pending		
	Morelli & Caroselli	Non-union conditions	25	Feb. 1922	3/3/22	4 wks.	Won
	Slovin Brothers	22% reduction wages	50	1/25/22	Pending		
	Sher & Goldberg	" "	50	1/25/22	"		
	Wearwell Trouser Co.	" "	59	1/25/22	"		
	*Worcester Pants Mfrs. Assn. (12 shops)	wages reduction; 22% Lockout	154	1/31/22	2/18/22	14 days	

*2 shops (25 employees) returned to work 2/7/22 at 6½% reduction in wages. 1 shop still on strike 2/15/22.

INJUNCTIONS

The number of proceedings for injunctions against the Amalgamated increased in the same proportion as did strikes and lockouts during the past two years. Forty-nine separate suits were begun for injunctions against the Amalgamated. In New York alone fifteen suits for injunctions were filed as a result of the general lockout, and in Boston five firms participating in the general lockout asked for injunctions. Damages to the astounding sum of \$3,875,000 were asked. As the table shows, virtually all of these demands for damages were confined to the proceedings started in New York City. Of the total amount, damages in the relatively small amount of \$110,000 were asked for by firms other than those located in New York.

In twenty-four cases a temporary injunction was granted. Twenty-one of these applications for temporary injunctions were granted at the first hearing of the cases, while three requests for temporary injunctions originally denied were subsequently granted. In seventeen cases the requests for temporary injunctions were denied.

Very few suits for injunctions were pressed for trial. Of the four cases where decision had been made on request to grant a permanent injunction, in only two cases were these injunctions granted and in the other two cases the request was denied. In twenty-three cases the suits have been discontinued. In eight of these cases temporary injunctions had been granted. The number of cases brought to final trial is particularly significant. They indicate, as well as figures may indicate, the value to the manufacturer in time of strike or lockout of a temporary injunction as a weapon against the workers. Long before the case can be reached for trial on its merits the temporary injunction has served whatever purpose it was intended to serve when applied for, and the case is withdrawn by the manufacturer before a trial may be had.

Although damages for \$3,875,000 were asked, up to date no verdict for damages has been awarded.

SUMMARY OF INJUNCTIONS

April 1, 1920 - April 30, 1922

Number of suits begun	49	
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Temporary injunctions granted	24*	
Temporary injunctions denied	17*	
Cases filed—no action taken	10	
Otherwise disposed of	1	
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Permanent injunctions granted	2	
Permanent injunctions denied	2	
Suits for injunctions discontinued	23	
Injunction suits now pending	22	
Temporary injunctions pending	15	
Other cases pending	7	
<hr/>		
Total damages asked for	\$3,875,000	
Damages awarded	None	
Number of cities in which cases were started	17	

*In three cases a temporary injunction was originally denied but later granted

INJUNCTIONS—April 1, 1920 to April 30, 1922

City	Firm	Date Beginning of Action	Damages Asked	First Disposition	Date	Judge	Final Disposition	Date	Judge	Remarks
Akron	Douglas Tailoring Co.	8/19/21	—	Temp. inj.	8/19/21	—	Withdrawn	9/17/21	—	—
Baltimore	Bandgunas	10/18/20	—	Preliminary injunction	10/18/20	Stump	Pending	—	—	—
Boston	Jacob Falkson	2/3/21	—	Inj. denied	2/9/21	Waite	Bill of complaint dismissed by agreement	6/16/21	Lawton	Stipulation accepted, Judge Waite, 2/9/21
"	Herman H. Hershkoff	4/23/21	—	Temp. inj. issued	5/3/21	Braley	Pending	—	—	Referred to master for further hearing
"	Minas S. Kandazian	3/22/21	—	Inj. denied	4/7/21	Sanderson	Dismissed by agreement	10/31/21	—	Stipulation filed 4/7/21, before Sanderson
"	London Sponging Works, Inc.	8/9/21	To be determined	Temp. inj. denied	8/16/21	DeCourcy	Pending	—	—	Stipulation in lieu of injunction accepted by DeCourcy 8/16/21, and referred to master for hearing
"	Merchant Tailors' Mfg. Co.	2/10/21	—	Inj. denied	2/28/21	Sisk	Pending	—	—	Stipulation in lieu of injunction filed 2/28/21; referred to master for hearing

"	S. A. & H. Meyers	7/29/21	---	Inj. denied	8/9/21	Braley	Perm. inj.	9/28/21	Pierce	Valueless; refers to past strike and has no effect on future controversies
"	Peavey Bros. Co.	8/11/21	---	Inj. denied	8/16/21	De Courcy	Pending			Stipulation filed 8/16/21; referred to master for hearing
"	Rhodes & Ripley Clothing Co.	3/4/21	---	Temp. inj. issued	3/10/21	Crosby	Perm. inj. denied	4/28/21	Braley	Referred to master 5/5/21, now pending
"	Chas. B. Salyer	2/21/22	---	Pending						
"	Scott & Co., Ltd.	8/4/21	---	Temp. inj. denied	8/9/21	Braley	Pending			Agreement to file stipulation in lieu of injunction; referred to master
"	Talbot Clothing Co.	11/13/20	---	No. inj. issued	11/17/20	Lawton	Temp. inj. prohibiting picketing	3/6/21	Sisk	Temporary injunction allowing picketing 1/25/21, Sisk; 17 contempt cases out of this case -- 7 found guilty; cases under appeal. Stipulation filed 11/17/20, Lawton
Buffalo	M. Wile & Co.	8/4/20	\$50,000	Temp. inj. issued	8/4/20	Laing	Action discontinued	3/7/21	Cole	
Chicago	Midland Tailors	2/19/21	---	Temp. inj. issued	2/21/21	Rush	Pending			Case filed 4/6/21 with Judge Rush

City	Firm	Date Beginning of Action	Damages Asked	First Disposition	Date	Judge	Final Disposition	Date	Judge	Remarks
Cincinnati	Milton Ochs Co. L. R. Marks & Co.	6/29/20 4/17/22	— —	Temp. inj. issued Pending	6/29/20	Marx	Pending			
Los Angeles	Haber & Co. Wykoff & Lavine	5/12/21 4/12/22	— —	No hearing Dismissed	4/20/22		Removed from calendar	5/16/21		Strike settled
Louisville	Cooperative Tailoring Co.	3/25/21	—	Temp. inj. issued	4/6/21	Kirby	Pending			
"	M. Goldberg & Sons	1/7/21	—	Temp. inj. denied	1/7/21	A. M. Wallace	Perm. inj. denied	1/7/21	A. M. Wallace	
Milwaukee	J. & S. Polachek	3/23/22	—	Temp. inj. issued	3/23/22	Halsey	Pending			Restraining order modified to permit two pickets 3/25/22 Fritz
Montreal	Dominion Clothing Co.	3/18/22	\$10,000	Temp. inj. issued	3/18/22	Bruneau	Withdrawn	4/21/22	Weir	
Newark	Benedict Bros.	1/5/21	—	Temp. inj. issued	1/18/21	Buchanan	Pending			
New York	Marks Arnheim	3/24/21	\$250,000	Temp. inj. denied	5/4/21	McAvoy	Temp. inj. granted	7/25/21	App. Div.	Action now pending

"	Berger, Raphael & Well	4/8/21	\$200,000	Temp. inj. denied	5/15/21	McAvoy	Temp. inj. granted	9/2/21	McAvoy	Restraining order granted 8/3/21
"	Clemons the Tailor	3/7/21	\$100,000	No argument			Action dis-continued	6/28/21	Donnelly	
"	Cohen & Lang	4/26/21	\$100,000	No argument			Action dis-continued	9/15/21	Wasservogel	
"	Coleman Tailoring Co.	3/23/21	\$100,000	No argument			Action dis-continued	9/15/21	Wasservogel	
"	Sam Finkelstein	8/4/21	\$250,000	Temp. inj. issued	9/2/21	McAvoy	Pending			
"	J. Friedman & Co.	1/20/21	\$500,000	Temp. inj. denied	3/30/21	Bijur	Action dis-continued	9/15/21	Wasservogel	
"	Fruhauf Bros. & Co.	3/1/21	\$250,000	Temp. inj. issued	3/12/21	Erlanger	Pending			
"	Heidelberg, Wolf Co.	2/25/21	\$250,000	Temp. inj. issued	3/12/21	Erlanger	Pending			
"	Joseph H Itze	5/25/20	---	Temp. inj. denied	7/17/20	Donnelly	Action dis-continued	9/30/20		
"	Layman Berkwitz	4/19/21	\$100,000	Temp. inj. denied	5/4/21	McAvoy	Action dis-continued	9/15/21	Wasservogel	

City	Firm	Date Beginning of Action	Damages Asked	First Disposition	Date	Judge	Final Disposition	Date	Judge	Remarks
New York	S. D. Leff	3/24/21	not specified				Action discontinued	6/25/21	Faber	
"	Samuel W. Peck	3/14/21	\$200,000	Temp. inj. granted	4/4/21	Van Sticlen	Action discontinued	9/21/21	Strong	
"	Samuel Rosenthal Bros.	4/8/21	\$500,000	Temp. inj. denied	5/3/21	McAvoy	Action discontinued	9/15/21	Wasservogel	
"	Schwartz & Jaffee	3/3/21	\$500,000	Temp. inj. granted	4/4/21	Van Sticlen	Action discontinued	9/21/21	Strong	
"	J. Skolny & Co.	2/21/21	\$250,000	Temp. inj. granted	3/12/21	Erlanger	Action discontinued	11/25/21	Guy	
"	Max Weinsky	12/17/20	\$250,000	Temp. inj. granted	11/23/20	Giegenich	Action discontinued	3/23/21		Settled out of court while appeal pending
Philadelphia	A. D. Kirschbaum Co Lipsky Bros.	3/19/21 3/23/22	— —	No hearing Case dismissed	3/30/22	Stern	Request for inj. withdrawn			
Pittsburgh	U. S. Direct Clothing Co.	8/16/20	—	Temp. inj. issued	8/18/20	Haymaker	Discontinued			Firm went out of business

Springfield	Bauman Clothing Corp.	4/13/20	—	Voluntary stipulation in lieu of injunction	4/20/20	Hodskins Perm. inj.	10/22/20	Pierce	Firm failed
St. Louis	Nelson Pollock Clothing Co.	9/3/20	—	Temp. inj. issued	11/27/20	Faris	Discontinued		Firm dissolved partnership
Stamford	Currick & Leiken	4/9/21	—	No argument			Pending		
Syracuse	O. B. C. Clothing Co.	3/15/21	\$25,000	Temp. inj. issued	3/10/21	Defendorf	Pending		Firm failed and suit practically abandoned
Vineland	Philip Soefer	3/23/21	—	Temp. inj. denied	4/4/21	Leaming	Pending		

INJUNCTIONS PENDING—April 1, 1920.

Boston	Leopold Morse Co.	8/4/18	\$25,000	No argument					Plea in abatement, demurrer and answer filed. No action
New York	Rogers Peet Co.	9/5/19	\$200,000	Temp. inj. issued	9/3/19	Guy	Pending		
"	Bob & Baskind	8/27/19	—	Temp. inj. issued	11/19/19	Manning	Case dismissed	2/24/21	Lazansky
Rochester	Michaels-Stern Co.	10/1/19	\$100,000	Temp. inj. issued	9/29/19	Stephens	Perm. inj.	2/22/22	Rodenbeck

AGREEMENTS

Two hundred and nine firms employing approximately 125,000 workers and operating plants in twenty-four cities had agreements with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as of April 1, 1922. In the tables following is given a list of such agreements now in force. In addition there were a number of informal agreements between local organizations and manufacturers which are not included in the above figures. Despite the lockout in New York, Boston, and Baltimore, there has been no material change in the number of workers affected by agreements in April 1, 1922, as compared to April 1, 1920. What slight changes have taken place have in part resulted from the liquidation of manufacturing firms such as Strouse Bros. in Baltimore, which employed upwards of 1,000 workers, and the contraction in the industry due to the industrial depression.

There have been some changes in the form of the arrangement between the Amalgamated and manufacturers. For example, two years ago there was in existence an agreement with the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Boston. This association is now virtually out of existence and all of our agreements in the Boston market are with individual firms. On the other hand, two years ago, all of our agreements with shirt manufacturers in New York City were with individual concerns. Early this year a new agreement was negotiated with the Shirt Manufacturers' Association, consisting of thirty-six firms employing directly 1,800 workers. In Chicago, the new agreement just signed, which goes into effect May 1, is with the Chicago Industrial Federation of Clothing Manufacturers and includes all firms formerly members of the National Wholesale Tailors' Association, the Wholesale Clothiers' Association, and certain other firms listed under the head of independent firms. The agreement with Hart, Schaffner & Marx is, as formerly, a separate one. In New York, the former association was virtually re-organized after the settlement of the lockout in June, 1921. At the present writing seventeen firms are dealing with us through the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York, Inc. Other firms, formerly members of this association, have individual agreements with us. Early in April, 1922, the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York, Inc., announced that on June 1 it would withdraw as the agency for making agreements between the Amalgamated and the seventeen manufacturers at the present time members of the association.

**AGREEMENTS IN FORCE APRIL 1, 1922 BETWEEN THE
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
OR ITS LOCAL UNIONS AND MANUFACTURERS'
ASSOCIATIONS OR INDEPENDENT FIRMS**

City	Association or Firm	People Affected	Date of Beginning	Date of Expiration
Baltimore	225 Contract Shops	3,500	At present	Indefinite
	22 Inside Shops	1,450	operating "	"
	Henry Sonneborn & Co., Inc.	2,500	1/2/21	5/31/22
Boston	Independent Firms	5,500		
	Barron Anderson Co.		7/26/22	7/26/23
	Beacon Clothing Co.		At present	Indefinite
	Bedford Clothing Co.		operating 6/1/21	6/1/22
	T. Berman		Jan. 1922	Jan. 1923
	Max Berry		Jan. 1922	Jan. 1923
	Billings-Johnson Co.		Apr. 1921	Apr. 1922
	Boston Tailoring		At present	Indefinite
	operating			
	Boylston Tailoring		Jan. 1922	Jan. 1923
	Central Clothing Co.		Feb. 1922	Feb. 1923
	Commonwealth Clothing Co.		Jan. 1922	Jan. 1923
	Corvin Swartz, Inc.		1/15/22	1/5/23
	Cromwell Littlefield		1/12/22	1/12/23
	D. V. S.		1/12/22	1/12/23
	Federal Clothing Co.		2/2/22	2/2/23
	Feldberg Pants		At present	Indefinite
	operating			
	Fidelity Clothing Co.		1/25/22	1/25/23
	Filene		At present	Indefinite
	operating			
	Gale & Kent		"	"
	Goldberg Bros.		"	"
	S. Goldberg		"	"
	Gorfinkle		"	"
	Ed. Goldman Co. (Sheepskin)		"	"
	Goldsmith		"	"
	Haymarket Clothing Co.		Apr. 1921	Apr. 1922
	H C H Pants		At present	Indefinite
	operating			
	Jacob Falkson & Co.		May 1921	May 1922
	Kalish		At present	Indefinite
	operating			
	Knopf Mfg. Co. (Sheepskin)		"	"
	Liberty Clothing Co.		1/13/22	1/13/23
	Leventhal & Sugarman		At present	Indefinite
	operating			
	"		"	"
	A. H. Matz		Jan. 1922	Jan. 1923
	Mason & Jacobs		2/11/22	2/11/23
	L. Miller Co.		Apr. 1921	Apr. 1922
	Monarch Clothing Co.		1/22/22	1/22/23
	Murray & McMahan		At present	Indefinite
	Oppenheim Bros.		operating	
	Pilgrim Clothing Co.		Feb. 1922	Feb. 1923
	Royalty Clothing Co.		2/2/22	2/2/23
	Rogers-Snow Co.		Dec. 1921	Dec. 1922
Samet & Wasserman		At present	Indefinite	
operating				
"		"	"	
Shenkel & Son		May 1921	May 1922	
Simon Coat (Sheepskin)		June 1921	June 1922	
Singer-Snow Co.		1/13/22	1/13/23	
A. Shuman Company		At present	Indefinite	
Six Little Tailors		operating		
Steinroth		"	"	
Sullivan Bros.		2/25/22	2/25/23	
Superior Clothing Co.		1/1/22	1/1/23	
Trimont Clothing Co.		At present	Indefinite	
United Tailoring		operating		
"		"	"	
Universal Clothing Co.		1/12/22	1/12/23	
Chas. Wagner		Jan. 1922	Jan. 1923	
Tom Wilson Co.		At present	Indefinite	
Bushelman Department Stores		operating		

City	Association or Firm	People Affected	Date of Beginning	Date of Expiration
*Chicago	National Wholesale Tailors A. E. Anderson Banner Tailoring Co. M. Born & Co. Briede & Rogovsky Chicago Kahn Bros. Chicago Tailoring Co. Churchill & Co. Continental Tailoring Co. D'Ancona & Co. J. C. Gorman & Co. M. G. Harris & Co. International Tailoring Co. Lamm & Co. Lukone Tailoring Co. Majestic Tailors Marks Tailoring Co. H. M. Marks & Co. Meyer & Co. Murphy Bros. Mutual Tailoring Co. E. V. Price & Co. Progress Tailoring Co. Regent Tailors Rose & Co. Ed. Rose & Co. Royal Tailors Schoenbrun & Co. Scotch Woolen Mills A. L. Singer & Co. E. E. Strauss & Co. Strauss Bros. J. L. Taylor & Co. H. Wartell & Sons Whitney Tailoring Co.	7,028	12/22/19	4/31/22
	Wholesale Clothiers' Assn. L. Abt & Sons Cohn Rissman Co. Daube Rosenthal & Co. Alfred Decker & Cohn Ederheimer Stein Co. Granert & Rothschild Hirsh, Wickwire Co. Chas. Kaufman Bros. Kuh, Nathan & Fischer Kuppenheimer & Co. Leopold, Solomon & Eisendrath Lieberman, Philipson & Wolf H. M. Lindenthal & Sons Mayer Bros. Rosenwald & Weil Schoenberg Bros. Schoenfeld Yatter & Co. J. Schwartz & Sons Sheahan, Kohn Co. S. Simon & Co. S. Spitz & Sons Stein, Spiesberger & Erman Stern, Mayer Co.	10,925	12/22/19	4/31/22
	Independent Firms Acme Tailoring System A. Adelman Alschuler-Dreyer Co. American Clothing Co. American Tailors Art Tailors Babson Bros. Barnett, Ira & Co. Becker Latin Becker-Mayer-Becker Bernstein Best Tailoring Co.	22,000	12/22/19	4/31/22

*Agreement with Hart, Schaffner & Marx, National Wholesale Tailors' Assn., Wholesale Clothiers Assn., and the rest of the Chicago Market renewed to be effective from May 1, 1922 to April 30, 1925.

City	Association or Firm	People Affected	Date of Beginning	Date of Expiration
*Chicago (continued)	Independent Firms Blair & Co. Blecha, F. Bloomenthal & Frost Breyer Brothers Breyer-Meyer Co. Broccolo Bros., Inc. Chicago Custom Garment Co. Clubfellow Tailoring Co. Cohn, A. H. & Co. Cohn Bros. Cohen, I. Continental Clothing Co. Cooper Smith Co. Cosenza, Sam Diamond Tailoring Co. Dorr-Alan Custom Garment Co. Elias, A. J. & Co. Elman, H. A. & Co. Faultless Tailoring Co. Feldman Bros. Feldman, M. & Sons Fogel Bros. Gerard Tailors Getzoff, Fred Goldman Tailoring Co. Grant Tailoring Co. Grossman Bros. Gunkel & Novy Co. Guskowski, Harry, Co. Guthman Bros. Harris Freeman & Co. Hamburg, Bert & Co. Harris, Jos. & Co. Hart, Schaffner & Marx Heyman, G. & S. Co. Hoffman & Potter Holz, M. & Co. Hub, The (H. C. Lytton & Co.) Ideal Clothing Co. Isadore, Irving, Co. Joint Tailors Corp. Keystone, The, Tailoring Co. Klein, S. & Co. Kling Bros. Knapp Co., B. & A. Koski Tailoring Co. Langendorf Clothing Co. Leeds Woolen Mills Prosterman & Branson Levy, Max & Co. Lewis Bros. Lewis-Sime-Cohen Lieberman & Starr Lincoln Tailoring Co. Lipman & Lipman Maier-Lavaty Co. Marks & Brown Marver & Graffman Midland Custom Pants Works Midwestern Tailoring Co. Montyband Co. Morgenthau Bros. National Custom Gar. Workers Newman & Co. North American Tailoring Co. Oxford Hand Tailoring Co. People's Tailoring Co. Perfection Clothing Co. Perlstein Co., The Personal Service Tailoring Co. Pike, W. J. & Co. Platke Bros. Co. Rosenthal Tailoring Co.			

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City	Association or Firm	People Affected	Date of Beginning	Date of Expiration
†Chicago (continued)	Independent Firms			
	Rothschild, M. L. & Co.			
	Ruhwiedel & Behrens			
	Samuels Clothing Mfg. Co.			
	Samuels Tailoring Co.			
	Shaunberg Tailoring Co.			
	Scheyer & Co.			
	Sell Bros. Co.			
	Shea-Aaron & Co.			
	Shieldtex			
	Samuel S. Simon Co.			
	Sitron, A. & Co.			
	Square Tailoring Co.			
	Stagg Tailoring Co.			
	Standard Apparel Co.			
	Standard Custom Garment Co.			
	Statenback			
	Steinberg, B.			
	Suffrin, David			
	Sumner, L. & Son			
	Tailors Service Co.			
	Turner Bros.			
	Union Woolen Mills Co.			
	United Custom Garment Workers			
	Wallen-Hass & Berger			
	Wabash Tailoring Co.			
	Weihe-Haffler			
	Weisbach Bros.			
	Western Uniform Co.			
	Williams, S. D.			
	Witkowsky, J.			
	Wozniak & Co.			
	Yatler, Samuel & Co.			
	Exclusive Spongers and Examiners			
	Michael-Kohn			
	United Sponging Co.			
	H. Selz & Son			
	Improved Sponging Co.			
	R. Hoffman & Co.			
	Empire Sponging Co.			
	250 Contract shops			
Cincinnati	American Art Tailoring Co.*	60	9/25/19	4/30/22
	A. Block, & Co.	200	9/25/19	4/30/22
	Friberg Clothing Co.	60	11/8/19	4/30/22
	Globe Tailoring Co.*	300	9/15/19	6/30/22
Cleveland	Manufacturers' Assn.			
	Cohen Bros. & Halle (incl. cont.)	80	3/1/22	3/1/23
	Douglas Tailoring Co.	100	"	"
	Modern Tailors (incl. cont.)	65	"	"
	National Tailors	100	"	"
	Scotch Woolen Mills	90	"	"
	Independent Firms			
	*Alert Clothing	10	"	"
	*De Luxe	12	"	"
	*Liberty	30	"	"
	*Mitchell	8	"	"
	*Nobby	30	"	"
*Superior	18	"	"	
Hamilton	*Farrar Co.	10	At present operating	Indefinite
	Firth Co., Ltd.	97	8/19/21	4/30/22

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*Agreement renewed to be effective May 1, 1922 to April 30, 1925.

City	Association or Firm	People Affected	Date of Beginning	Date of Expiration
Indianapolis	August Julian Tailoring Co.	75	6/30/19	6/30/22
	†Kahn Tailoring Co.	700	"	"
	Leon Tailoring Co.	25	Feb. 1922	"
Kansas City	Midwest Tailoring Co.	75	At present operating	Indefinite
	Kansas City Custom Garment Co.	125	At present operating	Indefinite
Los Angeles	R. Fierman	20	12/30/21	12/30/22
	Singer & Silverberg	44	12/2/21	12/2/22
	Universal Tailoring Co.	39	10/22/21	10/22/22
Louisville	*M. Cohen	30	At present operating	Indefinite
	*Mann's Vest Shop	28	"	"
	*Sherman Clothing Co.	300	"	"
Lynn	17 Merchant Tailors	150	1/26/22	1/26/23
Milwaukee	David Adler & Sons Clothing Co	700	8/1/19	May 1922
	L. Barnett	40	1/10/20	Feb. 1923
	English Woolen Mills	65	8/1/19	May 1922
	Friend & Marks Clothing Co.	85	8/1/19	"
	Lehrmann Aarons Clothing Co	100	8/1/19	"
	Moritz & Winter Clothing Co	175	8/1/19	"
	Ottenstein Bros. & Webber	80	7/1/19	"
	Scottish Woolen Mills	30	1/5/20	12/31/23
	Harry Simon & Son	25	1/10/20	Feb. 1923
	Zucker & Weinsell Mfg. Co.	70	8/1/19	May 1922
	*8 contract shops	175	Aug. 1919	May 1922
Montreal	Clothing Manufacturers' Assn.			
	Christie Clothing	50	6/1/21	5/31/22
	Fashion Craft	200	"	"
	Fels & Lippe	125	"	"
	Freedman Co.	250	"	"
	B. Gardner & Co.	300	"	"
	Gariepy & Frank	35	"	"
	S. Gold	25	"	"
	S. Kellert & Son	300	"	"
	S. Levinson Son & Co.	250	"	"
	J. W. Peck	250	"	"
	Rubinstein Bros.	70	"	"
	Independent Firms			
	*Kaplan Samuelson Co.	75	"	"
	Robinson Co.	70	"	"
	Sterling Clothing Co.	150	"	"
	H. Vineberg	250	"	"
7 Firms	205	"	"	
4 contract shops	115	"	"	
New York	Clothing Manufacturers' Assn.	2052	6/3/21	5/31/22
	Mark L. Abrahams & Bros.			
	Cohen & Lang			
	Driessen, Meyer & Oransky			
	Eisenberg & Settel			
	Empire Novelty Clothing Co.			
	Frankenstein Bros.			
	J. Friedman & Co., Inc.			
	Ferdinand Kuhn Co.			
	Lipps Brothers			

†Agreement renewed to be effective from May 1, 1922 to April 30, 1925.

*Mutual Understanding

City	Association or Firm	People Affected	Date of Beginning	Date of Expiration
New York (continued)	Clothing Manufacturers' Assn.			
	Samuel W. Peck & Co.			
	Samuel Rosenthal & Bros.			
	Schwartz & Jaffee, Inc.			
	J. Skolny & Co.			
	Steinfeld Tailoring Co.			
	Ben Wiener & Co.			
	Zeeman & Grossman			
	Ulman Brothers			
	80 Independent Inside Shops	3650	"	"
	818 Contract Shops	28552	"	"
	30 Palm Beach Shops	2000	"	"
	Shirt Manufacturers' Assn.	1800	1/16/22	1/31/23
	Abrams & Marcus			
	Alexander & Co., Inc.			
Alperin, Strauss & Co.				
American Shirt Co.				
Atkin & Hartman				
Auerbach & Sons, M.				
Beacon Shirt Co.				
Berger Shirt Co., Harry				
Breslin Shirt Co.				
Broom & Newman				
Cohen & Son, Jacob				
Dexter Shirt Co.				
Drew & Lipke				
Dryfoos, Arthur L.				
Finkelstein, Hyman				
Freezer & Son, J.				
Goldstein & Co., A.				
Herman Co., Joseph				
Lesser & Oppenheimer, Inc.				
Lieberman & Co., David				
Liondale Shirt Co.				
Luery & Co., J.				
Lustberg, Nast & Co.				
Noveck & Co., S.				
Rochelle Co., H. S.				
Rosen & Co., M. H.				
Rotary Shirt Co.				
Savada Bros.				
Shirtcraft Co., The				
Silberstein & Sons, J. D.				
Silver & Kramer				
S. & W. Shirt Co.				
Tuxedo Shirt Co.				
Unterberg & Co., I.				
Wallach & Co.				
Westchester Shirt Co.				
75 contract shops	3000	2/1/22	2/1/23	
4 independent inside shops	120	"	"	
Children's Clothing	10000	At present operating	Indefinite	
157 inside shops				
347 contract shops				
Norwich	*Blue Star Overall Co.	15	At present operating	Indefinite
	*Durable Pants Co.	35	"	"
	*Kadish Brothers & Levy	24	"	"
Philadelphia	*102 Contract Shops	1500	1/1/22	Rest of Season
	*23 Inside Shops	700	"	"
	*Snellenberg	600	"	"
Pittsburgh (Contractors)	23 Firms (17 in Contractors' Assn.)	350	3/1/22	3/1/23

*Verbal union understanding

City	Association or Firm	People Affected	Date of Beginning	Date of Expiration	
†Rochester	Clothiers' Exchange (Including Contractors)				
	August Bros.	150	5/30/20	5/30/22	
	L. Black & Co.	325	"	"	
	Dinkelspiel	100	"	"	
	Goodman & Suss	600	"	"	
	Hershberg Co.	110	"	"	
	Hickey Freeman	1000	"	"	
	L. Holtz & Son	110	"	"	
	Knopf & Sons	100	"	"	
	Lears, Prinz & Mandel	85	"	"	
	Levy Bros. and Adler, Inc.	1200	"	"	
	McGraw, Benjamin & Hayes	200	"	"	
	Rosenberg Bros.	2150	"	"	
	Steefel-Strauss & Connor	5	"	"	
	Stein-Bloch Company	1250	"	"	
	Independent Firms				
	Bieber Clothing Co. (Contr.)	100	At present operating	Indefinite	
	Lefkowitz & Levine (Contr.)	75	"	"	
	*National Clothing Co.	200	"	"	
St. Louis	*Karp's Pants Shop	35	At present operating	Indefinite	
	*Perfect Clothing Co.	25	"	"	
St. Paul and Minneapolis	Gordon & Ferguson	165	June, 1919	12/31/22	
	S. A. Green	16	"	"	
	H. Harris & Co.	60	"	"	
	B. W. Harris Mfg. Co.	40	"	"	
	Northern Fur Co.	18	"	"	
	M. L. Rothschild	10	"	"	
	St. Paul Garment Mfg. Co.	55			
	J. T. Schuster	8	June, 1919	12/31/22	
	Slavin Fur Company	20	"	"	
	Tailor Lee	20	"	"	
	Twin City Costume Garment Co.	35	Feb. 1921	Indefinite	
Western Mfg. Co.	15	June, 1919	12/31/22		
T. W. Stevenson Co.	18	"	"		
Syracuse	Dolan Ferrie	300	10/17/21	7/1/23	
	*N. Peters Co. (except cutting room)	60	At present operating	Indefinite	
	*Wm. Rossman Co.	50	"	"	
Toronto	Clothing Manufacturers' Assn.	2500	At present operating	Indefinite	
	Beauchamp & How				
	Berger Tailoring Co.				
	House of Hobberlin				
	W. R. Johnston & Co.				
	S. King & Sons				
	Lowndes Co.				
	North American Tailors				
	Punchard Birrell				
	Randall & Johnston				
	Regent Tailors				
	Rex Tailoring				
	M. Stone Mfg.				
		Independent Firms			
		Empire Clothing Co.			
J. J. Follett					
Toronto Clothing					

†Agreement renewed to be effective from May 1, 1922 to April 30, 1925.

*Verbal union understanding

City	Association or Firm	People Affected	Date of Beginning	Date of Expiration
Utica	Rubin & Comisky	45	8/24/21	Indefinite
*Vineland	T. Belsh	20	At present operating	Indefinite
	Cutlers	40	"	"
	Elm Clothing Co.	150	"	"
	Margolin & Co.	35	"	"
	Vineland Coat Co.	90	"	"
	Vineland Trouser Co.	40	"	"

*Verbal union understanding

SUMMARY OF AGREEMENTS April 1, 1922

City	No. Firms	No. People Affected
Baltimore	248	7450
Boston	52	5500
Chicago	430	40000
Milwaukee	18	1495
Montreal	26	2720
New York	1217	49174
Philadelphia	126	2800
Rochester	19	7980
Toronto	15	2500
15 Other Centers	75	3875
Total—24 cities	2227	123444

The agreements included in the tables are only those of which there is record in the national office. Many informal agreements between local organizations and manufacturers have not been considered in compiling the above statistics.

DECISIONS OF THE IMPARTIAL ARBITRATION MACHINERY

In all of the important clothing markets the agreements entered into between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and individual manufacturers, or with associations or groups of manufacturers, provide for the establishment of impartial arbitration machinery for the review of cases of discipline and discharge, adjustment of grievances, and interpretation of provisions of the agreements.

In the table following are given the cases decided by the various impartial boards, classified to indicate the type of questions which have arisen and have been brought to these boards for adjudication. In all the markets, about two thousand cases have been formally decided by these labor adjustment boards during the past two years.

The largest single group of cases involved review of discipline already imposed upon workers or cases where charges had been made and authority to impose disciplinary action requested. There were 862 such cases, and in 169 cases the worker was discharged. On the other hand, in 136 cases it was found that the worker was not at fault and he was reinstated with pay for the time lost while suspended from work. In 346 cases the impartial chairman found that discharge was too severe a penalty and the worker was reinstated to his former position, losing, however, pay for the time during which he was suspended. In six cases the union itself and not the employer was asked to impose discipline. And in 183 cases the worker was "otherwise disciplined" — placed on probation, reprimanded, required to apologize, etc.

It will be noted in examining the table, that those cases involving the discipline of the "shop chairman," who is the representative of the workers in the shop, are grouped separately. The reason for this is that the shop chairman, because of his official position, is regarded as having a special status and ordinarily the employer may not take summary action with respect to disciplining him. In case a complaint is lodged against the shop chairman, either because of his action as shop representative or as a worker, no disciplinary action is taken until the trade board has had an opportunity to review the case and to impose discipline. The special status given the shop chairman is for the purpose of adding to the dignity of the position as a representative of the union workers in the shop.

The second largest group of cases concerns the adjustment of wages and of piece work rates. Wages for week workers, earning "norms" to serve as a basis for piece work rates, and piece work rates are in the first instance fixed by direct negotiation between the union and the employer. In some houses a price committee, consisting of representatives of the union and the employer is regularly constituted to perform this function. However, in certain cases

(though comparatively few) no agreements on wages and rates were secured, and the trade board was asked to make decision. The number of cases of this kind for all markets was 192. A much larger group of cases concerning wages is included under the general head "protection of earnings." By that is meant the adjustment of week wages or piece work rates in line with the principle established that the workers' earnings may not be diminished by reason of a change initiated by management. There were approximately 400 cases of this kind decided in the various markets during the past two years and they included cases arising out of changes in specifications, changes in the basis of payment from week to piece, transfer from one shop to another or from one operation to another, and payment for time lost by the worker because of mis-management on the part of the employer or his agent. Another important group of wage cases concerns the adjustment of rates or of wages to the standard of the prevailing rate or the market level. There were 140 of these cases involving the standardization of earnings for the same effort and skill throughout the market.

In the table under the heading "Production Standards" have been included only those cases involving the fixing and defining of standards and classifications. Cases where failure to obtain the standard or to follow specifications were cited as a cause for discipline are included under discipline of workers above and are omitted here.

About one-sixth of all the cases involved the worker's right to the job and are included under a general head in the table of "Employment." In all cases the union worker is entitled to preference in hiring, discharge, transfer from shop to shop, promotion, etc. Cases involving these questions are included under "Preference." A second important right of the worker is that he share in the work of his section equally with the other workers during slack periods, and that he be subject to no greater lay-off than his fellows. The number of cases involving the rights of the worker in the administration of lay-offs, division of work and similar matters may be found in the table under the heading "Administration of Lay-Offs." There were 95 of such cases, or about one-third of all "employment" cases.

Another important right of the worker is that he shall not be deprived of any work normally done by him or his section or his shop. Any action taken which results in sending elsewhere work ordinarily done by a particular worker or his section lessens that worker's opportunities to remain employed and thus affects earnings. Cases of this kind of which there were 71 from 1920 to 1922 adjusted by the impartial machinery in all the markets are included under the head "Workers' Claim to the Work."

Under the head "Working Conditions" are included cases dealing with home work, sanitation, etc. Of the 21 cases, many of them relate to home work in Rochester. In that city the agreement of 1920 provided for abolition of home work on May 1, 1921, and a number of cases arose when the change was put into effect.

In seven cases under the head "Union Activities", the questions involved were the right of the union to distribute notices in the shops, collect dues and carry on other union activities during working hours.

DECISIONS—April 1, 1920 - March 31, 1922.

Subject	Baltimore	Chicago Trade Board	Chicago H S & M Trade Board	Montreal	New York	Rochester	Total
DISCIPLINE OF WORKERS							
By disposition of case:							
Discharged	3	74	56	5	6	25	169
Reinstated without pay for full or part time suspended	3	135	151	4	14	39	346
Reinstated with pay for time lost or credit on lay off		44	81		4	7	136
Request to discipline worker denied		14	1		7	1	23
Union ordered to impose proper discipline		4				2	6
Otherwise disciplined	2	90	54	1	5	31	183
Charge:*							
Failure to meet union obligations		11	3			1	15
Refusal to do work as directed (dispute re specifications)		29	95			2	126
Low Production		41	40	2	4	9	96
Poor Work	1	62	45	2	9	20	139
Insubordination		36	16	3	4	6	65
Improper language and conduct	4	54	51	1	10	21	141
Absence without leave, notice, or permission		19	12		1	2	34
Poor attendance or habitual tardiness	2	12	12		3	1	30
Miscellaneous		18	21	2	4	14	59
DISCIPLINE OF EMPLOYER OR HIS AGENTS							
Discharge or suspension of foreman		5	1				6
Fine, apology, demotion, transfer, reprimand, removal from office		34	12	1	2	16	65
Request for discipline denied		2	2				4

*Cases in which workers are cited for discipline because of stoppage are included under the general head "Stoppages and Lockouts."

Subject	Baltimore	Chicago Trade Board	Chicago H S & M Trade Board	Montreal	New York	Rochester	Total
DISCIPLINE OF SHOP CHAIRMAN							
As shop chairman		30	13		3	6	52
As worker		11	6	2	1	1	21
By disposition of case: Discharged		4		1		1	6
Reinstated with pay for time lost or re- quest for discipline de- nied		14	1	1	1	2	19
Reinstated without pay for lost time		3	1		1	1	6
Removed from position as shop chairman		6	5		1	2	14
Otherwise disciplined		14	12		1	1	28
WAGES: EARNINGS							
Piece work rates fixed	11	70	15		2	58	156
Other rates	1	16	16			3	36
Protection of earnings (Section and individual) Change from week to piece	3	34	3			30	70
Change in specifica- tions	5	77	29	2		54	167
Payment for time lost	2	13	10	1	1	4	31
Other	9	18	11	4	2	18	62
Pay for overtime, holi- days, vacation, etc.		20	3				23
Miscellaneous Adjustments for indi- viduals—wage rates or earnings	3	23	31			11	68
Restriction on indivi- dual bargaining		15	1			3	19
Manufacturers' respon- sibility for contractors' wages		1				1	2
Method of payment		5					5
Adjustment to market level or prevailing rate	3	74	13	1	3	46	140

Subject	Baltimore	Chicago Trade Board	Chicago H S & M Trade Board	Montreal	New York	Rochester	Total
PRODUCTION STANDARDS: Fixing and defining standards and specifications	21	24	37	3	2	23	110
HOURS OF WORK	1	4	2				7
EMPLOYMENT							
Preference in hiring, discharge, etc.	1	51	20	1	2	11	86
Administration of lay-offs, division of work, etc.	6	45	22	1	6	16	96
Reduction of working force, abolition of shop, etc.	2	16	6	1	4	7	36
Worker's right to job after sickness or other absence		18	8		4	2	32
Miscellaneous		6	4	2	11	10	33
WORKERS' CLAIM TO THE WORK							
Diversion of work to non-union workers and non-union firms	2	20	6	1	1	2	32
Diverting work from one section to another or one contractor to another		5	2		7	1	15
Diverting work from inside to contract shop		19			5		24
WORKING CONDITIONS							
Regulation of home work						7	7
Apprentices		5	3		1	1	10
Other working conditions		1	3				4
UNION ACTIVITIES							
Collection of dues and other funds, and other union activity		4	3				7
JURISDICTION OF MANAGEMENT							
Transfer of work or workers and changes in operation	2	12	13			13	40
Other	2	9	9		1	3	24

Subject	Baltimore	Chicago Trade Board	Chicago H S & M Trade Board	Montreal	New York	Rochester	Total
STATUS OF PARTIES UNDER AGREEMENT							
Workers	2	8	5		2		17
Union Officials		1	1				2
Manufacturers' responsibility for contractors' wages and workers (included under wages)		3				1	4
Employers and agents		1			4	2	7
PROCEDURE AND IMPARTIAL MACHINERY							
Including right to hold garments for investigation	1	10	11		2	3	27
Stoppages and lockouts	1	76	32	2	4	24	139*

*This includes 111 cases in which stoppage is given as cause for discipline.

DISCIPLINE comprises all forms of penalties, imposed on or asked for workers, union officials, or employers, including discharge, suspension, removal from office, probation, reprimand, transfer, fines, etc.

DISCIPLINE OF WORKERS covers all cases in which penalty is asked for or imposed on the workers by the employer. In the table are given the charges against the workers for which discipline is asked.

DISCIPLINE OF SHOP CHAIRMAN includes all cases of penalty asked for or imposed on the shop chairman, either as a worker or as a union official.

DISCIPLINE OF EMPLOYER OR HIS AGENTS includes all cases in which penalty is asked by the union for the employer or his agents, including contractors.

WAGES: EARNINGS includes all cases dealing with (1) fixing of rates; (2) the protection of earnings, i. e., adjustment of rates to maintain customary earnings when changes are made by management in methods and specifications, or because of loss to worker resulting from errors by management; (3) adjustment of rates to market standard or prevailing rate; (4) payment for overtime, holidays, etc.; (5) miscellaneous cases including methods of payment, review of individual bargaining, etc.

PRODUCTION includes all cases in which standards and specifications are fixed and interpreted.

EMPLOYMENT covers all cases involving the right of the worker with regard to hiring, discharge, transfer, lay-offs, etc.

WORKERS' CLAIM TO THE WORK comprises all cases where the worker, his section, or shop, is deprived of work to which he or it is properly entitled.

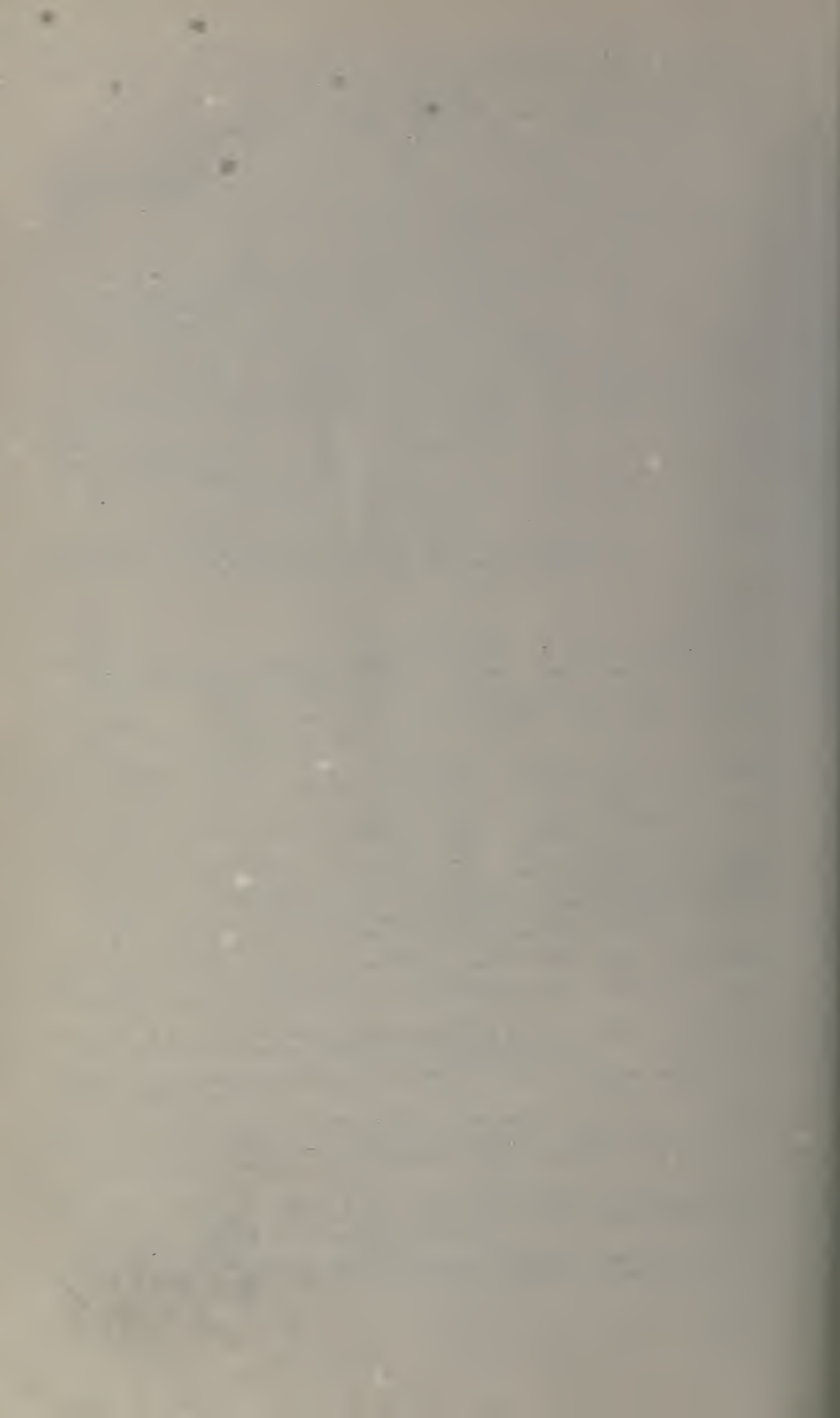
WORKING CONDITIONS covers cases dealing with home work, apprentices, sanitation, and other working conditions.

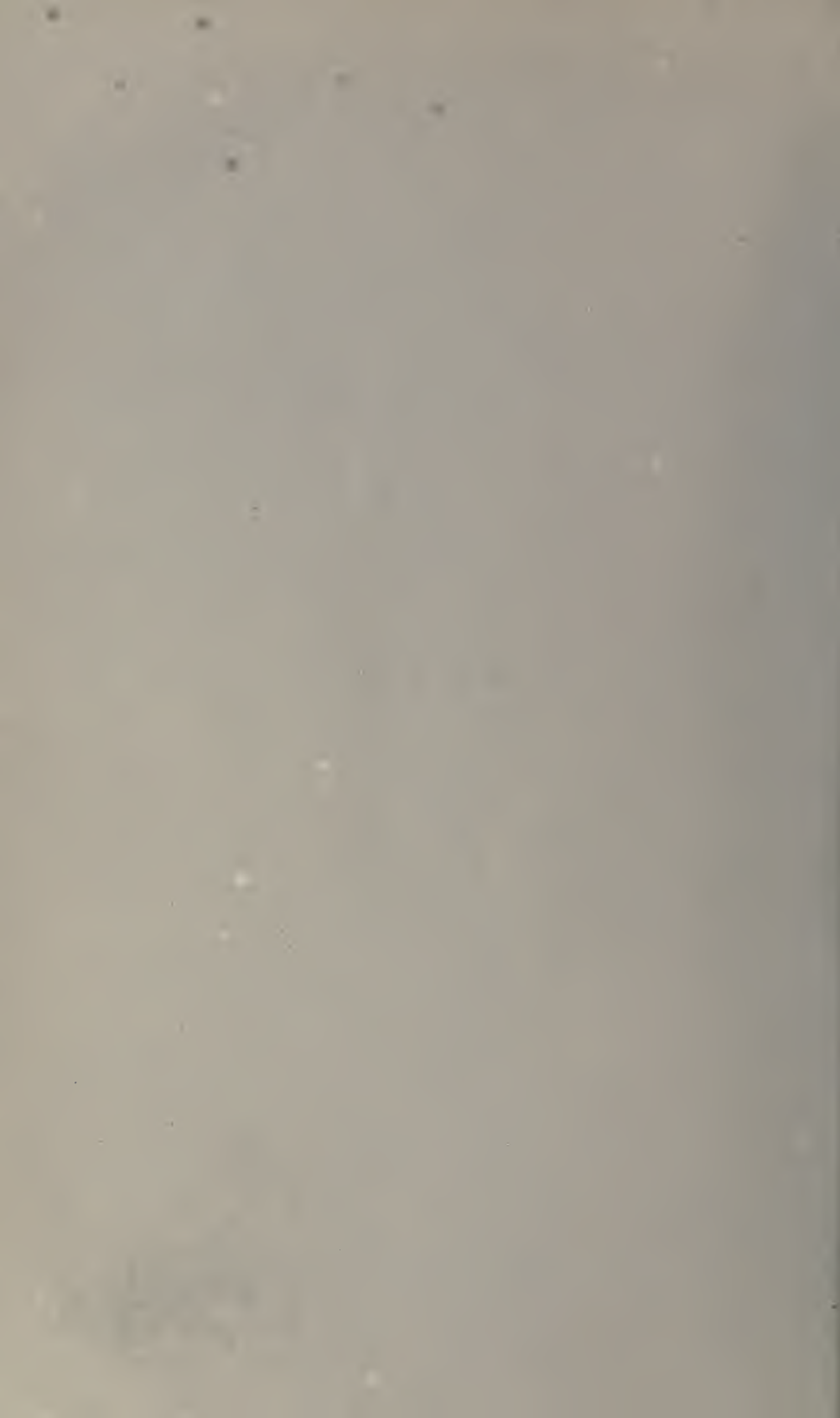
UNION ACTIVITIES includes all cases relating to the activity of the union in the shop.

JURISDICTION OF MANAGEMENT involves cases defining the right of the employer to initiate changes in operation methods, transfer of work or workers, except where otherwise indicated.

STATUS OF PARTIES includes cases in which is determined whether workers, union officials or employers or their agents come within the scope of the agreement, and are properly under the jurisdiction of the Impartial Machinery.

PROCEDURE AND IMPARTIAL MACHINERY includes all cases relating to procedure such as right to hold for investigation; method of initiating discipline, etc.





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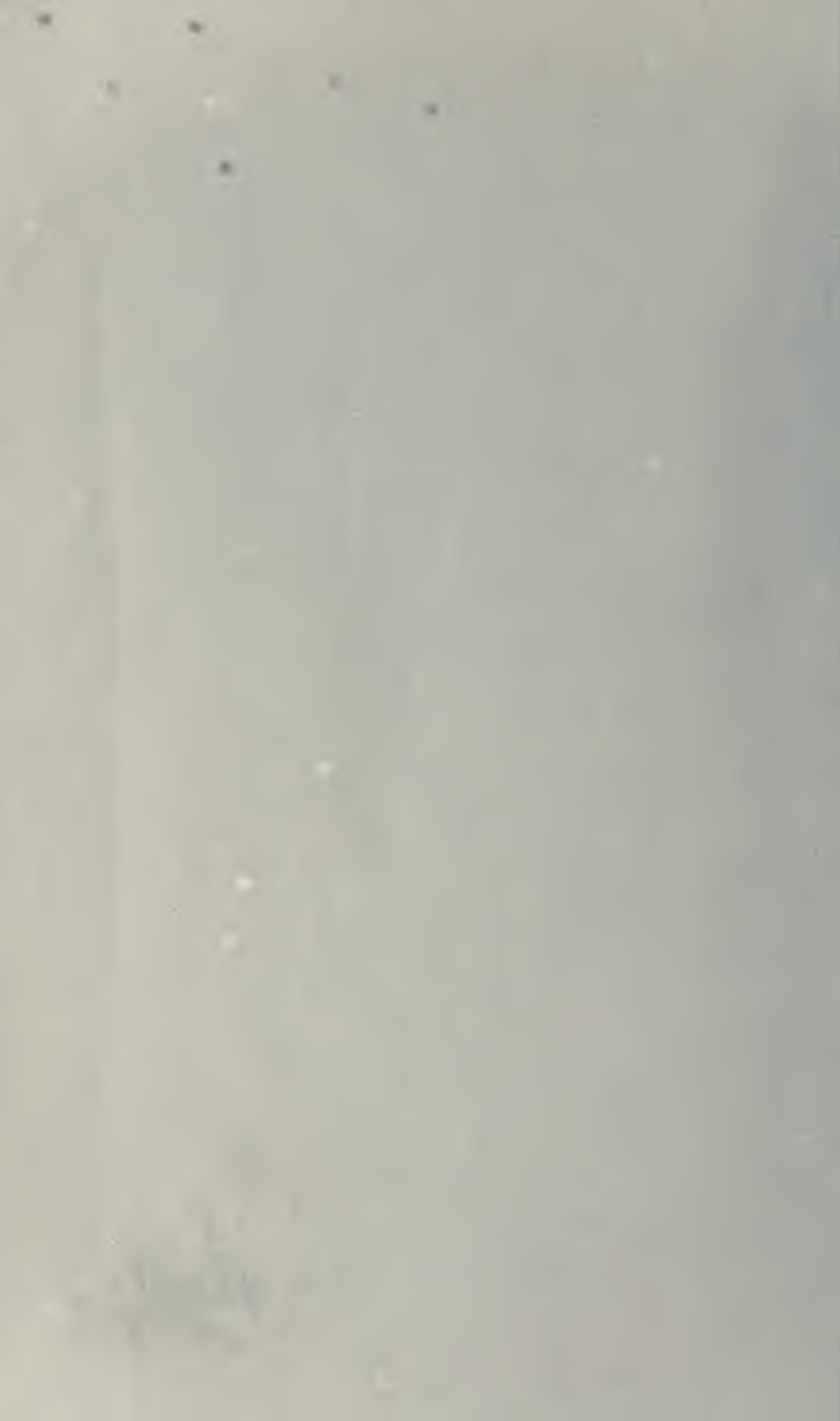
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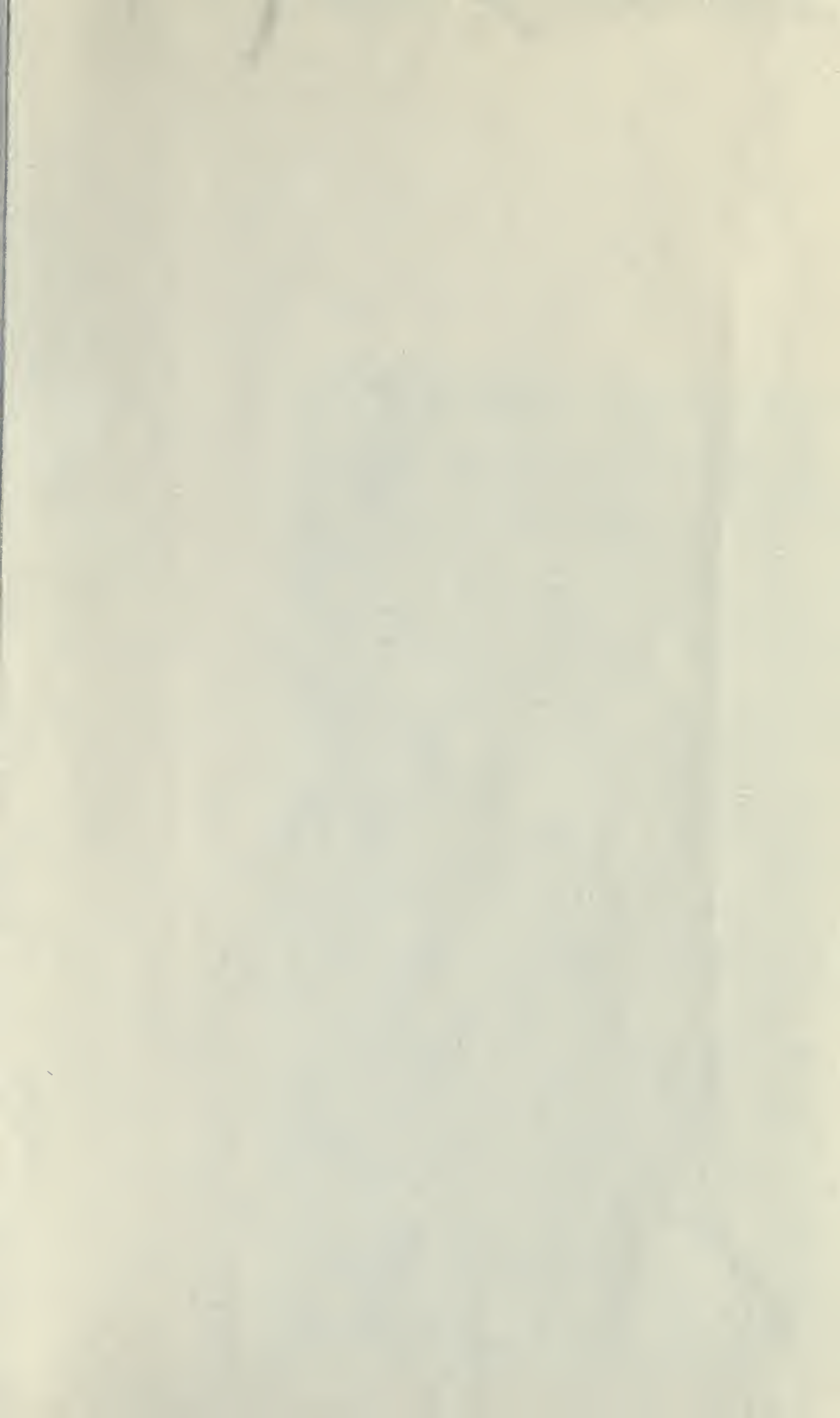
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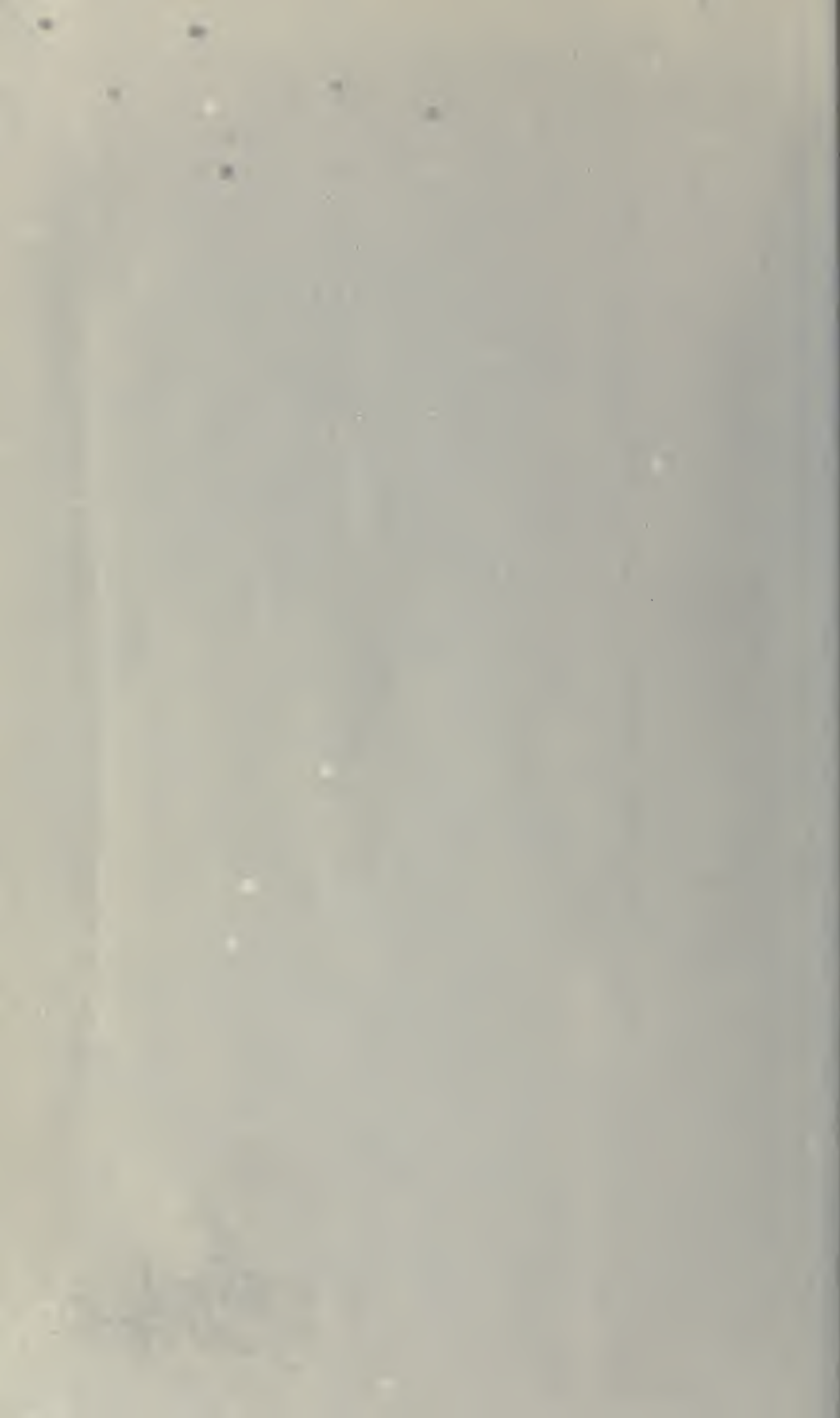
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