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Report of the Proceedings

of the

SECOND CONGRESS

of the

Pan-American Federation of Labor



*Held at New York City, New York
July 7th to 10th, inclusive
1919*

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OFFICERS
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PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
1919-1920.

SAMUEL GOMPERS	Chairman
JOHN MURRAY	English-Language Secretary
CANUTO A. VARGAS.....	Spanish-Language Secretary
JAMES LORD.....	Treasurer

Offices: 407 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

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REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Second Congress of the Pan-American
Federation of Labor

FIRST DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION.

HOTEL CONTINENTAL, NEW YORK CITY, *July 7, 1919.*

The Second Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor was called to order by President Gompers at 10.30 A. M., Monday, July 7, 1919, at the Hotel Continental, New York City, N. Y.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS' OPENING ADDRESS

"Gentlemen, it becomes my duty as well as it is a pleasure to me to call this annual meeting of the delegates of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to order. The months which have passed since our meeting at Laredo, Texas, and along the Mexican border line, has been trenchant with important events—events which it is not necessary to enumerate—it is sufficient for us to know that we have been enabled to do something—something perhaps more than people give us credit for in maintaining the best possible situation and conditions obtainable.

"The difficulty with each new movement is to have its full significance understood by all the people we desire to reach and who are interested. We know—at least those of us who have been in close touch with events of the past fifteen years—that it was through the activity and understanding of the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of the Mexican Revolutionary Movement, what has been achieved in the interests of a better understanding among the people of our two respective countries. In any event, those who have been in close touch with Mexican-American affairs, know that the efforts of both elements and particularly in the past the American labor movement, has done much first to prevent an international struggle—international war—and secondly, to instill and extend the principle of fraternity and good will and cooperation between the working people of both these countries, and, at least, to tone down to a feeling of a greater mutuality the governmental representatives of both our countries.

"Mexico is the nearest of our neighbors, or, rather, Mexico and the United States are the two nearest nations to each other in the Pan-American countries, and hence the events and activities have been more closely allied in order to establish the better feelings and relations among the peoples of the two countries. What actions tended toward the bringing about of these better relations of the people of Mexico and those of the United States I shan't attempt to describe. They, I think, are a history of which you know. The revolutionary movements under Diaz, the overthrow of the Diaz government, the establishment of the government under the leadership of Madero, the treachery of Huerta, the murderous attack upon Madero, the determination to maintain

the right of asylum in America for political offenders in Mexico—all of it up to the Carranza government—the protest against the Carranza decree and all that—these are a few of the events which simply I want to name specifically as some of the incidents to show the activity and the sincerity of purpose and the accomplishments of the labor movement to work for the right all the time.

"It was soon learned, as we had our conferences with the representatives of the Mexican revolutionary movement, and then the Mexican labor movement—I say it was soon learned that if we wanted to have an effective movement, it would be necessary to have the representatives of labor of all the American countries. And the first conference of a general character of the representatives of labor of the Pan-American countries, was held in Laredo, Texas, November, 1918. There, at Laredo, November, 1918, the plan for the conference was held and the plan laid the establishment of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. And this is actually the second—not the first—it is the second conference of the delegates representing the Pan-American labor movements.

"Now, just a word—we don't know what the future holds in store for the world. The great war in Europe has come to an end, except technically, until the Treaty of Peace shall have been ratified by the various countries, including our own—we are still practically at war with Germany. The American Federation of Labor at its recent convention declared in favor of the endorsement and ratification of the Treaty of Peace as signed at Versailles a few weeks ago. The peace terms, the covenant for the establishment of a League of Nations, the draft convention for labor, and the labor charter, have been approved of by a vote of nearly three millions to forty thousand. Now, in the convention we did not claim for that treaty—the draft convention or the labor declaration—perfection. On the contrary, we recognized some of the defects. But we hold this, that the League of Nations was the first serious attempt made to internationally come to an agreement to prevent such wholesale slaughters in the future as occurred in the past five years in Flanders and upon the seas.

"Recognizing that it is the first international compact, we, who have been pacifists—all of us before this great European conflagration, and who entered into the war with full spirit in order that democracy should be made safe and opportunities for freedom afforded and militarism crushed—a treaty which provides for the reduction in the armed strength of all nations, whether in standing armies in naval establishments or ammunitions, in providing the means by which international disputes shall be determined—we feel that after hoping and praying and believing for half a century or more for international peace, when the opportunity is afforded, that international agreement to secure or at least make an effort to secure international peace, we should grasp the opportunity and emphasize it to a complete finality.

"If it were possible to defeat the present treaty, it would simply mean to throw everything else wide open as before the fatal August, 1914. And that would mean that each country would then be required as a matter of self-protection to have the largest possible standing army, the best possible navy, the largest possible munition factories, and each country competing with the other in armament, so that each country of the whole world would be an armed camp as against the other. For my part, I prefer to take my stand in the earnest effort for the maintenance of the international peace of the world, and I am very proud of being so thoroughly in accord with the expression and sentiments of the men and women in the organized labor movement of America

in the great, almost unanimous, declaration of the convention in favor of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

"Now, in connection with the draft convention and labor charter, I realize, too, that that is not a perfect instrument. But it is the first real international attempt to put into practice the principles that make for a better life and a better condition and the establishment and securing of the rights to which the toilers of the respective countries are entitled. We are doing our share in trying to prevail upon the United States Senate to ratify the treaty. We know some of the elements which are at work in trying to have it defeated. We propose to do our share, and if there be any blame and any ill results and any wars which shall come by reason of the defeat of the treaty, at least the bloodshed will be upon the heads of those who have worked for the defeat of that treaty, containing the Covenant for the League of Nations. At least our hands and our conscience will be clean. We have performed and will continue to perform our duty in respect to this situation.

"Now, I am naturally and by experience and development an optimist. I always believe in the best. I always believe that when men and women are conscientiously working for the right, the right will prevail. And yet, I have back of my head the suspicion that the elements at work for the defeat of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the defeat of the draft convention of the labor charter, may prevail. I hope not. I shall do, as will my associates, everything that that situation shall not come about. The reason that I express this thought regarding my optimism is this, that if the worst shall come to pass—that is, the treaty defeated, unratified, if the nations of the world are to be armed camps, if they are to be in competition with each other with armaments and armies and navies, then I hold it to be the duty of the men and the women of the Pan-American countries to see to it that they shall be made safe to live their own lives against the encroachments or the attempts of arrogant, monarchical, tyrannical, autocratic and militaristic governments in any other part of the world.

"America—all America—all the American countries are wonderful in their treasures. The wealth and the opportunities, the possessions, the treasures, of the Pan-American countries have not yet been scratched, much less utilized, and either or all of the Pan-American countries would be a great prize for the ambitious and the avaricious. We see even now the exploitations that have gone on. We have seen the opportunities of which advantage has been taken in order to arouse the people of one of our countries against the other in Pan-America. And the thought of our meeting, the thought underlying the establishment of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, has very many high purposes and high aspirations of protection and the promotion of the rights and the interests and the welfare of the masses of the people of our respective countries.

"So that the success of our movement, the permanency of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, is first to protect the rights and interests and promote the welfare of the wage-earners, the producing masses of our respective countries in all America; so see to it, to exert our moral and our citizen rights that the rights of the people in our own respective countries shall be protected; to establish good will among all the peoples of all our respective countries and do all that lies in our power in our own country and international relations of the Pan-American countries, to prevent our governments from entering upon or provoking international strife between our respective countries. And in

the last analysis to protect the Americas from the ambitious and the avaricious of any other part of the world.

"For my part I prefer to take my side with the American Federation of Labor in its attitude, so that the Treaty of Peace should be a covenant of the League of Nations, and that the draft convention and labor charter shall go into operation, and with such effect that every country in the two Americas shall be represented at the International Labor Conference every year and in the governing board in the interim of the annual meetings of the International Labor Conference.

"In these desultory remarks, I have simply given expression to the thoughts that have come to me from time to time and have thus entered my mind while I am on my feet and extemporaneously addressing you. And I hope for the complete success of our deliberations, and that they may make for a better and a more complete and a more harmonious and a cooperative action among the working people of the Pan-American countries that they may promote good will and peace and cooperation rather than strife and antagonism and bitterness and with all that that may mean. I thank you for your attention.

"I take it that it would be well to appoint a committee to take charge of the credentials of the respective delegates."

APPOINTMENT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

It was moved and seconded that a Committee on Credentials be appointed. Carried.

Thereupon, the following committee was appointed to take charge of the credentials:

Hugh Frayne, of the United States; Luis N. Morones, of Mexico; Justo Casaretto, of Peru; Pedro Gomez Rouhand, of Nicaragua.

The Chairman: "Will the four gentlemen gather the credentials. Now, suppose we have an informal meeting until the report of the Credentials Committee is made."

Delegate Gomez Rouhand, of Nicaragua, stated that the secretaries of the Pan-American Federation of Labor had organized an Auxiliary Committee in New York City to aid them in the work of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and that as the president of that committee he had written several letters to the secretaries of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to which no answer was received. He also stated that he had written to Mr. Gompers without getting an answer.

The chairman requested of Secretary Vargas that he make some explanation of the criticisms made by Delegate Gomez Rouhand. Secretary Vargas was explaining the manner in which the New York Auxiliary Committee was organized and for what object, when he was interrupted by Delegate Blanco Diaz, who said: "I believe that this matter has something of a personal nature and I suggest that it be laid aside. We came here for a different purpose, to discuss labor problems, and all matters of a personal nature should be laid aside."

The Chairman: "That is quite true, but criticisms have been made, and I am not going to rest under that criticism that is unjustified, so far as I am concerned. That ought to have been considered before it was brought here."

Delegate Gomez Rouhand, of Nicaragua: "I have not made any criticisms. I have stated what the facts were so that from now on we may avoid any further difficulties of this nature, and conduct the meetings of this Congress properly."

The Chairman: "What is that correspondence you refer to?"

Delegate Gomez Rouhand explained that he had written a letter to Mr. Gompers, leaving it at his hotel in New York, but it developed that this was during the time of Mr. Gompers' illness as a result of an accident, and that the letter never reached him.

Delegate Morones, of Mexico, called the attention of the delegates to the fact that they had come from far away to this Congress to take advantage of all the time they could dispose of in the discussion of very important matters, and that they would not be fulfilling their duty nor responding to the confidence deposited in them by those that sent them if they were to spend most of the time in such trivial matters as the one under discussion, and concluded by appealing to the delegates to leave all these unimportant matters aside.

Upon a motion being seconded and carried, Delegate De Leon and Gomez Rouhand were appointed as a Reception Committee to receive any delegates that should arrive during the meetings of the Congress.

Secretary Vargas read the following telegrams:

LOS ANGELES, CAL., June 25, 1919.

"C. A. VARGAS, Secretary

"Pan-American Federation of Labor,

"American Federation of Labor Building,

"Washington, D. C.

"Doctor says dangerous for me to travel east and must have at least six months' complete rest or I can never work again."

"JOHN MURRAY."

COLON, (Panama).

"Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"Pan-American Labor Congress,

"New York City.

"Chilean Labor Delegation send greetings. Detained here—no steamers sail for New Orleans the eight.

"CHILEAN LABOR DELEGATION."

The Chairman: "Those cablegrams will be made part of the record. Gentlemen, don't you think it would be well for us to take a recess to give the Committee on Credentials a chance to meet?"

Delegate Morones, of Mexico: "I would like to say a few words. I wish to inform the delegates that I have received a telegram from Mexico wherein I am informed that a number of delegates are coming from Mexico, but I can not say whether they will be able to arrive in time to take part in the meetings of this Congress. It seems that they have had a lot of difficulties in crossing the border."

Delegate Herrera y Vera, of Peru: "I would like to have it a matter of record that the Chairman of the Peruvian Delegation will arrive any moment from Peru."

Delegate Cabuas, of Peru: "In the first place I wish to convey to the

working people of the United States the fraternal greetings of the working people of Peru. In the second place I wish to felicitate Mr. Gompers on the splendid speech he has delivered to us this morning and on his splendid expressions against imperialism."

Delegate Robles, of Peru, asked information as to the number of days the Congress would be in session.

President Gompers explained that on Tuesday President Wilson was expected to arrive from Europe, and that he and his associates, Delegates Woll and Frayne, had been requested to be members of the Committee to receive the President on his arrival. That after the President's arrival, he would deliver an address at Carnegie Hall, and that it would be well for all of the delegates to hear President Wilson's address. President Gompers also explained that on Friday he would leave for Europe to participate in the International Trade Union Conference at Amsterdam, as a delegate from the American Federation of Labor, and that with exception of the time required for these engagements and until an hour or two before the sailing of the steamer, he would devote his time to the Congress.

President Gompers appointed the following Committee on Rules and Order of Business: Hugh Frayne, Justo A. Casaretto and Macario Cortez H.

At 12:45 p. m. the meeting adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 p. m.

FIRST DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

NEW YORK CITY, July 7, 1919.

The meeting was called to order at three o'clock, President Samuel Gompers in the chair.

The Chairman: "The Conference will please come to order. The Secretary will please read the report of the Committee on Credentials."

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Frayne: "The report of the Committee on Credentials is as follows:

"To the President and Delegates to the Second Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor:

"We have examined the credentials of the following delegates and recommend that same be seated in this convention:

"Victor A. Pujazon, Jose V. Cahuas, Federico S. Benza, and Jose C. Robles, representing 'Centro Internacional Obrero de Solidaridad Latino-Americana,' Lima, Peru.

"Justo A. Casaretto, representing 'Centro Progreso de Propaganda y Solidaridad,' Lima, Peru.

"Victor Herrera y Vera, representing 'Partido Obrero del Peru,' Peru.

"Nicolas Cabezas Duarte, Ricardo de Leon, and Victalino Guerra, representing 'Union Obrera Salvadorena,' Republic of El Salvador.

"Benjamin Huevo and Macario Cortez H., representing 'Federacion de Obreros del Salvador,' Republic of El Salvador.

"Pedro Gomez Roulland and Ruben Valladares S., representing 'Federacion de Obreros Nicaraguenses,' Republic of Nicaragua.

"Jose Eugenio Kunhardt, representing 'Hernandad Comunal Nacionalista,' Dominican Republic.

"J. de Borran, representing 'Casa del Obrero Mundial,' Tampico, Mexico

"Samuel Gompers, Matthew Woll, and Hugh Frayne, representing the American Federation of Labor, United States of America.

"The Credentials Committee also recommends that Canuto A. Vargas, Secretary, and James Lord, Treasurer, of the Pan-American Federation of Labor be seated as delegates, with all privileges of same.

"We further recommend that the Secretary of the New York Auxiliary Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Gabriel Blanco Diaz, be seated as a delegate.

"We also recommend that Luis N. Morones, who was credentialed to represent 'Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana' at the American Federation of Labor convention in Atlantic City, N. J., and the Pan-American Federation of Labor convention in this city, one credential having been sent for both purposes, be seated as a delegate in this convention. The credential is on file in the office of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

"HUGH FRAYNE, *Chairman,*

"PEDRO GOMEZ ROUHAND,

"L. N. MORONES,

"*Credentials Committee,*

Pan-American Federation of Labor Congress."

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Credentials be approved and accepted. Carried.

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business not being ready to report, Secretary Vargas read his report covering the activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The Secretary's report is as follows:

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

"To the Delegates of the Second Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Greetings:

"I hereby submit for your consideration and action my first report as Spanish-Language Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. When the Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized at the International Labor Conference of Laredo, Texas, in the month of November, 1918, Brother John Murray was elected English-Language secretary. Brother Murray and myself arrived at Washington, D. C., on December 13, 1918, and on January 4, 1919, we opened the offices of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Room 407 of the American Federation of Labor Building. We worked together until April 19, 1919, when due to his bad health Brother Murray was compelled to go to California to take a very much needed rest. We both expected that he would be able to return in time to prepare a joint report for the consideration of this Congress, but only a few days ago I received word from him that he would be unable to come as the doctor advised him that a trip to the East at this time would be dangerous for him. I felt it was my duty to prepare a report of the activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor during the seven months of its existence, and this duty I have endeavored to perform to the best of my ability.

CONGRESS CHANGED FROM PANAMA TO NEW YORK CITY

"At the Laredo Conference it was agreed that the Second Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor would take place in the city of

Panama, but on November 19, 1918, after the adjournment of the conference, a meeting was held at the St. Anthony Hotel, San Antonio, Texas, at which were present the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor and the members of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council. At that meeting it was unanimously agreed to hold the First Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in the city of New York. This action was taken subject to the approval of the majority of the delegates from the Central and South American countries who were in attendance at the Laredo Conference. The decision to change the meeting place of the First Congress from Panama to New York City was unanimously agreed to because it had become plain to all the delegates that Panama was not a convenient transportation center for a majority of the labor movements concerned. New York, on the contrary, was the easiest of all ports to reach in the Western Hemisphere and was a center of information and publicity. Immediately after we opened the offices of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, a letter was addressed to Brothers Ricardo de Leon, Rafael Paris Espinar and Benjamin Huezco, the representatives at the Laredo Conference of the labor movements of Guatemala, Costa Rica and Salvador, respectively, informing them of the proposed change and requesting their opinion on the matter. Brothers De Leon and Huezco promptly answered approving of the change. The letter addressed to Brother Espinar was not delivered as he had changed his residence, but later we met him personally in New York, and he also agreed to the change of the meeting place. Brother Francisco Marin, the representative of Colombia at the Laredo Conference, had gone to Mexico and as we did not have his address we could not communicate with him. His vote, however, would have had no effect on the decision as the Central American delegates had already agreed to it.

CALL ISSUED

"In the month of February we issued the official call for the convening of the Second Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor inviting the labor movements of all the Pan-American Republics to send their representatives. Article III of the constitution of the Pan-American Federation of Labor as adopted at the Laredo Conference, which deals with the subject of representation, reads as follows:

"The basis of representation shall be at least two delegates from each Pan-American republic, duly elected by the representative labor movements of their country."

"Having this in mind we sent a copy of the official call to the general secretaries of the national labor federations in those countries where the labor movement is organized under a national federation, requesting that each national federation elect at least two delegates to represent the labor movement of its country. To those countries where a national labor federation or body representative of the labor movement has not as yet been organized, the call was sent to the secretaries of the largest and most important labor organizations with the request that the different labor organizations in each of these countries get together in the election of at least two delegates to represent the labor movement of their respective countries. We made this request because we believed that it was a proper course to pursue in

order to secure a representative delegation from those countries where the labor organizations are not organized into a national federation.

"Owing to the great distance and the slow mail service between this country and the Central and South American republics, answers to the call did not begin to arrive until the month of May. The Argentine Federation of Labor, of Argentina, the International Labor Center, of Peru, the Dominican Federation of Labor, of the Dominican Republic, and the Workers' Federation and the Salvadorian Labor Union, of Salvador, enthusiastically accepted the invitation and informed us that they would proceed immediately to the election of their delegates. The secretary of the Workers' Union 'El Progreso,' of La Ceiba, Honduras, in acknowledging the receipt of our call informed us that his organization would immediately get in communication with the other labor organizations of Honduras with a view to sending delegates from that country. Bro. Alberto Morales, who on account of sickness was prevented from attending the Laredo Conference as one of the delegates from Costa Rica, informed us that he was going back to his country to put the matter of sending delegates to this Congress before his organization and that he would use every effort at his command to that end. For some reason or other the call sent to the Guatemalan Federation of Labor, of Guatemala, was not delivered to the secretary, and upon being so informed by Brother De Leon, the representative of that federation at the Laredo Conference, we sent a duplicate. In the meantime Brother Gerardo Gordillo Taboada, the editor of 'Instruccion Obrera,' a labor weekly paper published at Guatemala, was urging the labor organizations of that country to send delegates to this Congress, through articles that appeared every week in his paper. But up to the time of writing this report no definite information had been received from that country, except that the Guatemalan Federation of Labor had the matter under consideration.

"Knowing that the International Labor Center, of Peru, has for years been exchanging fraternal delegates with the labor movements of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, we thought that we could very properly write to the secretary of that organization requesting that through their fraternal delegates they take up the matter of representation in the Second Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor with the labor movements of the above-mentioned countries. The International Labor Center not only agreed to do this, but also sent out printed circular letters reproducing our official call and request and adding their own appeal in behalf of this congress. As we made a similar request of the Argentine Federation of Labor, the secretary in answering our communication manifested his surprise because we had made the same request of our Peruvian brothers.

"We also wrote to the secretary of the Workers' Federation of Salvador asking their cooperation in Central America along the same lines as the request made to our brothers in Peru and Argentina, and this organization also sent out circulars on its own account to the other Central American republics, calling their attention to the official call we had sent out and urging the organizations of those countries to send delegates to this Congress.

"The assistance given us by the labor organizations of Peru, Salvador and Argentina, the communications we have received from the labor organizations of the other countries in Central and South America, as well as the many articles that have been published in the Latin-American labor press, and in some of the daily newspapers, show plainly that the idea of organizing

a continental organization with the object of protecting the interests of the workers of all the Americas, as well as to bring about the best possible relations between the workers and the peoples of the Pan-American republics, has met with hearty approval. And although we may not have representatives from each of the twenty-one republics in this congress, yet the idea has been widely spread and well received, and it will only be a matter of time before we may be able to meet at a Pan-American Labor Congress with representatives from the labor movements of all the Pan-American republics. But to accomplish this we must all do our share in arousing the interest of the workers of those countries that are not represented in this congress.

MEXICAN LABOR ASKS ASSISTANCE

"In the month of February, 1919, Assistant Secretaries, J. M. Tristan and Ricardo Trevino, of the Mexican Federation of Labor, officially requested the Pan-American Federation of Labor to use its good influence at a labor conference to be held in Mexico City between representatives of the Government and the Railway Trades Association. At this conference were to be decided questions relating to betterment of conditions in the railway shops of Mexico. Secretary General Luis N. Morones being in Washington at that time aided us in wording a telegram to President Carranza in which his assistance was requested in seeing to it that justice be done the railroad workers. The telegram was dispatched to the President of Mexico and we received from him a courteous reply thereto. Later we were informed by Brother Morones that an agreement had been reached which although not to the complete satisfaction of the railroad workers was adopted by them as a compromise.

ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS STRIKES IN MEXICO

"In the month of March, 1919, official announcement was made by the Government of Mexico that a special session of the Mexican Congress was to be held in May, at which time the matter of certain 'reforms' to the Mexican Constitution would be taken up, which if adopted would place in the hands of the President of Mexico the right to declare any strike affecting general public interests either legal or illegal. When the time for the convening of the Mexican Congress was getting near a letter was drafted by the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and sent to President Carranza of Mexico protesting against the adoption of 'reforms' to the Mexican Constitution which would deprive the workers of the right to strike, a right which is recognized by the Mexican Constitution as it is written now. A similar letter was sent to the Mexican Senate. Although the Mexican Congress has been in session since the month of May the matter of the proposed 'reforms' has not yet been taken up.

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION

"Among the many problems that the American Federation of Labor will deal with, there is one which is of the most vital importance and which directly affects the workers and the peoples of the Pan-American republics. I refer to the problem of immigration. Existing laws of the United States restrict the immigration of foreign labor to a certain extent. At the present time, however, there is pending a bill in the Congress of the United States,

that, if adopted, would completely prohibit the immigration of foreign labor for the period of four years. This subject was discussed at length at the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Atlantic City last month. From the report of the committee which had the subject under consideration at that convention I quote the following excerpt:

“Contrary to the propaganda fostered and encouraged by employing interests, the problem confronting our people is not one of emigration but of immigration. While it may be true that during the war all immigration ceased, it is equally true that a number of years will necessarily elapse before the industries of our country will have re-absorbed all the discharged soldiers, sailors and war workers under conditions of employment commensurate with the more advanced standards of compensation for services rendered.

“While our immigration laws may be designed to prevent those persons coming to our shores who have little or no faith in our institutions, it is equally essential that our immigration laws are so molded as to prevent unemployment of the workers, which in itself causes so much misery in our industrial relations.

“Your committee is, therefore, favorably impressed with the effort made by the Executive Council to prevent the admission of coolie labor and to avoid the many hardships and difficulties which the admission of coolie labor would necessarily involve. It also favors the approval of legislation suggested by the Executive Council for the prohibition of immigration for a fixed number of years and especially during the period of readjustment.’

“An amendment was offered to the report of the committee to the effect that any laws enacted by the Congress of the United States to prohibit immigration should also apply to Mexico. The amendment was adopted and the report of the committee as amended was also adopted by the convention. This action of the Atlantic City Convention means that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is instructed to work for the enacting of legislation by the Congress of the United States to prohibit the immigration of foreign labor. While it is not within the province of this congress to dictate to the American Federation of Labor what it shall do or what it shall not do, yet I believe that it is within its province to discuss this subject, openly and frankly, so that the peoples of the countries south of the Rio Grande may have a thorough understanding as to the reasons that compel the American Federation of Labor to take such action.

“In connection with this subject I wish to call your attention to Article II of the Constitution of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, which deals with the objects for which this organization was created. Article II reads as follows:

“The objects of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, are:

“1.—The establishment of better conditions for the working people who emigrate from one country to another.

“2.—The establishment of a better understanding and relationship between the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.

“3.—To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the pro-

tection and promotion of the rights, the interests, and the welfare of the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.

"4.—To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the purpose of cultivating the most favorable and the most friendly relations between the labor movements and the peoples of the Pan-American Republics.'

"The spirit of the above article is that the Pan-American Federation shall utilize every lawful and honorable means to the end that the most intelligent understanding shall exist between the labor movements and the peoples of the Pan-American Republics. Therefore, I believe that if we are to follow the letter and the spirit of the above article, it is the duty of this labor congress to enter into a frank discussion of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor in regards to the immigration question, so that the delegates here present may come to a complete understanding on the points involved. It is the duty of this congress to prevent any misinterpretation or misunderstandings which would render more difficult the accomplishment of the objects for which the Pan-American Federation of Labor was created.

AUXILIARY COMMITTEE IN NEW YORK

"In the month of February we organized an Auxiliary Committee in New York City to assist in the work of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. This committee was composed of ten members of as many Pan-American Republics who are members of the labor movement of their respective countries. The duties of this committee were, (1) to correspond with the labor organizations of their countries and urge them to send delegates to the First Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor; (2) to enlarge the committee with eligible representatives of Latin-American labor organizations residing in New York City; (3) to explain to their countrymen the ideals of the organized labor movement of the United States of America. The secretary of this Auxiliary Committee is Brother Gabriel Blanco Diaz, 213 E. 162nd Street, New York City.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU

"According to information received from Peru, as a result of the disturbances which took place in the Republic of Chile in the month of November, 1918, in which the Peruvian workers of the cities of Iquique, Antofagasta and Pica were the object of bodily attack by Chileans and forcefully deported from that country, relations between the labor movements of Chile and Peru have been broken. The Peruvian labor organizations claim that the labor organizations of Chile, with a very few exceptions, did not protest against this violent attack perpetrated upon the Peruvians, which they believe should have been the proper course for the Chilean labor movement to take. It is to be regretted that at this time when it is earnestly desired by all the workers of the continent that the best relations should exist between them this state of uncertainty and restrained feeling should exist between the workers of Peru and Chile, especially when the labor movements of these two countries have for many years maintained the best of relations between them despite of the fact that a territorial dispute has been pending between

their governments for nearly a half a century. In keeping with the objects of the Pan-American Federation of Labor I suggest that this congress give its careful consideration to the present state of relations between the workers of Chile and Peru and that an appeal be made by this congress to our Chilean and Peruvian brothers to again renew their interchange of fraternal delegates and that through them they make an effort to reestablish the friendly relations that for many years existed between them.

STATE OF ORGANIZATION

"Believing that the offices of the Pan-American Federation of Labor should also function as an information bureau for the labor movements of the Pan-American Republics, we have endeavored to collect data as to labor conditions in the Western Hemisphere, but especially we have endeavored to secure information as to the state of organization of the workers, for we realize that the success of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the proper performance of whatever work it may be called upon to perform depend largely upon the state of organization in the Pan-American Republics. In the short period of our work in this connection we have found that in a few countries only are the workers organized into a national federation, a system of organization which is necessary to bring about the complete organization of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

"The countries where the labor movement is organized into a national federation or body outside of the United States and Mexico are: Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Guatemala, Salvador, Chile, Peru, and the Dominican Republic. But in some of these countries there are two or more organizations claiming national jurisdiction, while in others where two or more national organizations exist they work in harmony as in the case of Peru. As for the other countries not included in those mentioned above, while it is true that there are quite a number of labor unions, they are not organized in a national organization. In Cuba, practically every trade is organized but in that country there is no national federation or body representative of the labor movement of the entire country. The same applies to Ecuador, but according to recent correspondence from that country a National Labor Congress will be held in October, 1920, with the object of organizing a national labor federation.

"As I said before, it is essential that a national labor federation should be formed in each of the Pan-American Republics, therefore, I would suggest that this congress devote some of its time to a study of the subject of national labor organizations and that it make its recommendations to the labor organizations of those countries where a national organization representative of the labor movement is not already in existence. I would also recommend that the delegates here present be requested that upon their return to their countries they send or have the secretaries of their organizations send to the office of the Pan-American Federation of Labor data as to the state of organization, conditions of labor, scales of wages, hours of labor, labor laws enacted, etc., so that this organization may have all the information possible pertaining to the labor movements of the Western Hemisphere and a record of their activities and efforts in behalf of the working classes of our continent.

EXPENSES OF THE ORGANIZATION

"The following resolution was adopted at the Laredo conference with reference to the expenses of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

"Resolved, That the upkeep and expenses of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, its officials, headquarters, etc., shall be borne by the Pan-American countries represented upon a pro-rata basis."

"At a meeting of the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor it was tentatively agreed that the American Federation of Labor bear one-half of the expenses, the Mexican Federation of Labor one-quarter, and the other quarter to be apportioned among the other countries. Brother Gompers, speaking for the American Federation of Labor, and Brother Morones, speaking for the Mexican Federation of Labor, agreed to this plan. Mr. Gompers, furthermore, agreed that the American Federation of Labor would advance whatever funds were necessary for the upkeep of the organization until such time as the other organizations should send in their proportion of the expenses. However, this matter was not definitely settled, therefore, I recommend that this congress give a careful consideration to this subject. I append herewith a statement of the receipts and expenditures of the Pan-American Federation of Labor from January 4th to June 30th, 1919, in which connection I will say that at a meeting of the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor held January 5, 1919, it was decided that Brother James Lord, the President of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor and one of the delegates in attendance at the Laredo Conference, should act as Treasurer of this organization which he agreed to do.

"In conclusion I wish to say that in the performance of my duties as Spanish-Language Secretary, I have had occasion to consult with Brother Gompers and Brother Lord, the chairman and treasurer of this organization, and also with Brother Morones who on several occasions has come to Washington, and I desire to express my appreciation for their cooperation. I could not close this report without recalling the fact that Brother John Murray's assistance and counsel have been very valuable and I sincerely regret that he was unable to attend this congress.

"Respectfully submitted,

CANUTO A. VARGAS,
*"Spanish-Language Secretary,
Pan-American Federation of Labor."*

July 7, 1919.

STATEMENT OF THE RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES OF THE PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

RECEIPTS

Received from the American Federation of Labor, from January 4 to June 30, 1919.....	\$3,400.00
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EXPENDITURES

Paid for furniture for the office.....	\$181.35
Expressage	22.97
Office rent for Jan., Feb., and March	75.00
Typewriter rent.....	50.00
Stationery, postage stamps and office supplies, etc.....	101.87
Telegrams and Cablegrams.....	68.58
Printing, mimeographing circulars, etc.....	120.00
Transportation and traveling expenses.....	233.10
Office and hall rent and office supplies for New York Auxiliary Committee.....	72.00
For making seal for the Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	24.00
Salary of John Murray from January 4th to April 19, 1919.....	802.50
Salary of C. A. Vargas from January 4th to June 30, 1919.....	1,337.50
Total.....	\$3,088.87
Balance on hand July 1st, 1919.....	\$311.13
Total.....	\$3,400.00

The Chairman. "With the consent of the congress, the report made by the secretary will be made part of the record. Is there any objection? If there is none, it is so ordered. The chair suggests that the correspondence with President Carranza and the Mexican Senate, and the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, to which reference is made in the secretary's report, be made a part of the record. Is that agreeable to you gentlemen? If there is no objection that will be done." (There was no objection.)

PEACE TERMS AND THE LABOR CHARTER

Delegate Borran, of Mexico, requested information as to what had been done to carry into effect the following declarations and resolutions adopted at the Laredo conference:

"A resolution upon the subject of peace terms declaring for a league of free peoples to secure justice and peace between nations; no political or economic restrictions to benefit some nations and cripple others; recognition of the rights of small nations to dispose of themselves; that the labor power of a human being is not a commodity; that industrial servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime;

free association, speech, assemblage, and press shall not be abridged; seamen shall be guaranteed the right to quit their jobs when the ship reaches port; abolition of child labor; eight-hour basic work day; trial by jury."

The Chairman: "Will you please read them one by one and I will try to answer them."

Secretary Vargas (reading): "A resolution upon the subject of peace terms declaring for a league of free peoples to secure justice and peace among the nations."

The Chairman: "Answer—The Convention of the American Federation of Labor appointed a delegation of five members of the executive council of our federation to go to Europe—to go to Paris—and there endeavor to have that declaration, with others, incorporated in the Peace Treaty. The delegation consisted of Vice-Presidents Duncan, Alpine, Duffy, Greene, and myself. We held conferences with the President of the United States and the American Commissioners for the negotiations of peace. Among the subjects we discussed with the Commissioners was the proposition incorporated in that resolution and the Peace Treaty now signed contains the right and the protection of large and small nations alike, and for their own self-determination."

Secretary Vargas (Reading): "No political or economic restrictions to benefit some nations, and cripple others."

The Chairman: "With that we could do little else than to impress our views upon the Peace Commissioners. The Peace Commissioners of all the countries refused to impose any indemnity upon Germany but did exact reparation for the damage and injury inflicted by Germany upon France and Belgium."

Mr. Vargas: "Recognition of the rights of small nations to dispose of themselves."

The Chairman: "That has already been answered."

Mr. Vargas: "That the labor power of the human being is not a commodity."

The Chairman: "The Peace Commissioners from the various allied countries decided to create an international commission on labor legislation. The Peace Commissioners from each country elected their own representatives. Each appointed two commissioners. The American Peace Commissioners appointed another man and me as the commissioners from the United States. When the International Commission on Labor Legislation met, they elected me as president of the commission. Our commission then adopted practically this proposition, but when it came before the Peace Commissioners, a slight change was made, and it was declared that the labor of a human being is not merely a commodity, and by the preamble adopted to that declaration it stated definitely that the labor of a human being is not merely a commodity but something higher and better, and deserving greater consideration in the hands of the people."

Mr. Vargas: "That industrial servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime."

The Chairman: "The international commission itself did not regard that we ought to adopt that declaration because it declared that there was no such thing as industrial servitude in the countries, and therefore they did not believe it necessary to make any declaration upon that subject."

Mr. Vargas: "Free speech, free press and free assemblage?"

The Chairman: "The International Labor Commission adopted, and the Treaty contains the declaration that the right of free association for workmen and for employers should not be abridged or denied. The question of free speech and free press and free assemblage was not regarded as necessary by the International Commission for their own reasons. I may say that each of the declarations contained here and adopted at Laredo, was submitted by me to the International Commission on Labor Legislation, and was not adopted."

Mr. Vargas: "Seamen shall be guaranteed the right to quit their jobs when they land at their ports?"

The Chairman: "I proposed that to the International Convention, but they did not deem it necessary to adopt it. However, I did submit to them, but that proposition was not adopted. I submitted a proposition, being a protocol to Article 19 of the draft labor convention, which provided against the seamen of the United States or any country being invaded in their rights to quit their vessels. In other words, speaking from memory, of course, no condition can be imposed upon any state or any country inferior than those which already exist in those countries."

Mr. Vargas: "Abolition of child labor?"

The Chairman: "As part of the declarations contained in the Treaty is the declaration against child labor. That has been adopted in principle as a part of the Treaty."

Mr. Vargas: "Trial by jury?"

The Chairman: "That was not adopted because they declared that there was no necessity for it. In some countries they have trial by court where the judges also act as jurors, and that they could not impose in other countries a trial by jury as we understand it in the United States and in England and in nearly all the Pan-American countries.

"I should add that a proposition was submitted by me and adopted in principle and in fact by the International Commission, and is now part of the draft labor convention of the labor charter, which declares equal pay for equal work and value of work, whether by women or men. All I desire to add is that I, as the representative of the United States and as the representative of the American Federation of Labor, and as the representative of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, have endeavored to the fullest of whatever ability I may have had or have to represent the views and the sentiments and the interests of the working people of America, of the Pan-American countries, and of all the countries of the globe."

THE A. F. OF L. AND THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

Mr. Borran, of Mexico: "I want to know whether the American Federation of Labor has accepted all the conclusions arrived at, and all the resolutions adopted at the Laredo Conference?"

The Chairman: "The report of the conference at Laredo was submitted to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City a few weeks ago, and the report was approved."

Mr. Borran: "If the American Federation of Labor has accepted and adopted the resolutions, arrived at at the Laredo Conference, then there seems to be some contradiction in regard to the later attitude of the American Federation of Labor in regard to the prohibition of foreign labor?"

The Chairman: "This is not the subject before the conference. When we get to the consideration of that, we will discuss it."

Mr. Borran: "As I have been told that the American Federation of Labor accepted all the conclusions of the Laredo Conference, I remarked that there was some contradiction and that is all I wanted to say."

Mr. Morones, of Mexico: "I just want to make an explanation to Brother Barran on the attitude of the American Federation of Labor, in regard to immigration. This does not only apply to Latin-America, but applies to the whole world. I was present at the Atlantic City Convention, and I was a witness to the discussion on this subject. I just wanted Brother Barran to understand this and also to tell him that when the proper time arrives I will also have something to say on the subject-matter, but it is not the opportune moment to bring that subject up now, but I wanted him to know that this does not only apply to this part of the continent, but to other parts as well."

Mr. Gomez, of Nicaragua: "I just want to say that the delegation from Nicaragua are gratified at hearing Brother Gompers state that the American Federation of Labor has accepted the conclusions arrived at at the Laredo Conference, and I wish to call the attention of the delegations to this fact, because a proposition from Nicaragua will depend greatly on these conclusions arrived at at Laredo, particularly those conclusions will depend on a resolution we will later bring up."

Mr. Woll, of the United States: "I am going to suggest that all of these subjects are going to be treated in the report of the Secretary and resolutions to be introduced, and it would be saving time and expediting the work of this conference if we would wait for the report of the Committee on Rules, and proceed on these matters in the regular way."

Mr. Vargas: "I was just explaining to the Latin-American brothers the system of conducting conventions in the United States and asked them to do their best to work on this system, because I also want to explain to the American delegates that the system of conducting conventions in Latin-American countries is altogether different from here. The question can be discussed even before the motion is before the house, which can not be done according to our system."

The Chairman: "I am going to ask you now that we hear Delegate DeLeon."

Delegate DeLeon, of El Salvador, read the following report:

**PROPOSITIONS PRESENTED BY THE DELEGATES OF "LA UNION
OBRERA SALVADOREÑA" AT THE SECOND PAN-AMERICAN
LABOR CONGRESS, HELD AT NEW YORK, UNDER THE
AUSPICES OF THE PAN-AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR**

"Messrs. MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS:

"In the past conferences held at Laredo, Texas, which were the origin of the creation of the Pan-American Confederation of Labor, and the celebration of this Congress, the Central American delegates submitted to the consideration of that high assembly a problem which involves for us the future of our national life, while at the same time constituting a guarantee of peace, progress and international stability for the Pan-American countries. We refer to the 'Central American Labor Organization.'

"The problem to which we allude was received with exceeding benevolence by the bodies there congregated, and the decision accorded was not only

favorable but it was honored with a special recommendation from the chairman of the Committee of Resolutions on this official referring the same to that of the permanent organization.

"In keeping with our principle of union, and adhering to the most straightforward Pan-Americanism, we have decided to follow the path already laid out by uniting and consolidating our efforts for the purpose of attaining the establishment of the 'Central American Labor Union.'

"In order to get at the subject and shorten preliminaries, we may be permitted to transcribe herein the substantial part of the propositions submitted by the Central American delegates, and approved as a body by the past conference held at Laredo; they involve the high ideals of the members of the Congress, and at the same time will offer an occasion to the present Central American labor delegation for amplifying the said thesis with such amendments as the development of events may make commendable.

"The said propositions, in their bearing parts, read as follows: The three most important problems in Central America are the following: Organization, increase of salaries, and the establishment of the eight-hour working day, after the system in force in the United States, and known as the 'English Industrial Week.' To accomplish this end, the following has to be done:

"First. That a commission consisting of members of the American Federation of Labor and Mexican labor unions, joined by special committees from each one of our states, proceed to the organization of 'Trade Unions.'

"Second. That once these unions and the various local organizations are formed, the creation of a 'Federation' for each state be proceeded with.

"Third. That once the Federation for the five Central American states are formed and established, the 'Central American Confederation of Labor' be formed, thus carrying out one of the points of the greatest interest taken up at the first Central American Congress of Laborers held at San Salvador in November 5, 1911.

"Fourth. That once the said confederation is formed, the same be associated to the American Federation of Labor.

"In no wise do we pretend to alter these principles already approved, but we only propose the reviewing of the same for the purpose of devising the means of the most feasible application. It goes without saying that when the Pan-American Confederation of Labor is definitely created, this entity will be the one which, under the subdivision 3 of article 2 of the plan approved in the conferences held at Laredo, is to assume the guidance in the matter of the application of the first point of our propositions.

"With reference to the eight-hour working day, we ought to bear in mind the universal movement tending to the establishment of the basic 48-hour industrial week, strengthening this clause, not only by what had been enacted by the International Commission of Labor Legislation in the Peace Conferences with reference to the limitation of time and climatic conditions, etc., but also with regard to the stage of organization which we are about to enter and for which we will require the personal cooperation of the laborers.

"In the application of point two of our propositions, the Pan-American Confederation of Labor shall have in mind the fact that in some of the Central American States there are already established labor federations, and consequently will proceed in the following manner:

"A. The state where there may be two or more federations, there shall be held in them, under the auspices of the P. A. F. of L., meetings attended

by their various executive bodies, to the end of conciliating their respective interests and constituting a sole and powerful body.

"B. That in the cases where the amalgamation of the federations of the same state into one body becomes difficult, the P. A. F. of L. officially recognize only one of said federations, giving the preference to those that are represented at this congress.

"C. In the states where there is no federation, there shall be one founded in accordance with the others already established in the other Central American States.

"D. All of these centres shall be provided with efficient and uniform legislations and management, on the model of the North American 'charters.'

"In the carrying out of point three of our propositions really lies the moral and economical force which guarantees our freedom, and makes it possible for us to cooperate in an efficient manner in all the undertakings assumed by our associates.

"As to point four of our propositions, although it was possible to do so, we did not care to take it up incidentally, because, we would say:

"First. On making a public statement at this memorable occasion, we wanted to manifest our spirit of Pan-American solidarity, thus taking a step forward towards the obliteration of the erroneous opinion existing in many sections of America regarding the sentiments and aspirations of the North American laborers.

"Second. Because the same embodies a public acknowledgment of the efforts made by the American Federation of Labor towards the realization of the brotherhood that should exist among the Pan-American laborers.

"Third. Because the application of said point is closely allied to one of the rights proclaimed by the International Commission on Labor Legislation of the Peace Conferences.

"Now then, the Central American delegates do not lose sight of the fact that this problem is apt to give rise to discussions, specially regarding that part of it which refers to the financing of the reorganization movement that is to be undertaken by us, and the benefits reaping therefrom to the organized bodies that may help us to accomplish our purpose.

"To begin with, the labor unions of Salvador will contribute, to the extent of their capacity and in an equitable form to be decided upon, to the maintenance of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, whence must originate the action we are now considering. However, our main confidence lies in the powerful resources of the American Federation of Labor, assuring this organization, on the other hand, as will be hereinafter shown, that any assistance rendered to us will be liberally compensated when we are organized. The well organized labor movements of Mexico and South America, which at present are going through the most critical and trying moments, in what concerns to their liberty and voice in the public opinion, not only do they know of, but they perhaps feel and realize our present conditions just as well as we do ourselves; they were also, up to a few years ago, exactly what the present Central American laborer is; that is to say, the classical slave under the guise of a laborer's tool. It is, therefore, unnecessary to go into explanations on this subject to the Spanish-American laborers; they are familiar with our intolerable conditions, and they would come to our assistance: our explanations, therefore, are directed to the North American laborers. The question, of course, will be put: What are the benefits accruing to the American Fed-

eration of Labor from supporting our development? And we will explain it briefly:

"It is known to all the great international labor movement which at present is shaking up the world's social organizations; the laborers gave up too much, that they may not expect to reap a little in turn; the proposition simply resolves into this: they who defied everything to accomplish the freedom of all, are not going to let themselves be ousted from participating in humanity's weal. And it is well known that in this great and universal labor movement there have been two factors actuating in the destiny of the world's laborers—the workmen of England and the workmen of America. We all realize the colossal doings of Henderson and Gompers and know the discrepancies between them, such discrepancies representing but the spirit of nationality of their respective organizations; the economical interests intermingle, and we all know the plans of the Americans regarding the curtailing of European immigration, that tremendous exodus that used to swarm America, nor does anyone overlook the hostile attitude shown by the Labor Parliament of England when demanding from the United States the ships retained by her on the right attached to her by reason of her sacrifices and the victory obtained over the enemy. And after these manifest differences of opinion, towards whom is to be expected the laborers of England would look for an alliance? Of course they will look towards the European field, where they have the leadership supremacy. And to whom should the American laborers look for similar solidarity? There is no doubt that it shall have to be to the remainder of the laborers of America, and this is precisely the moment when the American Federation of Labor, head of the organized movement of North America and which at present has under advisement the problems of reconstruction, should take up the question of the continental solidarity, and in order that that solidarity may be effective, in order that it may exist and be possessed of potential power, we must have organization, and to this end should be aimed the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor as regards to some of our countries.

"But if what we have just suggested involves in itself a problem of easy solution, there is on the other hand another problem of a purely continental character and to which the North American laborers have not given due consideration; for the solution of said problem the cooperation of the Latin-American laborers will be necessary, for they will play a very important role in the same.

"We all know that the organized movement of North America is trying to stop immigration for a period of four years, in order to undertake its task of reconstruction; this is a measure that will safeguard the North American laborers from the competition of other laborers and the consequent reduction in their wages, which would certainly be the case if, under the present circumstances, the human avalanche from Europe were permitted to launch on the American shores.

"We are continually hearing about the calamitous condition of European industries, and it has even been stated that in countries like Italy the demobilization has not taken place on the ground of lack of occupation from the soldiers. On the other hand, business offers so little guarantee due to the unsteadiness of the governments, the alternating in power of the numerous factions, and to economical disasters in general, that the North American capitalists do not look with sanguine expectation on European investments.

But if for the preceding proposition a remedy has almost been found, how are we going to avoid the exodus of North American capital which, in unlimited quantity, has swarmed the Latin-American republics? And if this ponderous force of capital does not find the Latin-American labor organized, does not this constitute a most serious and novel problem confronting the laboring classes of the United States? The establishment and working of factories, the exploitation of mines and all our great national resources with the North American capital and the poorly paid and badly treated laborers of our countries, does not this constitute a great danger to the proletariat of North America, a threat in the matter of salary and living standard that has been attained by the same? And this danger, we must remember, lies here, in our home, in the very heart of the continent, a reason this by itself that ought to prompt us to cooperate in the labor organization of Pan-America for the welfare and benefit of all.

"Under the present circumstances, and according to the system of investment of the North American capital in our countries, that is to say, without any guarantee to our laborers, articles may be produced there that, when brought to this country, will be found to be cheaper than the same articles manufactured here. Could there be taxes and labor legislation capable of putting a stop to a competition of this sort without affecting on their basis the international commercial treaties, and as a sequel the constitution of the nations? From the Pan-American organization, labor and solidarity then really depends the prosperity of this continent. And this is the opportune moment to do this work. North American capital has already put a handcuff on Europe; the national loans have conferred on it the dignity of a boss. Now its glances are directed to Latin-America. Hurley, Schwab and Vanderlip have already started the crusade; and to these three names, who represent force, activity and wealth, the name of Gompers, the symbol of tenacious will-power and equity, is not going to be opposed to them? We simply believe it will; and in order that our mutual aspirations may have the necessary force, we obligate ourselves in this hour of trial and of Bolshevism to acknowledge the American Federation of Labor as the genuine representative of the organized labor movement of the United States. Our mutual alliance shall be the bulwark against which shall smash to nothing the illicit ambitions of some of these tyrants of the dollar, as on one occasion Gompers himself called them, while at the same time constitute a guarantee to the honest investors who are considerate and humane with our laborers. In this manner the industries will progress, factories will develop without the germ of hatred in their organism, capitalists will accumulate wealth without worries and cares, our laborers will live a more human life, and the laborers of the United States will maintain and possibly better their own standard.

"The foregoing statement having been made which we consider as embodying the labor problem of Central America in its local and continental aspects, there only remains for us now to assert that this is the psychological moment to act. The Central American Labor Organization should commence its work immediately, and thus avoid by orderly means any violence to which it may be led by despair in order to secure the rights which have always been denied to it.

"On the Central American laborer, workman and farm laborer have been imposed, not the performance of a duty strictly speaking but unhuman sacrifice; against their will they have been forced and kept in ignorance that they

may better serve the exploitation of the parasites who pollulate and fatten on the flesh of the body politic.

"The Central American laborer has been continually sacrificed in brotherly struggle to the satisfaction of the nefarious ambitions of governments and government tyrants. Injustice has been his unflinching reward for his loyalty, and he has always been the victim of the fear generated by abject slavery; being a prey of the natural timidity of the weak, he has hardly ever dared, in his hour of trial and oppression, to protest unitedly against the miseries to which he has been subjected. But the hour of holy indignation is approaching, and if we do not come to his peaceful aid, the cup of bitterness will be drained to the dreg, and as a consequence the blood of the numberless tyrants who have disgraced the name of the Central American countries may be made to run and purify the soil they have stained with their crimes.

"We are not trying to set up here local protests, but we must assert that in Central America there are Republics where, against the will of the people, the presidents have become more lasting in their tenure of office than the ancient monarchs; worse tyrants they are than the feudal despots of the Middle Age: where the principles, we would not say constitutional because such do not exist there, but the simple natural right of existence is often interfered with; where the work of the laborer is exacted from him without due remuneration; where the honest citizen is imprisoned in order that, under the pretext of being a prisoner, he may be forced to work as a slave in the undertakings of the members of the government; where, in the performance of a hideous farce, the people are forced to hail and throw flowers where they should shout anathemas and endeavor to smash away the gangrenous part of the existing institutions.

"Of all this, however, our laborers are overtired. The world wonders at the disturbances in Russia, the sufferings of Armenia, the slavery of Egypt; but it knows little or nothing about the terrible tragedy through which the Central American laborers are passing. This is, then, the right time to save the same, accomplishing at the same time some good of universal character; otherwise the bloody chapters of Russia, Germany, Mexico, Argentine, and other South American countries shall find its epilogue in Central America, perhaps the fiercest part of all, not to be pointed out, however, as Bolshevism, but simply the redemption of justice.

(Signed)

"RICHARD DE LEON,
"VICTALINO GUERRA,
"NICOLAS CABEZAS DUARTE."

APPOINTMENT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

The Chairman appointed the following Committee on Resolutions:

Matthew Woll, of the United States.

L. N. Morones, of Mexico.

Ricardo de Leon, of El Salvador.

Federico S. Benza, of Peru.

Ruben Valladares S., of Nicaragua.

The Chairman: "Is there any objection to the confirmation of that appointment as the Committee on Resolutions?" (There was no objection.)
"There appearing none they will stand as the committee."

It was moved and seconded to adjourn until 9.30 A. M. Tuesday morning. The motion was carried and the meeting adjourned at 5.50 P. M. to reconvene at 9.30 A. M. Tuesday morning.

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

NEW YORK CITY, *July 8, 1910.*

The meeting was called to order at 10.12 A. M., Delegate Woll presiding as Chairman.

Delegate Woll explained that Mr. Gompers had been called early in the morning to go aboard the battleship Pennsylvania to meet President Wilson, and that Mr. Gompers asked him (Mr. Woll) to preside at the morning's meeting. He also announced that he had received the tickets for the public reception at the Carnegie Hall where President Wilson was to deliver an address, as well as the tickets for admission to the boats that were to meet the President's boat on its coming to the harbor, and that in order to obtain the reservations in the boats, the delegates had to be at Battery B at 11.30 A. M. The tickets were distributed among the delegates.

The Chairman: "Are there any resolutions to be introduced?"

Several resolutions were handed to the Secretary.

It was moved and seconded that time for introduction of resolutions be limited to Wednesday morning in order to give the Committee on Resolutions time to work on them and report to the Congress. An amendment was offered that after the time fixed for introduction of resolutions, any delegate desiring to introduce a resolution would be allowed to do so provided he had the unanimous consent of the Congress. The amendment was adopted, and the motion as amended was carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

"We, your Committee on Rules, recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the convention:

"RULE 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9.30 A. M., and remain in session until 12.30. Convene at 2 P. M., and remain in session until 5.30 P. M., except Saturday, on which the session shall be from 9.30 to 12.30 P. M.

"RULE 2. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

"RULE 3. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks except it be to call to a point of order.

"RULE 4. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have an opportunity to do so.

"RULE 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

"RULE 6. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the convention. The committee recommends that this rule be strictly observed.

"RULE 7. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

"RULE 8. At the request of five members, the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

"RULE 9. Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

"RULE 10. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

"RULE 11. That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

"RULE 12. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

"RULE 13. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak if he so desires.

"RULE 14. Robert's Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Order of Business

"1. Reading minutes of previous sessions, which will be dispensed with unless called for.

"2. Report of Committee on Credentials.

"3. Report of Officers.

"4. Report of Regular Committees.

"5. Report of Special Committees.

"6. Unfinished Business.

"7. New Business.

"8. Election of Officers.

"9. Selection of next meeting place.

"10. Good of Federation.

"11. Adjournment.

"Respectfully submitted.

(Signed)

"HUGH FRAYNE, *Chairman*,

"JUSTO A. CASARETTO,

"MACARIO CORTEZ H."

It was moved and seconded that the report be accepted as read. Objection was made by Delegate Borran, of Mexico, to Rule No. 7, as he was under the impression that debate on any subject could be cut off at the will of the chairman. It was explained to him that under Rule No. 7, no motion could be discussed until it had been seconded and the motion or subject under discussion stated by the chairman.

DISCUSSION ON PRESIDING OFFICER

Delegate Borran further remarked that the Committee on Rules did not make any provision in their report for the election of the chairman of the conference, and that it was his belief that the delegates had the right to elect the chairman and other officers to direct the proceedings of the Congress.

Delegate Frayne, chairman of the Committee on Rules, explained that the committee did not think it necessary to make any such provision for the reason that the Laredo Conference elected the President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and that it was the duty, as well as the right, of Mr. Gompers, who was elected President of the organization at Laredo, Texas, in November, 1918, to preside at the meetings of this Congress because this is a convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Vargas explained that it was the custom in the meetings of the

labor organizations in the Latin-American countries to elect a chairman at every meeting to preside over that particular meeting and for that reason the delegates were under the impression that this Congress should also elect the presiding officer.

Several delegates took part in the discussion, and as a result of the discussion some of the delegates were under the impression that the intention was to eliminate Mr. Gompers as the presiding officer. Delegate Cahuas, of Peru, stated that it was not their intention to remove Mr. Gompers from the presidency.

Delegate Cahuas, of Peru: "It is true that in the majority of our congresses the first thing we do is to elect the officers for that particular meeting. I do not want it to be understood that the delegates here assembled wish to remove Mr. Gompers nor to cast any doubts as to his ability to preside over the congress. I believe that the subject under discussion is the report of the Committee on Rules which was presented to us for approval or disapproval, and as the hour to adjourn is approaching I would suggest that this matter be laid on the table until the next meeting."

The Chairman: "I think we might as well dispose with the report, the other question can be taken up tomorrow. As many as favor the approval and the adoption of these rules please signify by raising their hands." The rules were adopted unanimously.

The Chairman: "The rules have been adopted. Before we adjourn it will be necessary to appoint a committee on ways and means of continuing the life of this organization."

Delegate de Leon, of El Salvador: "I believe that the committee should consist of one member from each delegation."

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

The Chairman requested that each delegation elect one of its members to act on the committee, and that the names be handed to the secretary. The following delegates were appointed on the Committee of Ways and Means:

James Lord, of the United States.

Jose V. Cahuas, of Peru.

Nicolas Cabezas Duarte, of El Salvador.

Gabriel Blanco Diaz, of New York.

Pedro Gomez Rouhand, of Nicaragua.

The Chairman: "This congress decided yesterday to attend the reception of the President of the United States and to attend the meeting at Carnegie Hall this afternoon. Now Mr. Gompers' son and Mr. Lord will escort the delegates to the boat. We have got to go now, and according to the rules we stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30."

The meeting adjourned at 11:25 A. M.

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

NEW YORK CITY, July 9, 1919.

The meeting was called to order at 10:15 A. M., President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Kunhardt, of the Dominican Republic: "As it was published in the newspapers that the discussion of the conference yesterday morning was to the effect that the delegates wanted to remove Mr. Gompers as the

chairman of this congress, I move you that we extend a vote of confidence to Mr. Gompers, and I further ask that this vote be given by acclamation."

The vote of confidence was spontaneously given, all the delegates standing.

The Chairman: "I thank you very much. I don't think it at all necessary. The attacks of such a character, any man who undertakes to work consistently and persistently in the interest—the true interests of labor—must expect to be misrepresented and maligned. At least I have lived long enough to ignore such misrepresentations. I thank you very much anyway for the evident, voluntary and spontaneous declaration which you have made of confidence in me."

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, submitted the following report:

Resolution No. 1

Resolution No. 1. Introduced by the American Federation of Labor Delegation:

"Whereas, The U. S. Secretary of the Treasury has announced that a Pan-American conference will be held in 1920 to consider finance and other related matters which are of fundamental interest to the peoples of the Western Hemisphere; and

"Whereas, The practical side of finance is its application to concrete industrial and commercial enterprises, which are of extraordinary importance in this period of realignment of commercial relations and development of world markets; and

"Whereas, As a result of war conditions of the past five years commercial ties between the United States and other American countries to the south, have been strengthened and broadened, and a tremendous impetus has been given to the development of common interests and mutually beneficial relations that if maintained upon the high principle of equitable consideration for all factors in commerce and industry will afford an unparalleled opportunity for a unified Pan-America to utilize the natural resources and industrial advantages of the entire Western Hemisphere in such a way as to advance material civilization for the peoples of the two Americas and to render the utmost assistance in the rehabilitation of war-stricken Europe; and

"Whereas, The development of Pan-American unity will be beneficial in proportion as it is based upon those principles of international and national equity which have been developed by experience, and which are clearly enunciated by the World Peace Conference in its provision for an international labor commission as an integral part of the covenant of the League of Nations, thereby recognizing that the welfare of the producing workers of all countries conditions world peace and international welfare, and that therefore constructive agencies and methods should be provided whereby labor problems may be considered and improvements continuously achieved; and

"Whereas, The United States has been the recognized spokesman for democracy in world international relations it can not approve or follow a different or less liberal ideal in establishing relations with those nations which are its immediate neighbors; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this Pan-American labor conference urge upon the U. S. Secretary of the Treasury that no financial, industrial or commercial plans

can be wisely determined without due consideration to the interests of human agents necessary to carry out all projects, and that in order for the Pan-American financial conference to develop most effective plans there must be provided in that conference representation for the wage earners of those countries concerned, as well as for the managements of industry and commerce; and, be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be presented to the U. S. Secretary of the Treasury with the urgent request that the representation be not less than two persons to be selected by the labor movements of each of the Pan-American countries.

"Your committee recommends approval and endorsement in this resolution."

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. Unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 3

Resolution No. 3. Introduced by the American Federation of Labor Delegation:

Resolved, By the delegates to the Second Convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor held at the Continental Hotel in the city of New York:

"That we hail with satisfaction the ending of the unfortunate war so sanguinarily fought in Europe for nearly five years.

"We heartily approved and endorse the covenant of the League of Nations as part of the Peace Treaty as an earnest effort to maintain the peace of the world; to do justice to every nation large and small and thus safeguard the peoples and nations from a recurrence of such a slaughter and destruction as the world has witnessed in the war just closed.

"That we welcome with satisfaction and heartily endorse the labor draft convention and the labor charter in the covenant of the League of Nations of the Peace Treaty and earnestly express the hope that the time may soon be reached when under the covenant of the League of Nations and the labor draft convention, all the workers and representatives of the countries of the world may be leagued in a common heritage of internationality, fraternity, justice, freedom, and democracy.

"Your committee recommends approval and endorsement of this resolution."

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Morones, of Mexico: "Last night in the committee meeting, in the discussion of this resolution, the Latin-American members of the committee pointed out that it would be better for this congress to express its approval only of the labor clauses included in the covenant of the League of Nations. It is a well-known fact that some of the American countries are not included in the League of Nations, and I believe that if this congress is to take any action on the subject of the League of Nations proper, that this action should be broader, that is, that those nations not yet included in the League be invited to join. Otherwise, the position of the delegates representing the labor movement of those countries not included in the League of Nations, would be rather false if they were to approve of the general subject of the resolution without saying a word, or without referring to the fact that their countries do not come under the present covenant of the

League of Nations. And again, I doubt whether the labor organizations of those countries that are not included in the present covenant of the League of Nations could properly take part in the international labor problems to which the labor charter of the covenant refers, for the reason that their countries are not a party to that convention. For these reasons I believe that the countries not included in the present covenant of the League of Nations should be given an opportunity to join the league." (Applause.)

The Chairman: "May I make this suggestion to Brother Morones, that the resolution be referred back to the committee, with directions to incorporate as part of the report urging upon the great powers signatory to the Peace Treaty that the nations of all the world be accorded the right of representation in the League of Nations and become members of it. Is that agreeable?"

Delegate Cahuas, of Peru: "I believe that we would be saving time if instead of referring the resolution back to the committee, we ourselves, in taking the vote, would add that recommendation to the report."

Delegate Woll, of the United States: "The other members of our committee and I will accept that amendment as part of the report and consider it as part of the report."

The Chairman: "What we want to get is the result. Shall we get at this in the form of a suggestion made by the Chair—that is, that this convention demands that all the nations of the world, including all of the Pan-American countries shall be eligible to membership in the League of Nations?"

It was moved and seconded that the amendment be adopted.

The proceedings were interrupted for a few minutes to allow the Committee on Credentials to submit a report on the credentials of four delegates who arrived during the morning. After a recess of a few minutes the meeting reconvened.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Morones, of Mexico: "In examining the credentials of Augusto R. Jacome and Jose N. Mino, representing the Federation of Workers, of the Republic of Ecuador, we find that the two representatives are not what we call bona fide labor men, as one of them outside of being a lawyer by profession, is also engaged in commercial interests; and the other delegate is also a business man. But it is also true that the organization they represent is a labor organization, and we take it for granted that the labor organization that sends these credentials knows what the positions of these two men are. In consequence, the committee would accept these credentials with the understanding that hereafter delegates coming to the congresses of this organization shall be bona fide labor men."

Delegate Frayne, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials. "We recommend that they be seated on that condition, that hereafter the delegates to the congresses of the Pan-American Federation of Labor will have to be labor men."

A general discussion took place as to what constitutes a labor organization and who are bona fide labor men and entitled to be sent as delegates to the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Casaretto, of Peru, said that in some of their organizations, some of the representatives or leaders were not labor men in the sense of the word, yet they are very friendly with the labor organizations, and for that

reason they had men at the head of their organizations in the South-American countries who were not exactly labor men.

A vote was taken on the report of the committee recommending that the two delegates from Ecuador be seated, and the recommendation was unanimously adopted.

DELEGATES MUST BE LABOR MEN

The Chairman: "Now the question is upon the recommendation of the committee that in the future conventions of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, none but men representative of workers shall be eligible as delegates."

Delegate Blanco: "I believe that in future congresses the committee on credentials should be responsible for the seating of the delegates."

The Chairman: "Let me call the attention of this convention to a thought or two upon this very subject. The Pan-American Federation of Labor is really in its infancy, and in the making, and either this Pan-American Federation of Labor for the future must be a bona fide labor movement, represented by labor men, or it will be something else to the detriment of the workers of all our countries. So at the present time it may be of less importance and no reflection upon the gentlemen who are here today, and who are not in the sense wage-earners—wage-earners as we understand it, but when, if our movement becomes more powerful in numbers and influence, it may be the self-seeking politicians of the professions or in commercial classes, or in the business circles, who will capture the labor movement of the respective countries and to use it for their own personal needs—I hold that this body now is in the developing stages and has the right now to protect itself from any dangers in the future, and it has the right to determine who are, and who shall be, eligible as delegates to the conventions of the Pan-American Federation of Labor."

Delegate Robles, of Peru: "It is regrettable to have congresses like this one, to which have come delegates who are not bona fide labor men. It is very regrettable to have this condition. As it has been very well said, 'the liberation of the workers is to be achieved by the workers themselves.' I think we all agree that nobody else but bona fide labor men can protect the interests of the workers, and that it will do us no good to have lawyers discussing the problems of the working people."

The Chairman: "The recommendation of the committee is substantially that in the future congresses or conventions none but wage-earners shall be eligible as delegates."

Delegate Casaretto, of Peru: "I understand that a wage earner is a man who works in a shop, in a factory, etc., but there are others who are also workers that live from their work, and although they may not be wage earners, yet they are not what we call professionals. They have left their condition of wage earners, but they remained with the labor movement and helped in bettering the conditions of the working people. By reason of their independence, not being dependent upon any employer, they have had time to study the labor movement and the needs of the wage earners. On many occasions these men are sent as representatives of the labor organizations and they themselves have to defray the expenses. Therefore, I believe that we could not very well say that none but wage earners should be eligible as delegates, but could very properly say that the professionals should be barred from the congresses of this organization."

Delegate Morones, of Mexico: "I want to request the delegates that they

do not take this question as one of sentimentalism. The interests of the workers can not be in any other hands than those of the workers themselves. What would have been the position of the Committee on Credentials if from one of the countries there had been sent an employer, a captain of industry, as a delegate to this congress? If we were to be sentimental, what would have been our position in reporting on his credential? Even if he was an honest and sincere man, yet he could not have the interests of the workers at heart. If in some of the countries the labor movement is not in a position to finance the sending of its representatives, I believe that some of the other countries would be willing to lend a helping hand. We could never approve of the proposition to accept any one that should happen to be sent as a delegate to future congresses.

"Now, suppose that the delegate should be a politician, instead of an employer, and that he had wrested, in some way or other, the credential from the labor movement, and that instead of working for the interests of the working people, he was more concerned in advancing the interests of certain political party. If we set this precedent now, it could very well happen in the future that a government would send, say fifty or any number of delegates. These delegates would concern themselves about advancing the interests of this or that political group and would not in the least concern themselves about the future of the workers. Bear in mind that we have not come to this congress to look for the interests of a group, but we have come here to adopt principles and methods that will help in bettering the conditions of the working people in general, and for this reason the delegates to these congresses must be workers themselves. I know full well that the delegate from Ecuador and the other delegates are honest men, but we must treat this matter as a case and not as a personal matter, because we are now setting a precedent for the guidance of future congresses."

Delegate Gomez Rouhand, of Nicaragua: "Mr. Gompers and other delegates here assembled are of the opinion that no one else but the working people should help the labor movements of Central and South America. I am a lawyer myself, consequently I am surprised at these statements. The Chairman believes that lawyers should not represent the interests of the working people, because if we accept any intellectuals—any politicians—it would be dangerous for the workers because the time may come when political factions and the capitalists will appoint men who do not belong to the working class, and, therefore, they will work against the interests of the workers. In our republics the conditions of the working people are so bad that the State affords protection to the men who exploit the workers; the workers are unable to present their claims, and no one who has common sense will forego the privilege and the right of honest and patriotic intellectuals to be the spokesmen for the people who suffer and who haven't got the opportunity to present their claims for themselves.

"Referring to the statement that I am a politician, I have to state that the same has been said of Mr. Samuel Gompers, the Chairman of the Pan-American Federation of labor; he has been accused of the same charge in the following article:

"Declares Seven Men Dictated All War Policies of U. S.

"Representative Graham Accuses President of Organizing 'Secret' Government

"Washington, D. C., Monday.—Seven men formed a 'Secret Government of the United States,' which, working behind closed doors,

determined all of the so-called war legislation "weeks and even months" before war was declared against Germany, Chairman Graham of the House Committee investigating War Department expenditures, charged today after reading into the record a digest of the minutes of the Council of National Defence.

"The seven men named by Mr. Graham were Hollis-Godfrey, Howard E. Coffin, Bernard M. Baruch, Samuel Gompers, Franklin H. Martin, Julius Rosenwald and Daniel Willard, members of the Advisory Commission of the Council."

"In order to support my statement I want to say that there are many working men who in order to represent their people in a scientific way have undertaken the study of the laws affecting labor, and no one can take away from those men who from workers have become professional men the right and the privilege of representing the workers, and even the American Federation of Labor has an example of what I have stated in the person of Mr. Sterling who is himself a lawyer."

The Chairman: "I can not allow that statement to go unchallenged. As a matter of fact, Mr. Sterling is a member of the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor, and he is a printer—a compositor by trade, and a member of the International Typographical Union."

Mr. Gomez: "If I am wrong, I am wrong."

The Chairman: "Mr. Gomez expresses surprise in regard to Mr. Gompers. I am here as a delegate from the American Federation of Labor. I have worked at my trade for 26 years. I have been a member of the union of my trade from the time that the union was formed in 1864 when I was a boy of 14 or 15 years of age. And I worked at my trade until the labor movement asked me to stop working at the trade and to devote my service in furtherance of their wishes—the labor men and women of labor. I have never tried to go into business or have any commercial or financial interest in anything, and I have not tried to get into any of the professions. That which Mr. Gomez has read is that of an attack on others and me because they and I helped the United States to try and get into shape to win in the war for freedom and justice and democracy as against militarism and imperialism."

Delegate Casaretto, of Peru, stated that he did not believe it was within the province of the congress to dictate to the labor organizations who they shall send or who they shall not send as delegates, that it could only make its recommendations on the subject. Furthermore, he said that if they were any professionals who had the confidence of the labor organizations they could not be properly barred from taking part in the labor movement.

The Chairman: "Let me say this, if there are people coming to these conventions who are not working people, men engaged in professions, or men engaged in business, the American Federation of Labor may participate in future conventions, but it will have to maintain the right to reserve for itself any decision which may be reached through votes of men who are not working people. The American Federation of Labor—the American labor movement—is composed of wage-earners, of working people, and we can not permit our movement to be dominated by those men who are not wage-earners. We welcome the advice, the suggestions, the sympathetic cooperation of anybody, but the decisions of the American labor movement will be reserved to the wage-earners themselves and not to the professionals. This is what I under-

stand to be a Pan-American Federation, not of professionals, but a Pan-American Federation of Labor."

Mr. Casaretto, of Peru: "Is it agreeable to have this resolution state as follows: 'When the invitations are sent out to send delegates from the South American countries, that it be stated there the number of delegates to be sent, and also that they be bona fide labor men?'"

The Chairman: "Do you offer that as a motion?"

Delegate Casaretto: "Yes, I offer that as a motion."

The Chairman: "All in favor of this motion will raise their hands." It was unanimously carried.

Secretary Vargas: "We have two more credentials. The report of the committee is to approve the credentials of Francisco Calix and Benjamin Arbizo Vega, representing 'Union de Obreros,' of the Republic of Honduras."

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Credentials be approved, and the delegates seated. Carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 3 IS AMENDED

Delegate Woll, of the United States: "Resolution No. 3 has been undisposed of and an amendment has been offered which the Chairman of the committee will stand as the sponsor for, and I ask that the matter be voted on."

The Chairman: "The amendment is that all nations be entitled to become members of the League of Nations. All in favor of that amendment will signify the same by raising their hands."

The amendment was unanimously approved, and discussion was resumed on the subject-matter of the resolution as amended.

Delegate Jacome, of Ecuador: "In reference to the League of Nations I believe that this is not a subject that should be discussed at a labor meeting because it is a judicial matter."

The Chairman: "You want the lawyers to deal with that, and that we have nothing to do with it!"

Resolution No. 3 as amended was read again, the amendment being as follows:

"This convention demands of the signatory powers that all the nations of the world, including all of the American countries, shall be eligible to membership in the League of Nations."

It was moved and seconded that Resolution No. 3 as amended be approved. Unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 6

Resolution No. 6—Introduced by Delegate L. N. Morones, of the "Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana."

"Resolved, That the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to issue and distribute at the earliest possible moment a manifesto in which the objects and principles of the Pan-American Federation of Labor shall be clearly set forth.

"Your committee recommends the approval and endorsement of this resolution."

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be approved. Carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 7

Resolution No. 7—By the Delegate L. N. Morones, of the "Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana."

"Resolved, That we recommend to the labor organizations represented in this congress the convenience of the workers being organized into one labor organization representative of their respective countries, and urge them to work actively to the accomplishment of that end.

"Your committee recommends your approval and endorsement of this resolution, amended to read as follows:

"Resolved, That we recommend to the labor organizations represented in this congress the convenience of the workmen being organized into one organization of their trade, craft or calling and such trade or craft organizations being federated into one central labor organization of their respective country, and urge them to work actively to the accomplishment of that end."

It was moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report. Carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 8

"Resolution No. 8—By Delegate L. N. Morones, of the 'Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana':

"Whereas, The recognition of the autonomy of each of the labor organizations affiliated is fundamental to the success of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, be it

"Resolved, That any action taken by the Pan-American Federation of Labor to protect the interests of the workers of one or several of the Pan-American countries must be strictly based upon that principle."

"Your committee recommends approval and endorsement of this resolution."

It was moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report. Carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 9

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate L. N. Morones, of the "Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana":

"Whereas, The action of the last convention of the American Federation of labor in reference to the prohibition of immigration of labor from foreign countries conflicts with the conclusions of the first congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, held at Laredo, Texas, and

"Whereas, It is necessary to avoid any misinterpretations or suspicions among the organizations more or less affected by that action and who up to the present time have been willing to cooperate in good faith in the unification of the workers of the American continent; be it

"Resolved, That we respectfully request of the American Federation of Labor a detailed explanation as to the reasons for taking such action.

"Your committee recommends the approval and endorsement of this resolution."

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. Carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 10.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate L. N. Morones, of the "Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana":

"Resolved, That the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor be instructed to immediately get in communication with the labor movements of Europe with a view to participate in the study and solution of the problems that affect the working peoples of the two continents.

"In view of President Gompers' visit to Amsterdam to meet in conference and to form a federation between all the trade union movements of Europe and America, your committee recommends favorable consideration of this resolution and requests President Gompers to do whatever he can to realize the purposes indicated in the resolution."

It was moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report. Carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION NO. 11.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate L. N. Morones, of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana:

Resolved, that, following the principles and resolutions adopted, it is the duty of all the labor organizations represented in this Congress to render all the necessary aid in protecting the interests of the working people of all the American countries.

"Your Committee recommends the approval and endorsement of this resolution."

Upon a motion being duly made and seconded, the Committee's report was adopted.

Thereupon, the meeting adjourned at 12.50 P. M., to reconvene at three o'clock.

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

NEW YORK CITY, *July 9, 1919.*

The meeting was called to order by President Gompers at 3.45 P. M. Secretary Vargas read the following cablegram:

"DIRIAMBA, NICARAGUA,
July 7, 1919.

"To the Pan-American Labor Congress,

"Greetings from the Central American Unionist Party.

(Signed) "MENDIETTA."

Delegate Woll resumed the reading of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

RESOLUTION NO. 4

Resolution No. 4—Introduced by Delegate J. E. Kunhardt, of the Dominican Federation of Labor, Dominican Republic:

"MY FELLOW WORKINGMEN:

"The organized workers of San Domingo have honoured me with the task of conveying to this gathering the assurance of their interest in behalf of the Pan-American labour movement. Thus I have come to speak their ideals and to pledge in their name our intellectual as well as our material support for the furtherance of the plans that are to be approved by this assembly, and whose ultimate aim we know to be no other than the welfare of human society.

"I am entrusted, my fellow workingmen, with a most fraternal greeting and a message. And while my very presence here speaks by itself as to the first, I shall request your kind attention so that I may deliver to you the second.

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

"The country for whose labouring masses I am here to speak, the Dominican Republic, occupies, together with Hayti, the island of San Domingo, which belongs to the Antilles, and lays opposite to the Atlantic coast of Central America.

"The Dominican Republic covers some two-thirds of the total area of the island, aggregating 60,000 square kilometers, and is bounded north by the Atlantic ocean, East by the Island of Porto Rico, South by the Caribbean Sea, and West by the Island of Cuba.

"The island is located between parallels 17° 36' and 19° 58' northern latitude, and 70° 39' and 76° 51' western longitude from the Paris meridian. The territory belonging to the Dominican Republic is the one comprised between the above mentioned parallels and runs from 70° 39' to 74° 51' western longitude from the Paris meridian.

"Roughly estimated the population comprises 800,000 inhabitants.

HISTORY

"The Island of San Domingo was discovered on December 6, 1492, by Columbus, who named it Hispaniola as a tribute to Spain.

"The colony which was founded there had to fight many an encounter, first with the filibuster and subsequently with both the French and the English. Finally, in the year of 1785, an agreement was made by whose virtue France was to become master of the Island.

"At this juncture, a native of Hayti, General Toussaint Louverture, proclaimed the independence of his country and fought against a large body of French troops which was sent under General Leclerc to subdue the rebels. This was finally done and the independence movement came to naught.

"French rule lasted until July 9, 1809, when the capital of San Domingo was surrendered by the French into the hands of the Spanish leader, Juan Sanchez Ramirez, who had been conducting against them a most successful campaign after defeating their troops at Palo Hincado.

"Under pretense that the constitution of Hayti asked for the political unity of the Island, J. P. Boyer, Haitian President, sent his troops against San Domingo and succeeded in establishing the Haitian rule over her for a period of twenty years. Subsequently, the endeavours of Juan Pablo Duarte, known as the Liberator, caused San Domingo to regain her independence. But, in the following years, one of the Presidents of San Domingo, fearing that his country might fall again into the hands of Hayti, decided to prevent it by reinstating San Domingo to the Spanish Kingdom as a colony. General Santana carried out his purpose, and San Domingo remained under Spanish rule until August 16, 1863, at which time independence was again proclaimed.

"A period of civil warfare ensued afterwards, during which the people of San Domingo engaged in almost continual fighting, with the hope of attaining thus the fulfillment of their ideals. The state of war caused progress to remain stagnant and was instrumental in preventing foreign capital from going into the Island to develop her wonderful possibilities.

"In spite of troubled conditions, the Republic succeeded in keeping her independence free from any outsider's interference. But in 1907, in order to reorganize the national finances and to be able to pay off her foreign debt, my country entered into arrangements with American bankers and received from them a loan of twenty million dollars.

"The interest of this loan was always faithfully paid, and due care was taken by the Dominican Government to comply with every one of the clauses of the agreement. Yet, for the sake of political reasons related to the national interests of the United States, the military occupation of the Island was decided upon and took place in 1915, just one year after the European war had been declared.

"As all of you know the geographical position of San Domingo has made the island a subject of study for the military in this country. Any one who has taken the pains of following their trend of thought on this subject, will remember that the military men's contention is that two pivots are necessary in San Domingo to complete, with the bases laid down already in Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Panama Canal, the system of defense of the North American coast, such pivots being the Mole de San Nicolas and the Ocoa harbour.

"It is not my purpose to enter into the merits of the case and try to pass judgment upon it. I did not come to this congress for that purpose. Yet, I thought it would be advisable to make a brief statement about the case, so that you could better understand the conditions under which the labouring masses of San Domingo are at the present time.

THE MILITARY OCCUPATION

"The citizens of San Domingo have so far observed a policy of passive resistance towards the military occupation of their country. They have not fought the invaders. They have thought it wiser to remain in watchful waiting, believing that, as soon as the European war would come to an end, the United States could not fail to give back to the Dominicans the enjoyment of their liberties and their rights.

"At the present time, or to be more accurate, from 1915 up to the present time, the Dominicans have been prevented from the enjoyment of their political rights. The freedom of the press has been suppressed by the American Governor, the national machinery has been put aside and in lieu of it there remains only the orders emanated from the Military Command.

"I put the case before you without letting my personal feeling interfere. There is neither love nor hate guiding my saying. I mention the facts just as they happened to occur. And with these facts before your eyes it is for you my fellow workingmen, to see and, in all fairness, to pass your own judgment.

"Whilst the freedom of the press is lacking, how can you expect the people to let their voices be heard and point out to their rulers the mistakes in which they may incur?

"If the freedom of speech is of no avail, how are the toiling masses of my country to argue theirs publicly and ask for the protection to which they are rightfully entitled?

"The military hand would fall immediately upon any one who would be bold enough to attempt exercising his political rights. I like to think that this is done with a purpose of whose sincerity and disinterestedness I doubt not. This is done to educate and uplift the Dominican people. And yet, my fellow workingmen, I must in all candour confess that I do not think the right way has been chosen. That a system of high-handed repression, however lofty its intentions may be, can never accomplish anything of a permanent duration.

"The American is not an object of hate in San Domingo, implications to the contrary notwithstanding. We appreciate him. We hold the United States in a high opinion and see in her a country dedicated to Liberty and ready to stand for Liberty whenever its fate hangs in the balance. We watched with a feeling akin to that of patriotism your attitude during the European struggle. And yet we can not understand the American attitude on the Dominican question. We fail to see why such methods have been resorted to. And, since our faith in the loftiness of the American intent is not yet

wholly extinguished, we are led to believe that some tragical misunderstanding of the situation is the cause of what is happening and for which we are reluctant to blame the American people.

THE WORKINGMAN LOT

"The present condition of the Dominican workingmen is not what you may call a happy one. This is largely due to the political situation.

"The workingman is prevented to air his grievances. He is not supposed to go with them before those who dictate the laws that he is to obey. He can not resort to the press to bring those grievances before the tribunal of public opinion. And were he to try to further his case by means of public meetings, or the distribution of pamphlets, or in any other similar way, the hand of the American authorities would seize him and punish him.

"Whilst the world is aflame with a new purpose, whilst the labouring masses are succeeding in getting a part of what is rightfully due them, we, the working masses of San Domingo are compelled to stand by idly, even without seeming to know of the wonderful achievement of our brothers.

"As it is to be expected, this stern rule of the military is all but beneficial to the betterment of our social conditions. The wages remain stagnant, and even drop, the increasing cost of life notwithstanding. And the wage-earners are facing a very difficult situation and will presently be unable to make both ends meet.

THE IMMIGRATION

"There was an immigration law in San Domingo forbidding the labourers from Hayti to enter the country in pursuance of their callings. The reason for this was that the Haytian labourer, having not yet attained the same level in which the Dominican labourer has already placed himself, he sells his labour cheaply, thus creating a situation that tends to bring wages under its normal level.

"The Haytian workingman earns from 50 to 60 cents, and works from 10 to 12 hours daily.

"The military authorities, without taking the pains of going into the situation, disregarded the Dominican immigration law and flooded the country with imported labour thus compelling our workingmen to lower their standard of life, since they had to stand the unfair competition of the newcomers. Thus the average wage today fluctuates between half a dollar and 60 cents per day, which, as you can easily imagine, is wholly insufficient.

"The land owners of San Domingo are in their great majority Americans. I do not mention this circumstance to cast any reflection upon the motives that might inspire the American military authorities to act in one way or another, as far as the immigration of labourers is concerned. But you will admit, I fancy, that there is a well-founded ground to be suspicious if attention is paid to the fact that the labouring masses of my country are being deprived of the remuneration justly due them for their daily toil and that, furthermore, this goes to the advantage of foreign capitalists.

"You are perhaps aware of the fact that the sugar industry of San Domingo has been up to late unable to meet in the New York market the competition of the Cuban exporters. The importation of foreign labour into San Domingo and the subsequent fall in the wages, is no doubt a measure beneficial to the Dominican sugar industry in so far that it tends to reduce the cost of production. But while acknowledging this, I can not hide from you the fact that

perhaps the right course to follow would be to put on an equal footing the Cuban and the Dominican imports of sugar to this country, by granting to the latter the same exemptions accorded to the first. In this way, and without hurting the American landowners of San Domingo, the immigration laws of my country could be enforced again and the labouring masses of San Domingo would be properly protected.

"I have tried, my fellow workingmen, to give you a general view of the situation in which the workers of my country are at the present time. I have been sent here to speak for them to tell you in their name that we believe in the program outlined in the conference held at Laredo, on the 13th of November, 1917; that we trust that the American Federation of Labor is with us and ready to fight with us for the maintenance of our right to a fair standard of living and a fair part of the wealth that the work of our hands creates.

"I ask you, my fellow workingmen from Canada, the States and Latin America, to let us pledge our undivided support to the Pan-American program initiated by the American Federation of Labor. Let us help to make the United States the great sister republic that is to lead our countries in their movement towards democracy. Let these United States continue to be in the future the same nation that in the past helped Benito Juarez, the Mexican, lend a hand to Cuba so that her independence might be achieved, and prevented European aggression on Venezuela.

"Although the organization of the workingmen of San Domingo is, owing to conditions to which I have already alluded, hampered by financial difficulties, we are none the less ready to cooperate to a man in the endeavour of achieving democracy throughout this new world of ours, by enforcing the rights of the workers to be treated as men and not merely as commodities."

COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON RESOLUTION NO. 4

"Your committee recommends as follows: After carefully considering the subjects contained in this statement it is the opinion of your committee that this statement of complaints and grievances should be referred to the American Federation of Labor with the request that President Gompers cause an investigation to be made of the complaints and grievances and that the American Federation of Labor be urged to do whatever is possible and practicable to secure to the wage earners of San Domingo the full opportunity of freedom of expression, freedom of action, the right to voluntary association, and the right of collective bargaining, to the same degree that these rights are recognized to the wage-earners of the United States and all other governments of free people."

Upon a motion being duly made and seconded, the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 5

Resolution No. 5—Presented by the Peruvian Delegation:

"FELLOW DELEGATES OF THE PAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS:

"The call of the American Federation of Labor to the workers of the Latin-American countries, is an indication of the proximity of the revival of the working classes. It is the first cry of liberty, of social freedom, and consequently, it means the complete destruction of conquest, despotism and barbarism. The bonds of fraternity in which the peoples of the continent are

uniting, is the signal of a new era, founded on justice and right. But in order that this may be a real brotherhood and that all the peoples may be reached, it is necessary to remove the causes of the existing differences among some of the peoples, as in the case of our country and Chile, who, unfortunately, up to the present time have not been able to settle their international disputes.

"The workers of all parts of the world, although having no part in the making of wars, are the ones to suffer the consequences. It is, therefore, up to this meeting of workers of the different countries in the American continent to find the remedy to these evils, for the workers compose the great majority of the peoples of all nations.

"The Peruvian delegates request the moral cooperation of this Pan-American Labor Congress in the settlement of the differences to which mention has been made above.

"We are not going to enter in a narrative of the origin of the war of the Pacific (Chile-Peru War of 1879), for it is well known, we will only refer to the words of the Chilean Chancellor, Don Jose M. Balmaceda, in his circular letter of December, 1881, addressed to the diplomatic agents of that republic:

" 'To restore to the enemy the control of the very cause of the dispute, after the victory of Chile and its acquisition of the disputed territories, would have meant an unjustified step and a lack of knowledge in the affairs of state.'

"Immediately after the occupation of Lima, the capital of Peru, by the Chilean army, after the last battle of Miraflores, the Chilean general-in-chief refused to recognize the Government of Sr. de Pirola, Commander-in-Chief of the Peruvian forces and who had retired to the interior of the country to continue the defense. In view of this, in the month of February, 1881, a meeting of notables took place in Lima, and Sr. Dr. Francisco Garcia Calderon was appointed provisional president.

"The Chileans accepted the formation of this government and gave permission for its inauguration in the nearby town of Magdalena, which was declared neutral territory, as well as the seashore of Chorrillos, where a few months after the congress was to meet in session to authorize the initiation of peace negotiations.

"The United States was the first country to recognize the provisional government, and General S. A. Hurlbut was sent as plenipotentiary with precise instructions to 'endeavor to bring about a peace treaty, in which territorial questions should be eliminated, both as a previous question or as a fundamental part of the treaty, basing this condition on the repeated declarations of Chile, that she was not carrying on a war of conquest, and for that reason, Peru should be given an opportunity to offer a pecuniary war indemnization properly guaranteed.'

"Among the Chilean government officials and military chiefs, the mission of Mr. Hurlbut, as was to be expected, produced a bad effect, but not venturing to oppose it, they consented to begin negotiations with the provisional government, but at the same time putting obstacles in the way so as to delay the negotiations.

"Rear-Admiral Linche, the chief of the army of occupation, held a special conference with Mr. Hurlbut in order to get acquainted with the American suggestions and the American diplomat delivered to the Chilean officer a

memorandum, dated August 23, 1881, which among other things, said the following:

“As there has never been a boundary dispute between Peru and Chile, and consequently there are no boundaries to be settled, and as Chile has repeatedly said, officially and in public, that she has no intention or designs of acquiring territory by forced annexation, we believe that if this was intended now by Chile, her attitude would not be in harmony with her dignity and her honor and would be disastrous for the future peace of both countries as it would engender a deep hatred and this condition would be constantly tending to serious disturbances. Such an attitude on the part of Chile would decidedly meet with disapproval from the United States.’

“During the process of the negotiations between both parties, Dr. Garcia Calderon categorically asked to what amount the expenses of the war reached in the estimation of Chile, and what would be, therefore, the amount of the war indemnization which she would ask, to which query he was answered that eighty million dollars in gold. Some days later the Peruvian negotiators stated that their country would pay that exorbitant sum and that she had the means to pay it. ‘Where is Peru going to get that sum?’ was the question propounded by the Chilean negotiator, to which Sr. Garcia Calderon answered: ‘That is not up to you, for the present; if Peru should not offer the necessary guarantees for the payment, the treaty would not be signed and Chile would act accordingly.’

“Sometime later, Dr. Garcia Calderon received a message from Linche inviting him and Dr. Galvez, Minister of Foreign Relations, to meet him at the National Palace. In that interview, Linche informed them that his government did not consider them acceptable persons to continue the negotiations with them, and furthermore, that he was under orders to send them prisoners to Chile. They were immediately put aboard the battleship ‘Cochrane,’ which weighed anchors November 6, at 2 o’clock in the afternoon. What was the intention of the Chilean Government in taking this violent and unusual action? It is not difficult to find an answer: To interrupt the negotiations in which Chile with her territorial designs found herself in a difficult position, in the hopes that in due time the situation would become better, and furthermore, to evade the vexatious (to Chile) American mediation. In this action, as well as all through the war, the designs of Chile were favored by fate. President Garfield had just been assassinated in Washington; and from that moment the attitude of the Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, became irresolute. The American Government decided to send a new special plenipotentiary to the Pacific, Mr. G. E. Treseott, with instructions to protest before the Chilean government for the imprisonment of the provisional president of Peru, who had been recognized by the Government of the United States, and to inform Chile that the United States Government recognized Chile’s right to demand a pecuniary indemnization from Peru, but that her right to ‘take it herself’ would only be recognized only in the case that Peru was unable or that she should refuse to pay it.

“The Chilean government resorted to evasion in answering Mr. Treseott, and at the end of the year Secretary Blaine had to retire from his post, and after that the American policy suffered a change that was fatal to the aspirations of Peru.

"The attempts of Chile to secure a treaty with territorial annexation were all in vain. Exasperated on account of this failure, the Chilean government arrested a number of the high officials in Lima, and they were taken to Chile in August, 1882, and interned in a small southern town.

"In an effort to hasten the negotiations, a new American Minister to Chile, Mr. Logan, asked Dr. Garcia Calderon if Peru was in a position to pay the strong war indemnization demanded by Chile, and he answered, as he had answered before at Lima, that Peru was willing to pay seventy-five million dollars on condition that all Peruvian territory should be freed. The money was ready, thanks to a financial agreement with the firm 'Industrial Credit of Paris.' But Chile refused to discuss the matter on the basis of indemnization and persisted obstinately in the annexation of territory.

"It was at that time that the Angol conference was held. Mr. Logan, who wanted to persuade Dr. Garcia Calderon to accede to the cession of territory, invited him to confer with his countrymen who were imprisoned and they both went to the town of Angol where the prisoners were confined.

"The memorable conference initiated by the American diplomat was held on September 15, 1882, where he suggested that Chile wanted the cession (by Peru) of the province of Tarapaca, and furthermore, she wanted to purchase the provinces of Tacna and Arica. 'The United States,' added the American diplomat, 'can not recognize any other government in Peru than that of Dr. Garcia Calderon, but, on the other hand, they can not prevent the pretensions of Chile. It is true that the policy of the United States has changed since the death of President Garfield and the retirement of Mr. Blaine, but the position in which Peru is today, without ports, without money, and with her few troops shut out in the mountains, should not prolong the war, the continuation of which, although heroic, would be in vain. In order to remove all obstacles I present to you a memorandum, the summary of which is as follows: 'Sale to Chile of all territory up to the Sama River, Peru reserving to herself the possession of the guano industry of Lobos and the details of the sale of this article.'

"In concluding, the American diplomat said: 'Gentlemen, I have reasons to believe that if you should not accept these conditions, the demands of Chile will be greater afterwards, for she dreams of possessing the territory as far as Mollendo, and she will press hostilities against you and against your country in a greater degree than heretofore. Study this carefully and you will see that it is the only way in which you can offer your country the opportunity of determining her own destiny.'

"In view of the difficulties they encountered in persuading Dr. Garcia Calderon to sign a treaty under those conditions, they initiated negotiations with the military chief of the Northern Department, Colonel Iglesias, so as to constitute him as the head of the government and negotiate the peace terms. The defeat suffered by the extenuated troops at Huamachuco precipitated the realization of these plans, and Colonel Iglesias decided to assume the responsibility and establishing a government which was supported by the Chilean army of occupation, he signed the famous treaty of Aucon.

"According to the terms of the treaty the province of Tarapaca was ceded to Chile and, furthermore, she was given possession of the provinces of Tacna and Arica for the period of ten years, at the end of which period a plebiscite would take place in which the inhabitants of the last two named provinces would decide their nationality, and the country favored by the result of the plebiscite would pay to the other the sum of ten million dollars.

"Forty years have elapsed and the plebiscite has not been executed. The fault has not been Peru's, for this country at the end of the stipulated period of ten years asked for the execution of the plebiscite, and it has never been executed, although Peru has asked for its execution repeatedly.

"After the victory of the allies in the war which has exterminated imperialism, Chile, convinced that justice and right will prevail, and seeing that the League of Nations is being formed to safeguard liberty and to do away with conquests, and fearful of finding herself in the same situation as Germany, stated that she was ready to carry into effect the terms of the Treaty of Ancon and to execute the plebiscite; but at the same time that this declaration is made, Chile deports the Peruvians from their native soil, from those captive provinces, so as to prevent them from being the only and legitimate electors who shall decide as to their nationality, and leaving only the Chileans to vote which undoubtedly would result in favor of Chile.

"This is, fellow delegates, the actual situation in reference to the international affairs of Peru, and if we have gone at some length on some of the points, we have done it with the purpose of showing that in 1881 President Garfield tried to protect justice and right. And today that the reestablishment of peace in Europe, accomplished through the direct intervention of the Apostle of Liberty, the Regenerator of Humanity, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, has awakened in the spirit of the oppressed peoples a great admiration for his wise doctrines; when we see the coming of a new era of justice for those nations that have been held under oppression; when the time has arrived when every one will be given what he is rightfully entitled to have—for it is not just that the strongest should forcibly take away the property of the weakest—when the workers under the protection of the divine law ask for justice and invoke the cooperation of their brothers, the workers, justice must be given; and

"Whereas, The Treaty of Ancon should not be further considered, for it was virtually annulled on account of the failure of carrying into effect its stipulations at the specified time; and

"Whereas, We do not believe that the workers of Chile will oppose the fair settlement of our international disputes by means of arbitration,

"As an act of justice that will result in bringing about the complete American unification, and that will definitely settle the present affairs of our country in regard to the historic events we have herein narrated, we, the undersigned, representing the workers of Peru, offer the following resolution.

"In view of the above declarations with reference to the problems that affect the working people of Peru, as made by the delegates representing the workers of that republic, the Pan-American Labor Congress requests the mediation of the Government of the United States of America, so that the peoples of Peru and Chile may arrive at a solution of their pending international disputes by the medium of arbitration; in offering its good offices, and in making this suggestion, the congress believes that this action is in harmony with its ideals of fraternity, independence and freedom, and of a true democracy.

(Signed)

" FEDERICO S. BENZA,

" JOSE C. ROBLES,

" JOSE V. CAHUAS,

" JUSTO A. CASARETTO,

" VICTOR HERRERA Y VERA,

Peruvian Delegation. "

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

"Your committee recommends that this congress declare itself in favor of a prompt and just solution of the differences existing between the Republics of Peru and Chile—that is, the differences indicated in this resolution. And it also recommends that the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor use all their influence to the end that in the effort to arrive at a solution no use shall be made of methods that may jeopardize the interests of the working people of Peru and Chile, or methods that may not be in harmony with the principles of justice and right.

"In this resolution, the recommendation is made that the Government of the United States be requested to mediate and settle the dispute between Chile and Peru by arbitration. Your committee, however, feels that it is best to leave that to the judgment of the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and not confine them to any specific feature in trying to reach a conclusion."

It was moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Jacome, of Ecuador: "I want the record to show that the Ecuadorian delegates voted against the report of the committee for the reason that this matter is of a political nature and it is not within the province of the labor congress to discuss such matters. If this congress is going to devote itself to such matters, the Ecuadorian delegates regret that they will have to leave the congress. Furthermore, we have no instructions from our organization on matters of this nature."

The Chairman: "Let us understand clearly what the position of the delegate is. There has been presented to us a dispute existing between the peoples and the governments, and the working people of Chile and Peru. That document was referred to a committee and the committee makes a recommendation that everything should be done by the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to bring about a restoration of good feeling between the peoples, governments, and the working people of the two countries. Now, it is in order for the delegates to this convention to know whether the delegate from Ecuador claims that the consideration of that subject and to dispose of it in that way does not come within the realms of the rights of this convention to deal with. Is that the position of the delegate?"

Delegate Jacome, of Ecuador: "This is only a political question. If we are going to discuss matters of this nature, I can tell you that the delegation from Ecuador has many claims against Peru. There is a controversy between my country and Peru and we have not reached any solution at all. But I don't want to bring that before this convention because the Pan-American Federation of Labor should not claim political rights for other countries."

The Chairman: "We are not discussing the claims of either of the countries. The proposition of the committee is to try and bring about a better state of feeling between the peoples and the governments of these two countries—perfectly within the limits of this body. As a matter of fact it was due to the political situation between the peoples and the governments of Mexico and the United States that brought the Pan-American Federation of Labor into existence. And let me add this, had the working people of Germany and Austria had the intelligence and the courage to set themselves up against the war and demanded a peaceful settlement, we would not have had the European war of the past five years. Anything that may bring about the

betterment in the conditions of the toilers, everything that can bring about better feeling among the peoples and the governments of the various countries of the world, anything and everything that can make for international unity and fraternity and to prevent international strife and war is the work of the labor movements of the world."

Delegate Benza, of Peru: "I am not surprised at the statement of the delegate from Ecuador in reference to this matter, when I recall that at this morning's meeting he said right on this floor that the workers were not able to legislate, and that they were not capable of dealing with international problems. He also says that there is some trouble between the governments of Ecuador and Peru. The Peruvian workers will deem it a great honor to lend a helping hand in bringing about the unity of the South American workers and in bringing about unity and harmony among all the peoples of the American Continent. If the governments of Peru and Chile for forty years have not been able to bring about a feeling of fraternity between their peoples, we, the Peruvian workers will be glad to bring that about. The workers can not remain indifferent to the international problems and difficulties between their countries, for after all, the workers themselves are the ones to suffer the consequences. And as Mr. Gompers said a while ago, if the workers of Europe had seen this—if they had come together, the war would have been prevented.

"Now, what is it that we, the workers of Peru, want? All we desire is that this problem that has been pending for forty years be satisfactorily settled, once and for all, and that a solution be found to that problem in such a manner that the interests of the workers of those two countries shall not be jeopardized. Therefore, I think that the attitude of the Peruvian workers in this case should meet with the hearty approval of every one of you, for all they want is the establishment of the best fraternal relations between themselves and the workers of all the other countries."

Delegate Morones, of Mexico: "I will explain what the Committee on Resolutions had in mind in submitting this report. When the resolution was placed in our hands, I tried to get in touch with the Peruvian delegates to find out whether there was any way to reach a solution of this problem that would be within the rights, within the privileges of the labor movement, and at the same time be satisfactory to the Peruvian delegation. We were told by the Peruvian delegation that if this congress did not try to find a way to the solution of this problem, that the workers of Chile and Peru would find themselves in a very difficult situation and that it was probable that the difficulties existing between those two countries would be of disastrous consequences."

"The members of the committee were informed that Peruvian workers had been deported from Chile by the government—that if an incident of this nature should occur again it was not very remote that a conflict would arise between the two countries. And I believe it is our duty as workers to do all we can to prevent a conflict between those two countries, because, after all, the workers themselves are the ones that will have to go to war. Now, the subject has not been brought to the attention of this congress by the Government of Peru. It has been brought to the attention of this congress by the Peruvian workers themselves—by a delegation of the workers. The delegate from Ecuador is mistaken when he says that subjects of this nature should be left for the governments to solve, when the workers are those that will have to suffer the consequences of any conflict that may arise because of the failure of these two governments to solve the problem after so many years

"The latest events of the world have shown us that it is about time that the working people should find a new way, a new method of dealing with all these differences and problems, to prevent the terrible results of the failure of their own governments to reach a solution. No one can assure us that these differences and disputes between governments are not fostered and encouraged by political groups or other groups, in an effort to advance their own interests. We must set down the principle that the interests of the working people are over and above the interests of any party, group or government. We must also set down the principle that the working people of any nation shall deal with these matters when their own governments do not care or do not want to settle them. The Peruvian delegation wanted this congress to request the Government of the United States to arbitrate the dispute between those two countries, but the committee was opposed to that method of dealing with the problem, and besides, we also want to set the principle that the Pan-American Federation of Labor shall have ample and broad means, and an entirely free hand in trying to solve all of these problems, and not follow only one course.

"I want to ask of the delegation from Ecuador that they give a thoughtful consideration to the recommendation of the committee, and that they bear in mind that if the present state of affairs in these two countries remains as it is now, and if no effort is made to solve this problem, it might lead to a war between Chile and Peru, and we the workers of other countries, would be forced to accept the situation simply as spectators; then, why not prevent such a condition if it is possible to prevent it? We must do all that is humanly possible to prevent a conflict of the nature I have tried to describe, and to set the precedent by which this organization may have the right to deal with these matters whenever they may arise. If when we are trying to prevent the killing of the workers, one by another, if that is what you call political action, I must say that it is a political action entirely different from the political action with which we are acquainted. In my opinion, it is not political action to prevent conflicts between the workers. Now, I respectfully request that we take a vote on this question that we may get through with the subject under discussion."

Delegate Jacome, of Ecuador: "As I stated before, I am against that proposition, first, because the labor organizations in America do not know anything about our problems; second, because our mandatories did not give us any right to participate in discussions of this nature; third, because our constitution in South America is against propositions of this nature—we have in our country constitutional arrangements to settle this question directly and not by arbitration; fourth, because the Chilean delegation is not present and it is a discredit to act on this resolution without hearing what the other party has to say. For these reasons, I am against the resolution."

The Chairman: "This question has been thoroughly discussed. The committee's report will be read in both Spanish and English and then we will come to a vote."

After the report was read a vote was taken and the report of the committee was adopted, Delegates Mino and Jacome, of Ecuador, voting against it.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS ON THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

Delegate Woll: "In the first paragraph of the Secretary's report, comment is made about Brother Murray's illness and inability to perform his duty in the past several months. Your committee regrets to note the illness of Brother John Murray, which prevented his active work as secretary during the past several months and made it impossible for him to attend this convention. We express the hope that he may speedily and fully recover from his present illness and recommend that these expressions of sympathy and good will be telegraphed to him."

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. Carried.

Delegate Woll: "On that part of the report of the secretary, under caption 'Mexican Labor Asks Assistance,' attention is called to the assistance that the Pan-American Federation of Labor rendered the railway trades of Mexico in adjusting their difficulties with the railway administration.

"It is with pleasure that your committee notes the effectiveness of the bond of fraternity already established between the Pan-American Trade Unions and that through the effort of the Pan-American Federation of Labor substantial help was given to the Mexican railway workers. We recommend that in the event further difficulties should be encountered that the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor give every possible assistance to these workers."

Upon a motion being duly made and seconded, the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Woll: "Under that caption of the Secretary's Report 'Attempt to Suppress Strikes in Mexico.' Under this caption the Secretary sets forth the dangers to the rights of workers involved in contemplated changes to the Mexican constitution which would deprive the wage earners of the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike.

"We note with pleasure that they have not been successful so far. Your committee believes, however, that the dangers which menace the rights of Mexican wage earners are not entirely removed, and that every necessary influence and every power within the organized labor movements represented in this convention should be used to defeat this proposed constitutional amendment should it again be proposed, that if adopted would enslave the wage earners of Mexico and completely repudiate the doctrine of modern civilization that men are born free and must be accorded equal opportunities to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. We recommend that the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor do all in their power to give effective expression and realization to these declarations."

It was moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report. Carried unanimously.

Delegate Woll: "The secretary amongst other matters calls attention to the difficulties between Chile and Peru, and your committee on that part makes the following recommendation:

"We regret to note that relations between the workers of Chile and Peru have been strained on account of territorial disputes between these two republics. It is our opinion that differences of this character should not divide the workers in their struggle for improved conditions. Your committee,

therefore, recommends concurrence in the report of the secretary that an appeal be made to Chilean and Peruvian workers to again renew their interchange of fraternal delegates and that they re-establish the friendly relations that for many years existed between them and through such friendly relationship prove helpful in solving the difficulties in which their respective countries are so unfortunately involved."

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. Carried.

Delegate Jacome, of Ecuador: "I want to have my vote recorded against the adoption of that recommendation of the committee."

Delegate Casaretto, of Peru: "It is a matter of surprise to me that there is a vote recorded against the idea of establishing fraternal relations between the workers of Chile and Peru."

Delegate Woll: "In that part of the Secretary's Report where attention is called to the great value of trade union organizations and the necessity of having accurate information as to what the trade unions are doing in all the countries represented here, your committee suggests the following:

"Your committee also recommends approval of that part of the Secretary's Report wherein it is suggested that delegates on their return to their countries send or have the secretaries of their organizations send to the office of the Pan-American Federation of Labor data as to the state of organization, conditions of labor, scales of wages, hours of labor, labor laws, etc., so that a complete record may always be available of the workers' activities, hopes and aspirations, as well as of achievements accomplished and difficulties met with."

Moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report. Carried.

Delegate Woll: "On the conclusion of the Secretary's Report, on the financial statement, your committee submits the following:

"Your committee has given careful consideration to the expenses incurred during the past year, and as noted in the Secretary's Report. We find the expenses incurred well founded and that the report furnished is accurate in every detail.

"Your committee not only recommends approval of this part of the Secretary's Report but also recommends that this convention express its appreciation for the faithful, loyal and efficient service rendered by Secretaries C. A. Vargas and John Murray.

"Your committee further recommends that this convention express sincere appreciation and gratitude for the great and valuable services President Gompers has rendered to the working people of the Western Hemisphere. No one could have served the interests of the wage earners and all lovers of freedom more loyally, more devotedly and more efficiently than the President of the American Federation of Labor and Chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Mr. Samuel Gompers."

Moved and seconded to adopt the Committee's report. Carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

Resolution No. 2—Introduced jointly by Delegates Ricardo de Leon, Victalino Guerra, and Nicolas Cabezas Duarte, of "Union Obrera Salvadoreña" and Delegates Benjamin Huezo and Macario Cortes H., of "Federacion de Obreros," both of El Salvador:

Resolved, That we recommend to the labor unions of Central America to immediately proceed to the organization of trade unions; that once the trade unions have been organized, that they organize departmental (state) or provincial federations; and that they also organize a national federation of workers for each of the Central American countries; and, furthermore that once these national federations have been organized, that they federate into a Central American Federation of Workers, this latter organization to affiliate to the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

"We also recommend, that in those Central American countries where there are two or more federations, that the Pan-American Federation of Labor invite their executive councils to hold meetings to the end that an amalgamation into one federation for each country shall be effected. It is furthermore,

Resolved, That the Pan-American Federation of Labor will support and recognize all mutual and cooperative workers' societies, whose objects are to secure better wages, better homes for the workers, to secure compensation for accidents, and obtain better educational institutions for the children as well as for adults, etc.

"The national federations shall have uniform legislation and administration features in accordance with the progressive ideas of the labor organizations of other countries, but always conforming to their own social conditions and environments.

"The national federations shall work actively for the enactment, by their respective legislatures, of the labor laws that may be initiated by the Pan-American Federation of Labor, for the benefit of the workers."

Delegates Valladares, of Nicaragua, De Leon and Duarte, of El Salvador, and Calix, of Honduras, explained to the congress that for some time past a movement has been going on in Central America to unite the five Central American countries into one country, and that the working people of those five countries are in favor of the movement. For that reason, they added, it was the wish of the Central American labor organizations to form a Central American Federation of Labor.

AMENDMENT TO RESOLUTION NO. 2

Delegate Woll moved that the resolution be approved and that the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor be directed to help in bringing about a cooperation between the national labor movements of the five Central American countries, but that, however, in bringing about this coordination or federation each of the national labor movements shall not be deprived of representation in the Pan-American Federation of Labor, but that it shall serve as an agent or institution to be helpful in promoting the work of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The motion was seconded and unanimously approved.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

It was moved and seconded that the congress proceed with the election of officers for the ensuing term, and that after the election the congress remain in session until the delegates from the American Federation of Labor make an answer to the resolution adopted by the congress on Wednesday morning's session, in regard to immigration. Carried.

Delegate Casaretto, of Peru, placed the name of Mr. Samuel Gompers for Chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The nomination

was seconded by Delegate Woll. There being no further nominations for Chairman, nominations were closed.

Mr. Samuel Gompers was unanimously elected Chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Mr. John Murray was nominated by Delegate James Lord for English-Language Secretary. The nomination was seconded, and there being no further nominations, Mr. Murray was elected unanimously.

Mr. C. A. Vargas was nominated by Delegate Frayne for Spanish-Language Secretary. The nomination was seconded, and there being no further nominations, Mr. Vargas was unanimously elected.

Mr. James Lord was nominated by Delegate Morones for Treasurer. The nomination was seconded, and there being no further nominations, Mr. Lord was unanimously elected.

SELECTION OF MEETING PLACE

Next in order was the selection of the meeting place for the Third Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Mexico City was nominated by Secretary Vargas and seconded by Delegate Herrera y Vera, of Peru.

Delegate Kunhardt, of the Dominican Republic, nominated San Juan, Porto Rico.

Delegate Jacome, of Ecuador, nominated Quito, Ecuador.

Delegate Kunhardt withdrew the name of San Juan, Porto Rico.

There being no further nominations for the meeting place, the vote was taken and the result was as follows:

For Quito, Ecuador: Two votes, Delegates Jacome and Mino, of Ecuador.

For Mexico City: Twenty votes.

The Chairman: "The City of Mexico has been selected for the next meeting place."

Delegates Morones presided while Delegate Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, addressed the congress as follows, on the subject of immigration, and in response to Resolution No. 9 introduced by Delegate Morones, of Mexico:

ADDRESS BY MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS ON THE SUBJECT OF IMMIGRATION

"Mr. Chairman, in the report of the Committee on Resolutions this morning or this afternoon, you requested that the delegates from the American Federation of Labor to this convention should give some of the reasons why the American Federation of Labor adopted the resolution regarding immigration. My associates have requested me to see that I should make the explanation. I shall try to do so and give you the reasons which prompted the convention to follow that course. First, let me say that the people of the United States, and particularly the working people, are placed in a most peculiar position. We are placed in the United States in a position to which there is no other comparison in any other country. In no other country on the face of the globe has there been such a volume of emigration from other countries as to the United States.

"The United States of America has had a national existence since 1776. For the first quarter of that time immigration was exceedingly slow. The

population of the United States of America at the time of its independence was approximately 3,000,000. Up to the breaking out of the Civil War between the northern and the southern states of our country, we had approximately 46,000,000 population—men, women and children. At the outbreak of the Civil War we had in the United States 3,500,000 slaves. The Civil War abolished human slavery. The negro race—our fellow citizens now of America—have increased from 3,500,000 to about 8,000,000. From the time after the Civil War was closed and chattel slavery abolished, the immigration from all parts of the world increased to a very large extent. It is estimated that now we have in the United States about 108,000,000 of people. The immigration for the past twenty years up to 1914 became so great that it was a real menace to the standards and conditions of the people of our country. So that the fiscal year up to July 1, 1914—for that year there was an immigration into the United States of more than 1,250,000 of people.

"The immigration was not natural or normal from the various countries of the people who desired to come to the United States. There was a combination between the corporations and trusts with the slipping companies who sent their agents through every country where they could reach people, to have them come here under contract written or implied for the purpose of giving their service and labor for a specified period of time. The contracts which these trusts and corporations—the industrial trusts and corporations had with these workmen was of such a character that the workmen, at least for a long period of years, were actually slaves to the corporations and trusts—their masters. Any man who observed the vessels coming into the ports of the United States, in any of the great ports and particularly those of New York and Boston, could see the thousands of the poor men and women, particularly the men, coming into—stepping off the ships and on to the docks and could find them with a little bit of a box herded on to the trains and shot into the factories and the industrial plants—the steel plants and iron plants and the stockyards and all the other industrial establishments.

"To such a pass did that situation come that the trust magnates would advertise in American papers and in the newspapers of other countries that they wanted workmen, but that American workmen would not be given positions in their plants. We have been trying for years to organize the men in these packing industries. We have had some little measure of success. For years and years—and principally within these recent years, we have made an effort to organize the workers in the iron and steel industries. And after the expenditure of thousands of dollars, after the expenditure of years of effort, in the iron and steel industries in which there are more than a million and a half men employed, we have only been able to organize about 100,000, and that has been accomplished within this past year. The people have been kept in bondage. They have been permitted to have their own language newspapers which the companies have subsidized and paid for to abuse and attack the American labor movement and its officers in order that they shall not join the American labor movement but should hate it and keep away from it. Since the war—1914—there has been comparatively little immigration into the United States.

"Now comes the time of peace, and we had taken four million men out of the ranks of industry and labor and put them into the camps, and put them into the battlefields of Europe. These men have been brought back to the number of two million and a half. And there are about a half million yet to

come back. Machinery—the best in the whole world—has been put into industry during the war to produce quantities of supplies and ammunitions and things never dreamed of in the whole history of the world. I want to ask every man and woman here to consult their own minds and consult their own conscience and ask themselves whether they would not say that our first duty is to find jobs and work for the men who were willing to give up their lives in order to make this country secure, and give the peoples of the allied countries the opportunity to live their own lives! The first duty we owe is to see to it that in these trying hours of peace we shall so rearrange and readjust our affairs that the American workingmen shall have the right to a job before any one whom they want to come here from another country!

"In England or Great Britain, English is the language. In France French is the language. In Italy, Italian is the language. In Germany, German is the language. And so on throughout the European countries. In Mexico—in the Central and in the South American Republics, Spanish is the language. There is a homogeneous people in all of these countries. In the United States the official language is English, but you can go in almost any city of the United States and listen to the lingo spoken and you would imagine yourself in any other country but the United States, and as a consequence there is not yet established that spirit of homogeneity—the spirit of a common language, the spirit of a common heritage and a common destiny. In California, and through other parts of the country, we have so many Chinamen—Chinese who come over here as coolies—we have the Japanese; here on the Atlantic border, threatened with an overwhelming immigration from all parts of the world, and in the West, on the Pacific, threatened by a possible overwhelming immigration into our country.

"It is very easy for people in any country placed in such a geographical position that they are not menaced by anything of this character—for them to protest against the self-protection of the people of the United States. We are here in grave danger unless there is something done. The standards which we have raised and established for American workers, we are not going to give up. We are not going to give them up to the greed and the rapacity of the employing class of America. And we are not going to have it undermined by an overwhelming number of immigrants so that we can not maintain our standards. For the first time in the history of the whole world the American Labor movement in 1907 took the position that it will not submit to having wages reduced, hours of labor increased, or the standards lowered. We declared and adopted as a watchword a slogan at that time which has been kept up faithfully and adhered to all through that we would rather resist and lose than not to resist at all. And for the first time in the history of America, at least, we went through a panic without a reduction of wages or the lowering of the standards of the working people.

"I would not want any man to believe, at least so far as I am concerned, that I want to build a Chinese wall around the United States. I want the fullest and freest opportunity for men, of their own volition—men and women of their own volition, of their own desire, to freely move around this earth on the soil of any nation of the world! That is theory, that is principle, that is desire, that is inspiration. But when there comes a time where your very home is in danger—and when the men of labor and the people will not defend their homes and their standards and their wives and their little ones, then they are not fit to enjoy the freedom and the liberties and the advantages of the country in which they live.

"This is a critical time—a crucial time—a time unprecedented in America at least, unprecedented, I believe, in all countries on the face of the globe. And it simply means that we must protect ourselves or be overwhelmed. And when this critical period shall have been passed, then America can again become the home of people who come here of their own volition to join in whatever betides—whether in bountiful generous homes and firesides and rewards for labor and for service performed, when men and women shall take their rightful place by having a real opportunity to work out their own independence and salvation and to make this life better worth living—that time will come and probably shorter than four years, but for some period there must be some safeguarding of the life and the opportunity and the standards of American workers.

"If the workers of all countries were well organized and had established standards of life and labor commensurate or nearly commensurate with the life and the standards established here, there could be and would be no objection. The doors would be thrown open and the hand of welcome and fraternity extended to all who come of their own volition. If I had the right to determine the conditions upon which immigration into the United States might be legally afforded, I would say that any man or woman—workman or workwoman who came with a good clean union card of good standing membership in the union—I would be perfectly willing to say, 'Come into America, because you are fighting for the right and for standards and for life!' But you can not do that, not under the law. You can not establish that as a condition precedent to entrance into the United States. And so far as my feeling in the matter is concerned I say that the man who is selfish enough and is ignorant enough to fail or refuse to join the union of his trade wherever he may live, is not a man about which it is necessary to so much concern ourselves.

"I may say this in addition, that I would not give my indorsement to any measure which refused to recognize the right of asylum for political refugees from their own countries. The American labor movement—and I have been proud to help in that work—has always stood for the right of asylum in the United States for political offenders. That is true of Mexican refugees, Irish refugees, Russian refugees, Polish refugees, and only a few short days ago we went to the front for the Hindoos, who are political refugees now in the United States, and protested against their deportation to India. And so we will continue. The American Federation of Labor will not prove false to its highest concept for the best ideals which can be formed in the minds of sane men and women.

"In addition I may say a word that there have come to the United States people from some of the European countries—Russia, Poland, all around that part of the world—men have come here and have left their wives and their children in their home countries. I can not believe that the Government of the United States would take a position so unwarranted as to keep the wives and the children of these men who have come to America away from their husbands and their fathers. I am quite confident of this, that the American Federation of Labor never intended and never will pursue a course that shall keep the wives and the children away from their natural protectors, their fathers and husbands, who are now in the United States.

"Men don't build houses of granite and of brick where the sun is torrid and where the zone is hot. Men don't build wooden huts or shanties in frigid zones. The building of stone homes, homes of brick, are causes. It is the

natural intelligence of men to do the things that shall best protect them against the elements. And so in torrid zones people would be merely bordering the verge of the loss of common sense to build homes of stone and iron and brick. It is the common sense, it is the intelligence, it is the experience that prompts people in either or both instances to build homes for shelter that will most easily conform to their climatic conditions. And the application of that illustration is exactly the position in which the people and the working people particularly in the United States find themselves. We must protect ourselves from the overwhelming number of people who would come to the United States during this critical period when there are and will be so many of our own men and women unemployed.

"You need have no fear nor need have any apprehension as to the attitude of American labor. We ring true. We are four-square. We will go the limit for labor, for right, for justice and for freedom, and we will do our share for all the workers in all countries. There are perhaps many more reasons that I could submit to you for consideration as to the justification of the course we have pursued. One of the safest things for any man to do is to imagine himself, or place himself in the position of the other fellow. You place yourself in the position of America's workers and you will see how necessary is the course we have pursued."

REMARKS OF DELEGATE MORONES

Delegate Morones, of Mexico: "As the introducer of the resolution requesting an explanation from the American Federation of Labor in reference to the subject of immigration, I desire to say that it was and is my purpose to set a precedent at this time that whenever any labor organization takes some action that affects the labor organizations of other countries, that organization shall take the pains to explain to the affected organizations its reasons for such action. I acknowledge the reasons explained by Mr. Gompers. But if this discussion had not been requested you can be sure that each and every one of the South and Central American labor organizations would interpret the action of the American Federation of Labor in their own way. As we are actively working to bring about the best understanding between the labor movements, it is necessary that we should avoid possible misinterpretations and misunderstandings. This does not apply only to the American Federation of Labor just because it so happened that this organization has taken this action now. Those of us that are well acquainted with the American Federation of Labor know full well its reasons.

"But, as I said before, the precedent must be set that all the labor organizations have a right to know what the others are doing and why they are doing it, regardless of the fact that the American Federation of Labor is the strongest in numbers. It is but just to expect that the strongest organizations should explain their actions to the smaller organizations, and to lend them a helping hand in every way possible. But in the present case, this explanation is the more necessary for the reason that only a short time before the Atlantic City convention, the American Federation of Labor participated in another convention, and the resolutions and declarations adopted there are in contradiction with the action taken by the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor. Of course, we all understand that the conditions in this country at that time were not what they are today. But this is no reason why

the American Federation of Labor should not explain in a general way to the other organizations what it is doing and why.

"Just to show that even the same labor organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor interpret its action in a very different way, I am going to cite the following incident: There are twenty-five Mexican machinists in San Antonio, Texas, affiliated to the International Association of Machinists. About three weeks ago the Machinists' Local Union of San Antonio adopted a resolution to expell these twenty-five Mexican members from that union. The reason given was that the American Federation of Labor was working for the enacting of a law to prohibit immigration to the United States. To justify my protest against this action of the San Antonio Local Union of Machinists, I will say this: When these Mexican machinists joined the union they were admitted with the understanding that when the soldiers came back looking for jobs, they would give their jobs to the soldiers and go somewhere else in search of a job for themselves.

"Now, you will understand that if this explanation was not given by the American Federation of Labor, the misunderstanding that very unfortunately exists among some of the workers would assume greater proportions and would perhaps prove an obstacle in the work of our Pan-American movement. In conclusion, I would suggest that the American Federation of Labor take the trouble to also make this explanation that has been made here to the labor organizations that are not represented in this congress."

REMARKS OF DELEGATE JACOME

Delegate Jacome, of Ecuador: "Mr. Chairman, I have paid careful attention to your speech, and I can not say anything against it. I have only one declaration to make. The South American countries are very rich. I remember that on the Fourth of July you could find but very few South American people to go in the parade. You had Irishmen, Japanese, Chinese, etc., etc., but you had very few South Americans. We are South Americans and you are North Americans. We are all Americans. That is the truth. We don't need to come here. We have a rich country, and this is so true, that the natural trade, the future trade of the United States is in South America. The only thing I am afraid of is that some of the South American countries, Argentina, Brazil or Ecuador, will make the same provision against the labor men from the United States."

The meeting adjourned at 6.15 P. M. to reconvene at 9.30 Thursday morning.

FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

NEW YORK CITY, *July 10, 1919.*

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 A. M. by Mr. Frank Morrison, at the request of President Gompers.

Secretary Vargas read the following communication:

"CONTINENTAL HOTEL, NEW YORK, N. Y., *July 9, 1919.*

"To the Officers and Delegates of the Second Convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Continental Hotel, New York, N. Y.

"COLLEAGUES:

"It is essential that I visit the American and British Consuls in order to have my passports visced. Therefore, I can not be at the session of the con-

vention tomorrow, Thursday morning. I hope to return within two hours from the opening of the conference.

"In addition, Mr. Matthew Woll, one of my associate delegates to the convention, has been called away to Boston by reason of a case before the courts in which his union is vitally interested.

"I therefore ask that Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, should act as my substitute during my absence and that Mr. James E. Roach be accepted as the other delegate in place of Mr. Matthew Woll. I regret my unavoidable but temporary absence from the convention.

"Fraternally yours,

"SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President*,

"*Pan-American Federation of Labor.*

Delegate Frayne: "Your Committee on Credentials recommends, Mr. Chairman, that the request contained in President Gompers' letter be complied with, and that Mr. Morrison and Mr. Roach be seated as substitute delegates to this convention."

Moved and seconded that Messrs. Morrison and Roach be seated as substitute delegates in place of Messrs. Gompers and Woll. Carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Delegate Lord, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, reported that in reference to the question of financing the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the following division of the expenses was the only agreement the committee was able to reach:

Proportion of the Yearly Expenses of the Pan-American Federation of Labor

American Federation of Labor (U. S.).....	\$5,000.00
Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (Mexico).....	1,250.00
Labor organizations of Nicaragua.....	250.00
" " " El Salvador.....	250.00
" " " The Dominican Republic.....	250.00
" " " Peru.....	625.00
" " " Ecuador.....	375.00
" " " Honduras.....	250.00
Total.....	\$8,250.00

Delegate Lord explained that an estimate of the expenses of the organization, based on the expenses for the first six months of its existence, showed that approximately \$10,000 a year were needed, but that the amount of \$8,250 was the best the committee was able to do in apportioning the assessments on the countries represented.

It was moved and seconded that the report as submitted by the Committee on Ways and Means be adopted.

The Chairman: "I would like to ask this question for my information, for you to call the roll of the delegations and find out what the membership of each republic is."

A roll-call showed that the approximate membership of the countries represented is as follows:

American Federation of Labor.....	3,260,000	members.
Mexico.....	350,000	"
Peru.....	5,000	"
Salvador.....	2,000	"
Dominican Republic.....	2,265	"
Nicaragua.....	2,000	"
Ecuador.....	3,000	"
Honduras.....	2,000	"

The delegation from Ecuador was not present at this meeting, but Secretary Vargas stated that correspondence he had from Ecuador showed that there are about 3,000 organized workers in that country.

The absence of the delegates from Ecuador was criticized by several of the delegates present, and it was the general opinion that the report of the committee apportioning a share of the expenses to Ecuador should be adopted by the committee regardless of the fact that the Ecuadorian delegation was not present. The delegates based their opinion on the grounds that the work of the congress should not be interrupted because one or two delegates were not complying with their duties as such by absenting themselves from the meetings of the congress.

The report of the Committee on Ways and Means was unanimously adopted.

The meeting adjourned at 11 A. M. to reconvene at 2 P. M. in order to give the Committee on Resolutions an opportunity to prepare a report on several resolutions not yet reported to the congress.

FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

NEW YORK CITY, July 10, 1919.

The meeting was called to order at 2.30 P. M., Mr. Frank Morrison presiding.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Delegate Lord, who acted as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions in place of Delegate Woll, stated that the committee was ready to report.

Delegate Lord: "Resolutions Nos. 12 and 13 embody so many different subjects that we found it necessary to separate them and report on each subject separately."

RESOLUTION NO. 12

Resolution No. 12—Introduced by the Peruvian Delegation:

"Resolved, That the attention of the governments be called to the necessity of compelling the land owners to cultivate their land, so as to increase production, and in that manner help reduce the cost of living.

"Your committee recommends that each labor movement affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor take such action as they may deem best to bring the land in their particular countries under cultivation, thus helping to reduce the cost of living."

Moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report. Carried.

Resolved, That an effort be made to establish the freedom of trade on all the articles of prime necessity for the workers, or at least that the customs duty be reduced 50 per cent.

"Your committee feels that this is not a matter for the Pan-American Labor Congress to deal with and recommend that each national organization proceed in whatever way it deems best in dealing with the tariff question."

Moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. Carried.

Resolved, That we favor and urge upon the labor organizations the establishment of the eight-hour working day in those countries where it is not yet established.

"Your committee concurs in the spirit of this resolution and urge each affiliated movement to put forward every effort for the establishment of the eight-hour maximum workday."

Moved and seconded to adopt the report of the committee. Carried.

Resolved, That the sons and daughters of the workers shall not be discriminated against in the distribution of free scholarships in the national colleges and universities.

"With regard to this question, your committee feels that any method that will bring about an increase of free scholarships will redound to the countries' good. We feel also that rather than be discriminated against, the sons and daughters of workers should be favored as they are the least able to pay college tuitions. We recommend the labor movements to do all they can towards establishing higher education."

Moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report. Carried.

Resolved, That the attention of the governments be called to the necessity of building hygienic homes for the workers.

"Your committee concurs in this resolution both as a matter of readjustment as from war to peace conditions and because we feel that every workingman should be given an opportunity to own his home and that any country that embarks on a venture of this kind where homes are to be built and sold on easy payments and low rates of interest will benefit nationally."

Moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report. Carried.

Resolved, That we favor and urge the organization of a World's Trade Union Congress to meet at the place selected by the majority of the countries represented.

"Your committee recommends that no action be taken on this matter as it has already been discussed in this congress and that even now delegates are on the way to Amsterdam with the view to again setting the World's Trade Union Congress."

Moved and seconded to adopt the report of the committee. Carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 13

Resolution No. 13—By the delegation from Honduras:

Resolved, That we recommend to the labor organizations the necessity of having the legislatures of their respective governments enact adequate compensation laws for injuries to workmen while performing their work, and that in advocating the enactment of such laws, as well as for the establishment of the eight-hour maximum workday, an extensive publicity campaign through the labor and public press will prove most helpful and a very practical

method of ultimately securing the eight-hour working day and the enactment of compensation laws.

"Your committee concurs in this resolution and urge each affiliated body to put forward its best efforts for an adequate compensation law for injuries, sickness or death to workmen. In this connection we feel that the secretaries of the Pan-American Federation of Labor can render valuable service to those Latin-American countries who are aiming to establish a compensation law, by furnishing them, when required, information regarding existing compensation laws in other countries or in helping to prepare a model compensation law.

"We believe thoroughly in the value of publicity in connection with these matters and urge the necessity of each affiliated movement having its own labor press and see to it that as far as possible their membership receive and read these labor papers."

Moved and seconded that the committee's report be adopted. Carried.

"Resolved, That as a means of bettering the conditions of the workers we favor the creation of cooperative stores and cooperative societies, and we furthermore declare that in their struggle for increasing their salaries and improving their working conditions the right of the workers to strike shall not be suppressed.

"Your committee concurs in this resolution and urge the establishment of cooperative stores where conditions are favorable. We favor the Rochdale plan, as it has been proven universally successful the world over where it has been given a trial.

"While we deplore the necessity of strikes, and believe that in the field of intelligent joint relations the best interests of the workers, the community and the nation can be conserved, your committee concurs in the declaration that the workers can never surrender the right to strike."

Moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report. Carried.

"Whereas, Ignorance and lack of education makes slaves of the workers; and

"Whereas, A proper education enables the workers and their children to defend themselves from the ambitions of the exploiters; be it

"Resolved, That the federation shall urge and encourage the establishment of educational institutions for the workers and their children so as to enable them to attain a higher level; the federation shall encourage the interchange of scholars among the several countries and especially in those that offer greater facilities for the learning of languages, trades, etc., all this to be done under the protection and with the cooperation of the trade unions of the respective countries.

"Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommend that where it is mutually desirable by any of the affiliated national movements to do this, they reach an agreement dealing with all phases of the question regarding safety, protection and freedom of the persons involved."

Moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. Carried.

"Resolved, That we recommend to the labor organizations the necessity of putting forth their best efforts to increase the wages of the workers so that they may earn enough for the necessities of life and to save a percentage of their earnings.

"Your committee concurs on this resolution and urge that it is the paramount duty of the organizations making up the Pan-American Federation of

Labor to put forward their efforts to establish wages that mean not only a mere existence but a wage that will provide all the necessities and some of the luxuries of life. It is known that the chasm existing between the cost of living and the purchasing power of wages is the standard of the workingmen's happiness or distress. Under normal circumstances the two agencies, the trade union movement and the cooperative movement will do more to narrow this chasm than any other thing can do. Organization, education and loyalty will set up these movements in every country in the world. No one can set them up for us, no one should set them up for us; we must do it ourselves."

Moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. Carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 14

Resolution No. 14—Introduced by the Delegation from Nicaragua:

"*Resolved*, That the labor organizations affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labor shall protect the workingmen who voluntarily or otherwise shall emigrate to one of the countries represented in this organization, provided that he can show that he is a member in good standing of the labor movement of his country; the protection afforded will consist of helping him in securing employment, and, if in the meantime he should require it, financial assistance shall be given him for a reasonable period of time."

"*Resolved*, That to enable the workers to obtain a better education, the creation of workingmen's libraries, and the interchange of literature, shall be encouraged by the labor organizations here represented."

"Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution."

Moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report. Carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 15

Resolution No. 15—Introduced by Delegate L. N. Morones, of Mexico.

"Whereas, The campaign that for some time has been carried on by certain elements to provoke an armed conflict between the United States and Mexico has reached alarming proportions; be it

"*Resolved*, That this congress is against such campaign being continued and that the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor be instructed to make their best efforts and use all the power at their command to the end that the differences existing between the governments of the United States and Mexico be settled in a peaceful way. The working people of Mexico will cooperate in every way to that end.

"Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption."

Moved and seconded to adopt the committee's report. Carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 16

Resolution No. 16—Introduced by the Delegation from Nicaragua.

"The Pan-American Labor Congress believes that in order to strengthen the mutual confidence and friendly relations between the peoples of the Pan-American countries, a fair investigation must be made of the events that have taken place in the Republic of Nicaragua, and which resulted in the occupation of armed forces of the United States in that republic for several years past, and in the possession, by American capitalists, of its custom houses, railroads, etc., to the end that the wrongs caused to the workers of that nation shall be

righted. The Pan-American Labor Congress will use its influence before the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, so that he may see to it that the unfortunate conditions of the people of that country be improved, and that it be permitted to elect the person who shall guide its destinies, freely and without restrictions or special laws that may abridge their right to popular suffrage, thus earning the everlasting gratitude that will strengthen the friendly and cordial relations between the two countries.

"Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends the adoption of this resolution."

Moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. Unanimously adopted.

Delegate Lord: "This concludes the report of the Committee on Resolutions."

Delegate Borran, of Mexico: "I introduced a resolution and I have heard no report on same."

Delegates Benza, of Peru, and Morones, of Mexico, explained that a resolution had been handed to the Committee on Resolutions which, besides not being signed, dealt with matters which should not be entertained for a moment by the congress, and for that reason the committee decided not to report the resolution to the congress.

Delegate Borran stated that the resolution was presented to this congress, through him, by the House of the Workers, of Tampico, Mexico, and that the committee ought to have reported on it either favorably or unfavorably, but that they had no right to kill the resolution in a committee meeting.

Delegate Benza, of the Committee on Resolutions, said that the congress before starting on its work had appointed a Committee on Resolutions that was to study all resolutions introduced and render a report on same, and that in coming to Delegate Borran's resolution the committee was unanimous in not reporting either way on his resolution for two reasons, namely, that it was not signed and that the subject of the resolution was of such a nature that not even the reading of it should be considered by the congress, and concluded by saying that as the committee so reported to the congress now, that the congress should act on the committee's report.

During the discussion it developed that Delegate Borran is representing an organization that is not affiliated to the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana, the recognized labor organization in Mexico eligible to membership in the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

It was moved and seconded to adopt the report of the committee which is to the effect that the resolution introduced by Delegate Borran should not be considered by the congress.

The report of the committee was adopted by an overwhelming majority, only three delegates voting against it.

A motion was made and seconded to adjourn sine die.

Upon request, Maj. Honore J. Jaxon was allowed the floor and in addressing the congress he conveyed the fraternal greetings of the Metis or French-Indian people of the far Northwest—the most northerly outpost of the Latin-American race—and expressed his appreciation for the highly capable and noble-minded efforts of the Pan-American Labor Congress toward the achieving, on the Western Hemisphere, of that unity of thought and action which the political powers of the American Continent have hitherto failed to bring about.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS' CLOSING REMARKS

The Chairman: "Gentlemen, the motion is that the Second Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor adjourn sine die. Before I put that motion, I should like to say a word. First of all, permit me to express my great appreciation of the courtesy which has been manifested throughout, not only to me as your presiding officer, but to each other as delegates to this convention. Secondly, to say that in my judgment this convention has done a splendid work and rendered splendid service in the common cause of the peoples, and of the governments of their respective countries. If each of us does his duty upon his return to his respective home, and explains to the working people the constructive legislation and declarations enunciated by this convention, it will bring courage and hope and achievement to the workers and to the masses of people of our respective countries. If we could demonstrate to the peoples of our Pan-American countries that we are making for unity and solidarity in the determination of the great fundamental principles and high ideals of our people, we shall have done a service not only to our own people, but to all the people of the civilized world.

"I think that it would be wholly-lacking in me did I fail to express my appreciation of the splendid services rendered, not only to the Pan-American Federation of Labor during the year since the Laredo meeting, but at this convention, by our Secretary, Mr. Vargas. To the delegates and the committees and other officers, I express my deep obligations. And it is my earnest hope that you shall return safely and in good health and good spirits to your home and to your fellow workers and fellow countrymen and carry the word of organization as the foundation upon which all future service and achievements can be made. And I shall now express the hope that we shall meet in 1920 greater in numbers, greater in the organization of the yet unorganized workers of our respective countries. And when we meet in Mexico City in the coming year, there shall be another milestone in the wonderful progress and achievement of the hopes and the aspirations of labor."

CLOSING REMARKS OF DELEGATE MORONES

Delegate Morones, of Mexico: "Although after we adjourn I will have the opportunity of conveying to the delegates from the Central and South American countries, as well as to the delegates from the American Federation of Labor, the good will of the members of the organization I represent, I will express it now so that it may appear in the record. I want to inform the delegates of the sincere desire of our organization to bring about the complete unity of the workers of the Pan-American countries.

"Very unfortunately, there seem to be certain signs and manifestations that in this work we are going to meet with some difficulties. But all these obstacles that are put in our way should only serve to encourage us in our work and to put our best efforts forth to prevent any struggles or conflicts that may be fomented by interests opposed to this great movement. There are many individuals and many groups that in the advancement of their own interests are seeking to prevent the unity of the peoples of the Pan-American countries. And these groups claim to be the genuine representatives of the people.

"If we are to solve the vital problems that affect our respective countries we must bring about the complete unification of the labor movements of the

several countries, so as to be able to present a stronger front to these evil influences. I hope that the workers will do all in their power to strengthen the bonds of fraternity into which they have entered through their representation in this congress. All my efforts will be to that end in Mexico, so that the workers of Mexico will be ready to lend a helping hand to the workers of any other country should the occasion arrive. You can be sure that the workers of Mexico will always be willing to cooperate in order to bring about the unification of the working people of the American Continent.

"It is my honor to request of all the delegates here present that upon their return they convey to the workers of the respective countries the fraternal greetings of the workers of Mexico and the assurance of their cordiality. And I also request of Mr. Jaxon, whose address we had the honor to hear a while ago, that he, also, convey to his people these expressions of fraternity and cordiality.

"I also request of the delegates from the American Federation of Labor that on the first opportunity they may have, they convey to the workers of the United States the fraternal greetings of the working people of Mexico. I know that the working people of the United States, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, are desirous of bringing about a better feeling and better relations with the workers I represent, but there are other influences that are engaged in fomenting strife between the two countries. They pretend to represent the people of the United States. But I think that these elements that are fomenting distrust and evil suspicions between my people and the people of the United States can not represent the people of the United States and I do not believe that they represent it. I am very sure that if the American Federation of Labor does not take the necessary precautions to prevent these evil influences from taking its name and saying that they represent the people of the United States, if these evil influences are permitted to continue with their propaganda, fomenting evil suspicions and discord, the work of this organization in carrying into effect the resolutions and declarations of this congress will be rendered more difficult.

"I respectfully request the American Federation of Labor to immediately put forth its best efforts to bring out these influences in their true light so that the peoples of the Pan-American countries, and even the people of the United States may know exactly which group—or which are the elements interested in a conflict between Mexico and the United States."

Upon the request of Delegate Morones, Mr. S. A. Pratto was given permission to address the congress in behalf of the organized workers of the State of Yucatan, Mexico.

ADDRESS OF MR. S. A. PRATTO

"Mr. Chairman, I am very grateful to you and to Mr. Morones and to all the other delegates for being allowed to explain to this congress the achievements of the organization I represent. In the first place, I wish to say that I represent 70,000 organized workers in the State of Yucatan, Mexico. That means that 80 per cent of the inhabitants of the State of Yucatan are organized. Owing to the peculiar form in which it developed and the peculiar manner in which it was organized, it can be said that it is a model organization in the American countries. I say this because only three years ago these 70,000 organized workers were slaves, the same as the slaves of centuries ago. After the revolution we had in that country the labor organizations of the State of Yucatan have established 300 schools—300 educational institutions—which

are supported by the members of the organization, and every one of these men knows that he is a human being entitled to the considerations of such, while three years ago they did not even know that they were human beings.

"I desire to facilitate Mr. Gompers for his good will in taking a favorable attitude towards the resolutions of all these delegates from Latin-America, which not only affect the workers, but also affect the national life and the principles of self-determination proclaimed by Mr. Wilson and incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations under his apostleship. And I would add that their hopes and aspirations are anxiously waiting for the moment when these beautiful theories of Mr. Wilson will be brought to a realization. They are hoping that all their claims and all their grievances brought here by these delegates will be righted through the influence and through the prestige of Mr. Gompers. (Hearty applause.) The Pan-American Federation of Labor is just beginning, but the prestige of Mr. Gompers is a well-established fact. We believe that the hopes and aspirations of several of our countries in the rectification of their grievances and their troubles depend mainly on two persons, namely, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Gompers. They bring their hopes and aspirations to Mr. Gompers, and the one who will hear them, through Mr. Gompers, is Mr. Wilson. Therefore, those of you who are menaced by the consequences of the political mistakes of this country, can not have a better lawyer in these transactions.

"Now, the American newspapers are making a great mistake right now with their propaganda in favor of intervention in Mexico. The idea is so absurd that it endangers the highest principles that the human mind can conceive, the principles that right now are being used by Mr. Wilson as his banner. Therefore, in fomenting this evil propaganda, the American press is making a great mistake for it is setting up principles that contrast openly with the high principles of Mr. Wilson."

CLOSING REMARKS OF THE PERUVIAN DELEGATES

Delegate Benza, of Peru: "I desire to express my appreciation to the delegates on behalf of the Peruvian Delegation for the work accomplished by this congress to the benefit of the working people of the South American countries. The workers of Peru were the first to organize an international labor center in South America, in accordance with the ideals of the American Federation of Labor. We are satisfied with these ideals, for in coming up here, we find them to be just what we thought they were. I also desire to express my appreciation for the intelligent and fair manner in which Mr. Gompers has presided over the proceedings of this congress. In conclusion, I wish to request of the delegates here present that they convey to the workers they represent the fraternal greetings from the working people of Peru."

Delegate Herrera y Vera, of Peru: "I agree with what my associate, Delegate Benza, said just now, and I will also request of the delegates here present that when they return to their respective homes they convey to the workers they represent the good will and the great desire of the workers of Peru to bring about a complete unification and fraternization of all the workers. I also want to express my appreciation to the officers and to the committees for the services rendered in this congress. I now ask the delegates to pay a tribute of estimation to Mr. Gompers by standing up." (The delegates stood up and applauded.)

The Chairman: "Of course, I can not tell you in words—I can not express the appreciation I feel for all the manifestations of good will. I hope by service—by real service—to show my appreciation and gratitude.

"Now, the motion has been made that we adjourn sine die."

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

The Chairman: "Officially this convention stands adjourned with my saying to you not good-bye but **bon voyage** and **au revoir**, and to meet again in Mexico City July 12, 1920.

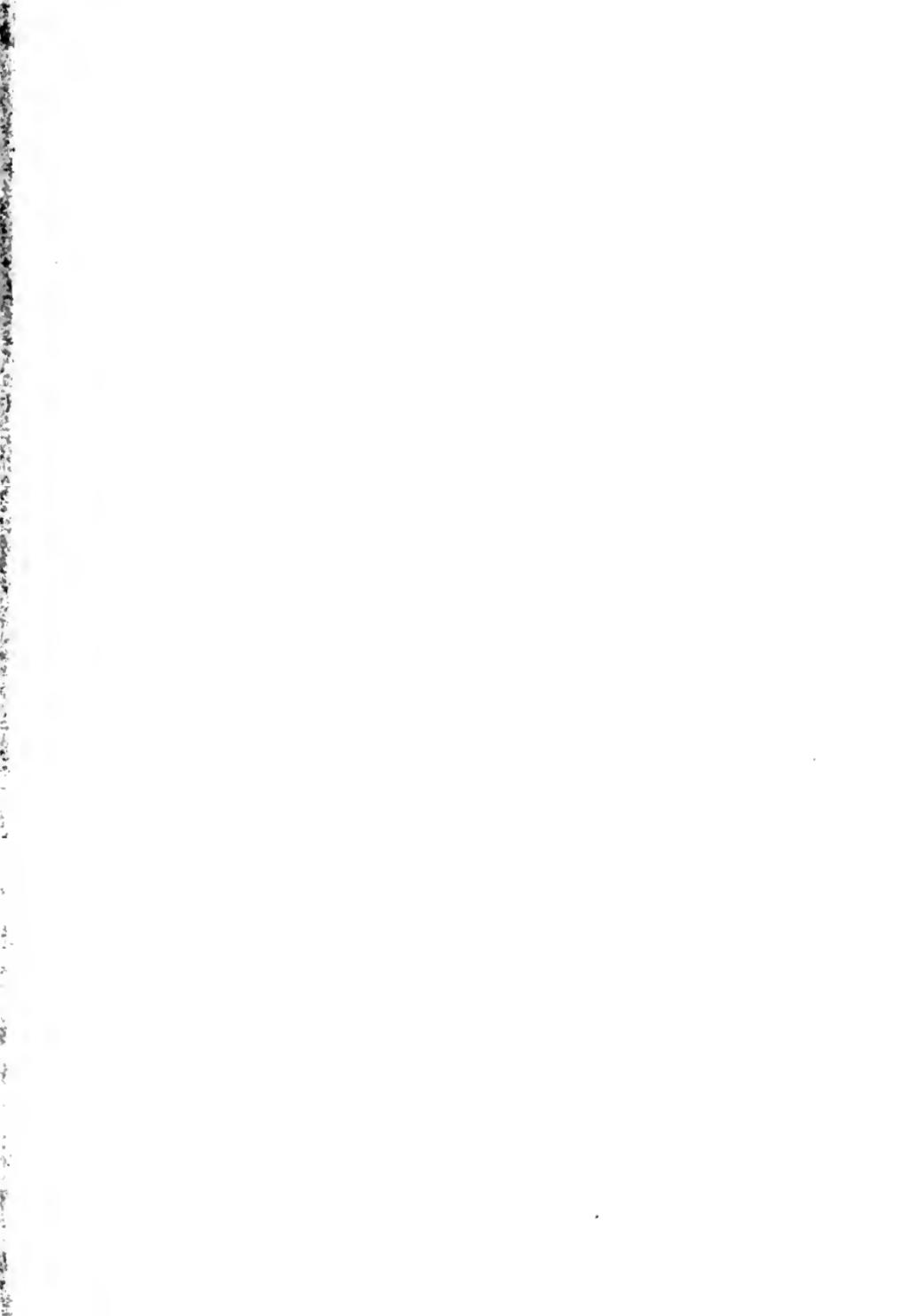
"This thought has come to me since there has been such a splendid expression for the idea of Pan-America, that it shall inspire some poet in the Spanish language and some poet in the English language to write a poem—an apotheosis to the ideal of Pan-America. This congress stands adjourned."

The congress adjourned sine die at 5.25 P. M. Thursday, July 10, 1919.



Secretary,
Pan-American Federation of Labor.

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